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THE ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

VOLUME TWO—THIRD SERIES.



EDITED BY

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ANNALS OF IOWA.

Vol. II. No. 1. DES MOINES, IOWA, APRIL, 1895. THIRD SERIES.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN M. CORSE.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM SALTER, D. D.

(First Paper.)

John Murray Corse was born April 27, 1835, in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. The Corse family were of French Huguenot stock, originally from the island of Corsica.

John Lockwood Corse, the father of General Corse, was a native of Dover, Delaware, and was born March 5, 1813; he was the son of Hanson Corse, and grandson of Captain John Corse, a soldier of the Revolution. He learned the carriage making business in Philadelphia, where he married Sarah, daughter of John Murray, whose family was related to that of John Marshall, Chief Justice U. S. She was a woman of superior worth, blending grace and strength of character in fine proportions. Soon after their marriage they removed to Pittsburg, Penn., where their son was born. They subsequently resided in St. Louis, Mo., and Belleville, Ill., and in 1842 came to Burlington, Iowa Territory, where Mr. Corse was a prominent citizen all his life. He was a man of industry, enterprise and public spirit, and was engaged for many years in the book and stationery business. Enjoying the respect and confidence of his fellow citizens, he was six times chosen mayor of the city, viz: in 1845, 1846, 1856, 1857, 1866 and 1867, and also served several years as one

of the aldermen. He was representative from Des Moines county in the Second General Assembly of the State 1848-50, and in the Fifth General Assembly, 1854-56. A warm personal friend of the Hon. A. C. Dodge, United States Senator from Iowa, that gentleman, in 1853, secured an appointment to the United States Military Academy for his son, then eighteen years old.

Mr. James Love, now of Berkeley, California, gives the following reminiscences:

I first knew the General as a boy in 1852, his father bought Mr. J. F. Abraham's bookstore in the spring of that year. He was a handsome boy; we roomed together for awhile over the store. He had been employed at J. F. Tallant's drug store, and his recollections of the business were not alluring, preparing unsavory tinctures, grinding paints, pounding the heavy iron mortar, or spending hours in the cellar mixing putty. He liked the book business, was fond of study, and said that reading fiction seemed a waste of time. He had a large self-esteem, would make speeches before a glass, wrinkle his brow. practice gesture, and told me more than once that he hoped to become prominent in politics. His father was much of a politician, familiar with public men and measures, an ardent democrat, as John was all his life.

At West Point young Corse gave especial attention to mathematical studies and artillery practice, and won proficiency in training and drill. But a cadet's life was not wholly congenial, and after nearly two years at the Academy he resigned, and was employed as clerk and afterwards as partner in his father's business. The following year, December 23, 1856, he was married to Miss Ellen Edwards Prince. They had been pupils together in the school of Mr. David S. Sheldon, a superior teacher, who was afterwards a professor in Iowa College and Griswold College at Davenport. She was a niece of Mrs. Edwards, whose husband, James G. Edwards, was the founder of the "Hawk Eye." She had been brought up in his family, and had been a student in the Monticello Seminary, near Alton, Ill., and a teacher in the North Hill public school in Burlington. A lady of native refine-

ment and grace, she combined the quick intuition of a gifted mind with sweet reasonableness of temper and judgment, and made an ideal home in the dignity and repose which her bright and pure spirit enshrined within it.

Subsequently Mr. Corse was in partnership in a land office agency with Mr. A. T. Hay, since famous for his invention of the "Hay Steel." In 1859 he served as one of the school directors of Burlington, and took an interest in raising the standard of public education. He read law in the office of C. Ben Darwin, and attended lectures at the Albany Law School, N. Y., and on the 17th of April, 1861, was admitted to the bar of Des Moines county.

In the political agitation that followed the repeal of the Missouri-Compromise Mr. Corse was an ardent supporter of the policy and measures advocated by Stephen A. Douglas. He was nominated by the State Democratic Convention upon the Douglas ticket for the office of Secretary of State, in the presidential election of 1860; but the vote of Iowa went to Mr. Lincoln, and the republican candidates for state offices were elected.

Upon the outbreak of the rebellion Burlington was in a blaze of excitement. Two military companies were at once organized in that city. They were enlisted for three months. They left Burlington on the 7th of May for the seat of war in Missouri, and bore a brave part in the battle of Wilson's Creek on the 10th day of August, fighting after their term of enlistment had expired. Meanwhile young Corse had offered his services to the War Department at Washington. In the month of June he issued the following advertisement:

FLYING ARTILLERY.

I am authorized by the War Department to organize "a mounted battery for service during the war."

I want one hundred and fifty active, tough, and intelligent men: Seventy-five for drivers, seventy-five for cannoneers, artificers, buglers, etc.

JOHN M. CORSE.

This proved to be the nucleus of the First Battery, Iowa Light Artillery, which was mustered into service at Burlington on the 17th of August, and was famous for its valor at the battle of Pea Ridge, and in many other engagements under the command of Captain Henry H. Griffith.

At the same time three regiments of infantry were rendezvousing at Burlington. They were wanted for immediate service in the field, and much solicitude was felt for their efficient organization. In company with Mr. T. W. Barhydt, now president of the Merchant's National bank of Burlington, Mr. Corse visited Governor Kirkwood, at Des Moines, who appointed him Major of the Sixth Iowa. The regiment was mustered into the service of the United States on the 17th of July, and embarked on the 3d of August for Keokuk, where a detachment of the regiment was at once sent to reinforce Colonel Moore at Athens, Mo., who had been attacked by a rebel band under Colonel Martin Green. The rebels, however, had been defeated before the arrival of the detachment upon the scene. That was the first Union victory of the war.

The people of Missouri were divided in sentiment; a majority were loyal, but the "secesh" were more noisy and spirited. In addition to the regularly organized rebel forces, bands of guerillas and bushwhackers roamed in every direction, waylaying the friends of the Union, plundering their homes, and obstructing the movements of Union troops by burning bridges, destroying railroads, and wrecking trains. During the fall of 1861 the regiment was employed in guard and garrison duty at railroad bridges, and at Jefferson City, Tipton, Sedalia, and other places, and was with General Fremont in his rapid march from Tipton to Springfield the last days of October. From December 14, 1861, to February 1, 1862, Major Corse was provost-marshal at La Mine Cantonment, and subsequently served as Inspector-general on the staff of

General Pope, for three months, first in the district of central Missouri, and afterwards in the Army of the Mississippi. During the winter the regiment was on garrison duty, six companies at Tipton, four companies at Syracuse. Soon after the capture of Fort Donelson, February 15, 1862, the regiment was ordered to St. Louis, and thence by steamer to Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee. Meanwhile Major Corse served with General Pope in his energetic and victorious campaign against New Madrid and Island No. Ten, and had charge of the over six thousand prisoners that were captured. After proceeding down the Mississippi with the object of attacking Fort Pillow, General Pope's army was withdrawn at a point seven miles above the Fort under orders to reinforce General Halleck at Corinth. While these events were transpiring, the Sixth Iowa was at Shiloh in the thickest of the fight on the first day of the battle, April 6, 1862, where this regiment held the extreme right of Sherman's advance line near a bridge over Owl creek, and held the position till all support had been driven back, when it retired through a murderous fire, still fronting the enemy, and dealing upon him heavy blows. Of the 650 men of this regiment who went into the engagement, the casualties were: 64 killed, 100 wounded, 47 missing.

Major Corse arrived at Pittsburg Landing with the army of General Pope on the 22d of April. General Pope took part in the siege of Corinth, where the enemy was strongly intrenched under Beauregard. Soon after the battle of Farmington, a small town four miles east of Corinth, May 9, 1862, Major Corse was relieved of staff duty, at the request of General Sherman, and promoted May 21st, Lieutenant-Colonel, and given command of his regiment. Referring to that occasion years afterwards in a letter to an old comrade, he said:

Never shall I forget the warm welcome you gave me on my return from Pope's staff, the day Sherman was drilling you on the Shiloh field.

My joy was only tempered by the thought how many brave men had but a few days before laid down their lives for the great cause. That was a gallant fight at Shiloh, and how proud we were that the Sixth held its own that livelong day and was part of the little band that saved Grant's army.

After the evacuation of Corinth by the rebels, May 29th, the Sixth Iowa was sent with a detachment of the army on a reconnaissance in northern parts of the state of Mississippi. Near Coldwater it had a skirmish with rebel cavalry under Forest, July 2d. From Holly Springs the regiment marched to Memphis, reaching that city July 24th, and was employed in guard duty during the rest of the summer and most of the fall.

In November the regiment marched with the forces under General Grant in pursuance of the plan he had then formed to move overland upon Vicksburg. The movement proved unsuccessful, and was abandoned for one by the river.

Lieutenant-Colonel Corse was promoted Colonel on the 29th of March, 1863. During the siege of Vicksburg the regiment occupied a position at Haines' Bluff, upon the Yazoo river, ready to keep off any rebel force that might appear in that direction, or to assist the invading army at any point needing assistance.

Immediately upon the surrender of Vicksburg the Sixth Iowa moved with the expeditionary army of General Sherman in search of the rebel army under General J. E. Johnston. The regiment crossed the Big Black river July 6th, supported the Forty-eighth Illinois in driving the rebels from Queen's Hill on the 7th, and marched to within four miles of Jackson on the 8th and 9th, where the enemy was strongly entrenched. Colonel Corse was placed in command of the skirmishers of the First Division, Sixteenth Army Corps. In reporting their operations, he says:

I was ordered to move on the enemy's works along our entire front for the purpose of ascertaining the strength and position of their batteries."

After describing the disposition he made of his troops consisting of the Sixth Iowa, Fortieth and Forty-eighth Illinois, Ninth-seventy Indiana, and Forty-sixth Ohio, and describing the heroic services of the four last named regiments, he continues:

I assumed command of the line formed by the Sixth Iowa Infantry, and at the designated signal the men dashed forward with a shout, met the line of the enemy's skirmishers and pickets, drove them back, capturing eighteen or twenty, and killing as many more: clearing the timber, they marched out into the open field, across the railroad, over the fence, up a gentle slope, across the crest, down into the enemy's line, when two field batteries of four guns each, fronting west, opened a terrific cannonade. The enemy were driven from two pieces at the point of the bayonet, our men literally running them down. In rear of the batteries were two regiments, and at our approach they opened fire, causing most of the casualties in this regiment. With such impetuosity did the line go through the field that the enemy, so completely stunned were they, would have fled had they not been reassured by a large gun battery nearly six hundred yards to our right, which enfiladed the railroad line of skirmishers. Startled at this unexpected obstacle, which was now in full play, throwing its whirlwind of grape and canister about us until the corn fell as if by an invisible reaper, I ordered the bugler to sound the "lie down." The entire line fell in the corn rows, and I had the opportunity to look around, knowing my men were safe. On my right, across the railroad, the enemy had a battery of three guns. To my right and front I saw two more guns projecting through embrasures in direct range, and in my front was a field battery of four guns, from two of which the gunners had fled, and my men were lying around them. In their rear I saw two flags and a line of men, I supposed about two regiments. On my left was another field battery and another line of men.

To pass through the batteries, cross the regiments in our front, ascend the hill and get inside their main works was more than I could accomplish with the slender, yet gallant line lying on my left and right. Feeling that I had obtained all the information I could I ordered the "rise up" and "retreat," which was done in the most admirable manner under the fire of at least three regiments and seven guns, three of these enfilading my line. But few of those who had so gallantly charged the battery got back. I cannot speak in too extravagant terms of the officers and men of the Sixth Iowa on this occasion. They obeyed my commands with a promptness and rapidity I could hardly have expected from them on a parade. If they challenged my praise at the impetuosity of their advance, they awakened my admiration at the coolness with which they retired, returning the incessant firing of the enemy as they slowly fell back.

The general commanding the division issued the following congratulatory order:

HEADQUARTERS 1ST DIVISION 16TH A. C., IN FRONT OF JACKSON, MISS.,
July 16, 1863.

COLONEL CORSE, Commanding Sixth Iowa Infantry:

The valor of your noble regiment has been conspicuous, even amidst the universal good conduct that has marked the operations of all the troops of the First Division during our advance upon Jackson, and since our arrival here.

I cannot too highly commend the gallantry you have displayed in the successive charges you have made. The true heart swells with emotions of pride in contemplating the heroism of those who, in their country's cause charge forward under the iron hail of half a dozen rebel batteries and exposed to a murderous fire of musketry from behind strong entrenchments, capture prisoners under their very guns.

Such has been the glorious conduct of the Sixth Iowa this morning; and those who shared your dangers and emulate your valor will join me in tendering to you and the brave men under your command my warmest thanks and most hearty congratulations.

Most truly yours,

WILLIAM SOOY SMITH,
Brig. Gen. Commanding First Div., Sixteenth Army Corps.

The enemy evacuated Jackson the following night, and the Union forces occupied the city the next day. During the month of August Colonel Corse was stationed at Oak Ridge, to scour the country on the northeast of Vicksburg, and guard against raids by the enemy's cavalry, who were hovering about Black river. "Don't collect cotton," said General Sherman, "unless it is in your way; don't make it the object of an expedition." He was authorized to supply destitute families with necessary provisions, and also to organize a batch of negroes who collected around him into a kind of outlying picket. Writing in a vein of pleasantries to General McPherson, in command at Vicksburg, a few weeks later, General Sherman said:

There are about one hundred negroes fit for service enrolled under the command of the venerable George Washington, who, mounted on a sprained horse, his hat plumed with the ostrich feather, his full belly girt with a stout belt from which hangs a terrible cleaver, and fol-



W. T. Sherman
General

lowed by his trusty orderly on foot, makes an army on your flank that ought to give you every assurance of safety from that exposed quarter. Should, however, the "secesh" be rash enough to gobble up that picket I still think we could survive the loss, for behind them is General Buckland's picket of four companies.

On the 11th of August, Colonel Corse was appointed Brigadier-General, on the 21st took command of the Fourth Brigade, Fourth Division, Fifteenth Army Corps, and on the 1st of September took temporary command of the Fourth Division, as intimated in the following from General Sherman:

SHERMAN'S HEADQUARTERS, {
August 30, 1863. }

COLONEL CORSE, Oak Ridge:

I send this morning for the two prisoners claiming to belong to Pinson's regiment. I contend the confederates must uniform their combatants, else the non-combatants must suffer all the legitimate fruits of the war.

My orders are out for the merging of your brigade with the Second and Third of the Fourth Division, and as soon after the 1st of September as Buckland can relieve you by a brigade you will take command at Messinger's.

SHERMAN.

The Fourth Division at this time consisted of the following troops: 6th Iowa, 26th, 40th, 48th, 90th, 103d, Illinois, 15th Michigan, 12th, 97th, 99th, 100th Indiana, 46th, 53d, 70th Ohio, and companies F and I 1st Illinois Light Artillery, with Cogswell battery, Illinois Artillery. Pursuant to orders from General Grant, September 28, the Fourth Division moved to Vicksburg for transportation to Memphis. To facilitate transportation the First Brigade was employed to haul wood for the use of the steam boats to the river bank at Griffith's Landing. Low water impeded navigation. October 10th General Sherman wrote General Halleck from Memphis:

My Fourth Division is not all up yet, and in consequence of the constant interruption of the railroads I will cause it to march all the way, relieving it of baggage by the railroad. Every mile of the railroad, save a few fortified points, can be cut by the enemy any night. The enemy is vastly superior to us in cavalry who retire before us, but come back the instant possession is withdrawn.

The next day General Sherman and staff left Memphis by rail with a small battalion of regulars. Eight miles out they passed Corse's division on the march. At Collierville, twenty-four miles out, they found General Chalmers with his rebel cavalry demanding the surrender of the post. General Sherman got his men off the cars in time, and sent messages to hurry forward Corse's division. Afterwards the rebels cut the wires, tore up rails, opened with artillery, and knocked to pieces the locomotive and some of the cars. Fighting continued for three or four hours, when "we observed," says General Sherman in his Memoirs, "signs of drawing off, which I attributed to the rapid approach of Corse's Division, which arrived about dark, having marched the whole distance from Memphis on the double quick." General Corse, on hearing the distant roar of guns and guessing the cause, had directed his men to strip themselves of blankets and knapsacks. His movements are explained in the following dispatches:

GERMANTOWN, October 11, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HURLBURT, Memphis:

I have just loaded a battery and a regiment on the train you sent, and started three regiments and another battery by the road to Collierville. As fast as the balance of the command arrives they will push on to Collierville.

CORSE,

Brigadier-General.

SHERMAN TO HURLBURT.

COLLIERVILLE, October 12, 12:00 M.

It was the trains from Corinth that came down this way to La Fayette, but turned back on hearing the firing and spread the report that I was gobbled up. General Corse is here with one Brigade, and his other Brigades close at hand. I think I will try and make Chalmers feel he cannot attack us unpunished. We gave him more than he expected yesterday, and will try to treat him so that he will remember it as long as he lives. All well with us now.

SHERMAN TO HURLBURT.

LA FAYETTE, October 12.

Arrived here safe, several trains here from the east; will push them forward at once, road all appears clear. To-morrow will be a

good day to load the trains with forage and rations, and send to us. Sent General Corse's Division (at 11 o'clock) to Mt. Pleasant; he will be there to-night, and swing around to La Grange or Saulsbury.

SHERMAN TO HURLBURT.

LA GRANGE, October 12, 3:30 p. m.

I advised you two days before I left that the true move was for you to send a brigade to Byhalia, and I understood that it was done. I cannot turn Corse back to Byhalia. I must move my division forward to the Tennessee river at once.

Circular Orders Brigadier-General Corse, Headquarters Fourth Division, Fifteenth Army Corps:

COLLIERVILLE, TENN., October 12.

This command will move immediately on the Mt. Pleasant road, the Third Brigade in advance, the Second Brigade in the center.

The division train will go between the Second and First Brigade.

The First Brigade will follow in rear of Division and furnish necessary guards for division train.

Colonel Cockerill, commanding Third Brigade, will throw out flankers and skirmishers, and take all necessary caution against surprises, and will camp at or near Mt. Pleasant, wherever water can be had.

MT. PLEASANT, Miss., October 12, 1863.

This command will move on the La Grange road. The Second Brigade in advance will clear the road by daylight. The First Brigade will follow thirty minutes after. The Third Brigade will close up the rear, taking charge of division train and furnish a strong guard.

The attention of brigade commanders is called to the necessity of using every precaution to prevent the indiscriminate firing that characterized the conduct of the troops this day.

SHERMAN TO GENERAL OSTERHAUS, IUKA.

CORINTH, October 13.

I am now here. Chalmers attacked me at Collierville, but I repulsed him. Corse's Division marched from Memphis same day, and hearing the enemy's cannon hurried, and the leading Brigade reached me at dark, after the enemy was gone. I sent the whole Division in pursuit, and I hear they had fighting last night and this morning at Mt. Pleasant.

SHERMAN TO GENERAL CARR, LA GRANGE.

OCTOBER 13.

The Division I send out from Collierville is a splendid one; and I feel certain if it catches Chalmers it will give him all he wants.

CORSE TO SHERMAN.

SAULSBURY, October 14, 1863.

In consequence of the rain I cannot make Corinth before day after to-morrow; roads very slippery. Division all right. Spooner is with me with three of his regiments. The other two are with Sweeney.

SHERMAN TO CORSE, SAULSBURY.

CORINTH, October 15.

All right: come along in good order, and without too much haste.

CORSE TO SHERMAN.

POCAHONTAS, October 15.

The roads are execrable. Troops much wearied, but I will try and force three brigades into Corinth by to-morrow night. The rear brigade in charge of the Division train will have to remain here to-night, as the bridges across Muddy are very bad.

CORSE TO SHERMAN.

POCAHONTAS, October 15, 4:00 P. M.

After the most arduous labor I have got Spooner across the Muddy, and he will camp across the Hatchie to-night. Cockerill will camp on this side; it will be impossible to get Hicks and Loomis across the Muddy to-night. Three little bridges on the causeway over the Muddy is the occasion of all the trouble. The bridge across the Hatchie at Davis' is destroyed. Hence why I cross here.

SHERMAN TO CORSE, POCAHONTAS.

CORINTH, October 15.

Don't fatigue your men. There is no urgent necessity for your arrival here to-morrow. Keep all in good order, and make the march according to the road and weather. We are at work ahead, and can put in the time by pushing forward our stores to Iuka.

CORSE TO SHERMAN.

POCAHONTAS, October 16.

Spooner crossed last night. I ordered him to go to Corinth to-day. Cockerill crossed this morning early, and one of his wagons broke the bridge. I have just got it repaired. Hicks is now crossing. Loomis will cross soon, and we will all be in to-morrow. I will wait till the last is over.

SHERMAN TO MAJOR-GENERAL HURLBURT, MEMPHIS.

CORINTH, October 18

Corse got here last night.

Headquarters 15th Army Corps:

IUKA, October 20, 1863.

General Ewing, commanding 4th Division will take command of all matters in and near Iuka. (The Division halted at Iuka for a week and partly built a fort.)

He will dispatch General Corse with one regiment and three days' rations, in wagons, to Eastport to reconnoiter, and with instructions to collect forage and meat; to find and collect at Eastport all boats in and near the mouth of Bear Creek, and secure them for our future use. At or before the end of three days General Corse will report to these headquarters the result of his observations.

By order of

MAJOR-GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.

 BRIGADIER-GENERAL EWING TO MAJOR-GENERAL SHERMAN.
Headquarters 4th Division 15th A. C., Department and Army of the Tennessee:

WATERLOO, Alabama, October 28, 11:00 a. m.

I crossed here last night with Cockerill's Brigade; I move with it immediately to Gravelly Spring where Corse promises to close on us this evening. To-morrow at daylight I will move with the two Brigades to Florence, and at dark start a messenger to General Grant. The passage of the Tennessee proves more tedious than anticipated.

 EWING TO SHERMAN.
Headquarters 4th Division, 15th A. C.:

ELK RIVER, November 5, 1863.

The river is not fordable for loaded teams, but will be by morning. Corse has found a lower ford, which I will try, but doubt if we can get our wagons over this evening. I have ordered Corse to strip his infantry and wade them over with two days' rations, and can put them into Athens by the hour designated, 9:00 a. m. to-morrow.

 EWING TO SHERMAN.
Headquarters in the Field 4th Division, 15th A. C.:

TRENTON, Ga., November 18, 1863.

The head of my column reached here at 10:00 a. m. I have camped the rear Brigade on the mountain overlooking the town; Cockerill and Corse in town. We threw a few shells at some cavalry, who retreated down stream. Distance by the route we came, Gordon's Mills, 23 miles; road steep and good. I have sent down to communicate with Hooker's pickets. Should have been here last night, but waited for rear to close up.

On the 15th and 16th of November General Sherman conferred with General Grant at Chattanooga, and was assigned his part in the coming drama. His command was to make a lodgment on the terminus of Missionary Ridge, where the enemy under General Bragg was strongly fortified, but first a demonstration was to be made against Lookout Mountain near Trenton. The latter movement was a feint to distract the attention of the enemy by creating the impression that Lookout was to be attacked from the south. General Sherman ordered Ewing's division, to which this work was assigned, to be prepared to turn quickly, and follow him to Chattanooga.

The "Official Records of the War of the Rebellion" afford a graphic account of the march of events. They are contemporary documents, which are always the most reliable materials for the making of history. The following extracts are from Series I, Vol. 31, Part 2—Reports:

On the 18th (November) Cockerill's Brigade, followed by that of Corse, descended and drove out the enemy. Two Brigades of Stevenson's Division, under General Brown, came down Lookout by the Nickajack trace and threatened us, but marched back at dusk.—General Ewing, p. 630.

SHERMAN TO EWING.

BRIDGEPORT, November 18.

The Fifteenth Corps is destined for Chattanooga for offense, but an object is gained by threatening Trenton, as though this corps meditated to attack the enemy on Lookout by ascending at Trenton; but as soon as the other Divisions have passed Whiteside's I will send you order quietly to retire and follow the other Divisions. In the meantime act as though you were the head of a strong column waiting for the rear to close up. By this device the enemy will strengthen that flank and weaken the other, of which we propose to take advantage. Do what you can to accomplish this end, using the head of your column, but leaving the rear at the head of the mountain by which you descend to Trenton, and make plenty of fires on the mountain, as though a heavy force were collecting behind you. Be ready to reverse your column to move via Whiteside's and Wauhatchie, to Chattanooga.—p. 584.

EWING TO SHERMAN.

TRENTON, Ga., November 19, 11:00 a. m.

Loomis built extensive fires on the edge of the mountain last night.

which showed well. Corse camped above town, looking up the valley. p. 584.

EWING TO CORSE.

TRENTON, Ga., November 19.

You will take position near Johnson's Crook Gap, sending a detachment to show its head on the top of Lookout Mountain, and a second, half way up the ascent, both to demonstrate by fires, chopping, etc., taking care not to be cut off. Your main force with the artillery front up stream, covering your communications with Trenton and your detachment. Feel well in all directions with mounted men, and fall back on the 1st brigade (Loomis') if necessary.—p. 585.

On the 19th Corse moved up the valley 15 miles, drove the 9th Virginia through Johnson's Crook, up and over Lookout Mountain, leaving a strong detachment, the 6th Iowa and 46th Ohio, on the summit, and camping his main force in the valley. At night extensive fires were built at the two gaps on Raccoon, on Lookout, in the Crook, in the old camp of Corse and the camps of Loomis and Cockerill.

On the 20th the 4th Tennessee Cavalry ascended from McLemore's Cove to drive the Union troops from the mountain. General Corse charged them with forty mounted infantry, led by Captain Nunn, supported by infantry, and drove them beyond their camps in the Cove, inflicting a heavy loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, and capturing arms, horses and equipage.—pp. 630, 631, 638.

GRANT TO SHERMAN, BRIDGEPORT, ALA.

CHATTANOOGA, November 20, 1863.

To-morrow morning I had first set for your attack. I see now it cannot possibly be made then, but can you not get up for the following morning? Order Ewing down immediately, fixing his time for starting so that the roads and bridges will be full all the time. I see no necessity for his moving by a circuitous route, but you can bring him as you deem proper, reflecting that time is of vast importance to us now that the enemy is undeceived as to our move up to Trenton.

EWING TO SHERMAN.

TRENTON, Ga., November 20.

Our pickets camped on the summit of Lookout at Johnson's Crook Gap last night, and mounted scouts felt out over the mountain, but as far as heard from found no enemy. Corse drove a few up the mountain last evening. The enemy were watching us all day yesterday from Lookout. We have spread out boldly, and made an impression, I think, with little risk. Deserters and refugees say that our force "in the valley and back on Raccoon" is estimated at 30,000. I intended Corse

to sieze the pass boldly, but to draw back if attacked in force. I had great lines of fires on Raccoon last night, representing an army corps at least, and made a fine show in the valley.—pp. 586-7.

EWING TO CORSE.

TRENTON, Ga., November 20.

If the enemy approach in any force, draw your detachment quickly down the mountain, and, if followed, fall back on Loomis, who has orders to move to you if attacked. Our purpose is not to bring on an engagement. Keep a bright lookout in all directions. Set parties to work at once to undermine and destroy the stocks and machinery of all iron works in your vicinity, but do not burn or blow up; do it without noise.—p. 587.

EWING TO SHERMAN.

TRENTON, Ga., November 21, 12:40 a. m.

Your dispatch received. The detachments of Corse are ordered in. The Division will move at daylight with all possible dispatch. The train and rations will be promptly attended to.

SPECIAL ORDERS—GENERAL SHERMAN.

NEAR CHATTANOOGA, November 21.

Every available man fit for duty in the 15th Corps, now present, will at once be prepared for an important movement. Each man will carry a blanket or overcoat, three days' cooked rations, and as near 100 rounds of ammunition as possible including that in cartridge boxes. The camps and transportation will be left in charge of those unfit for duty. The ambulances will follow their respective divisions as far as the river, but await further orders before crossing.—pp. 588-9.

EWING TO CORSE.

TRENTON, Ga., November 21.

Call in your detachments at once, and move with your entire force at daybreak for this point. I wish you to pass here and make Wauhatchie, if possible, by night, or as near it as you can —p. 589.

General Corse left the mountain on the morning of the 21st, and marched down the valley a distance of 20 miles, the leading Brigade camping within the lines of Hooker, and the rear below Nickajack Gap. This was a very difficult march. It rained during the day and night before, swelling the mountain streams so that the men were compelled to wade in the water waist deep, and the roads were very muddy.—pp. 631-638.

GRANT TO SHERMAN. NEAR CHATTANOOGA.

CHATTANOOGA, November 22.

Owing to the late hour when Ewing will get up, if he gets up at

all to-night, and the impossibility of Wood's reaching in time to participate to-morrow, I have directed Thomas that we will delay yet another day.—p. 39.

GRANT TO MAJOR-GENERAL GEO. H. THOMAS, COMMANDING
ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., November 22.

The bridge at Brown's Ferry (at the base of Lookout) being down to-day, and the excessively bad roads since the last rain, will render it impossible for Sherman to get up either of his two remaining divisions in time for the attack to-morrow morning.—p. 40.

SHERMAN TO GRANT.

CAMP OPPOSITE CHICKAMAUGA, November 23.

I received your letter and immediately made the orders for the delay of twenty-four hours. I need not express how I felt that my troops should cause delay. But Ewing is up. No cause on earth will induce me to ask for longer delay. We will move at midnight, and I will try the Missionary Ridge to-morrow morning in the manner prescribed.—p. 41.

The 23d was spent by the chief officers in examining the plan of battle and studying the ground from the heights.

On the 24th the 15th corps crossed the Tennessee in boats at the mouth of the Chickamauga.—pp. 630-631.

GRANT TO THOMAS.

CHATTANOOGA, November 24, 1:00 p. m.

Sherman's bridge was completed at 12 m., at which time all his force was over except one division. That division was to cross immediately, when his attack would commence. Your forces should attack at the same time, and either detain a force equal to their own, or move to the left to the support of Sherman, if he should require it.—p. 43.

At 1 p. m. we marched from the river in three columns *en echelon*, the left, Gen. Morgan L. Smith; the center, Gen. John E. Smith; the right, Gen. Ewing. A light, drizzling rain prevailed, and the clouds hung low, cloaking our movements from the enemy's tower of observation on Lookout. We soon gained the foot hills, and at 3:30 p. m. we gained with no loss the desired point. We found ourselves on two high points with a deep depression between us and the one immediately over the tunnel: which was my chief objective point.—Gen. Sherman, p. 573.

On this day (24th), the position of the brigade commanded by General Corse was upon the right of the division, and numbered 920 effectives. The brigade took possession of the first range of hills in front of

Missionary Ridge with but little resistance, the enemy, some 200 or 300 strong, retiring hastily and in disorder behind his batteries on the main ridge. In the evening the enemy threw a few shots from his guns, which were soon silenced, leaving the brigade to rest for the night in quiet.—p. 636.

GRANT TO SHERMAN.

CHATTANOOGA, Nov. 24.

You will attack the enemy at the point most advantageous from your position at early dawn to-morrow morning, 25th inst.—p. 43.

The sun had hardly risen on the 24th before General Corse had completed his preparations, and his bugle sounded "the forward." The same bugler with the same bugle that sent the six hundred forward at Balaclava sounded the advance of Corse's brigade. This bugler was Jimmy Burk, of the 15th Michigan infantry. The line advanced to within about 80 yards of the intrenched position, where General Corse found a secondary crest which he gained and held. To this point he called his reserves, and asked for re-enforcements which were sent, but the space was narrow, and it was not well to crowd the men, as the enemy's artillery and musketry fire swept the approach to his position, giving the enemy great advantage. As soon as General Corse had made his preparations he assaulted, and a close, severe contest ensued, lasting more than an hour, gaining and losing ground, but never the position first obtained, from which the enemy in vain attempted to drive him. The fight raged furiously about 10 a. m. when General Corse received a severe wound (he was knocked senseless by a cannon ball that fractured his right leg above the ankle.) and was brought off the field, and the command of the brigade and of the assault at that key point devolved on that fine, young, gallant officer, Col. Walcutt, of the 46th Ohio, who filled his part manfully. He continued the contest, pressing forward at all points.

Col. Walcutt's report adds the following particulars:

At 7 a. m. Gen. Corse gave orders for the 40th Illinois, Major Hall and Companies A. F. and B. of the 103rd. Illinois, under Major Willison, to be deployed as skirmishers, with the 46th, Ohio, under my command, in reserve, for the purpose of charging the enemy intrenched on the ridge between us and Tunnel Hill. This charge the General led in person, driving the enemy before him and finally from his works to the protection of his guns on the opposite hill. After the brigade had taken position on this ridge, our eager General gave orders to charge the enemy's battery on Tunnel Hill. This charge, too, was led by our gallant General. The advance was sounded, and the several lines rushed over the brow of the hill under a terrific fire. Being in easy canister and musket range, it seemed almost impossible to withstand it, but so eager were the men to take the position that they charged through it with a fearlessness and determination that was astonishing.

In this charge our brave General fell badly wounded. Once only did the line waver, and that was when he was being borne from the field, but they were soon rallied. I must say of Gen. Corse that he is one of the bravest and best men I ever saw, and an officer of distinguished ability. He enjoys the highest confidence and respect of every man in his brigade, and that he is not dangerously wounded, and will soon return to us is our greatest satisfaction.—pp. 636-7.

GRANT TO HALLECK, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, WASHINGTON, D. C.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Nov. 25, 1863, 7:15 p. m

Although the battle lasted from early dawn till dark this evening, I believe I am not premature in announcing a complete victory over Bragg. Lookout Mountain top, all the rifle pits in Chattanooga Valley, and Missionary Ridge entire have been carried, and now held by us. I have no idea of finding Bragg here to-morrow.—p. 25.

President Lincoln sent, Dec. 8, 1863, a congratulatory letter to Gen. Grant. Congress voted a gold medal to him, and a resolution of thanks to him and to the officers and soldiers who fought under his command, and a resolution of thanks to Gen. Sherman and the officers and soldiers who served under him for their gallant and arduous services in marching to the relief of the Army of the Cumberland, and for their gallantry and heroism in the battle of Chattanooga, which contributed in a great degree to the success of our arms in that glorious victory.

General Corse did not recover his consciousness until the following morning, November 26, when he found himself in a hospital. In his "Personal Memiors," vol. 2, p. 77. General Grant says: "Corse, a brave and efficient commander, was badly wounded in this assault." In the course of two weeks he was removed to his home in Burlington and gradually recuperated in season to take part in the great campaign of 1864 under General Sherman.

It has been a matter of surprise that so little is known concerning Julian Dubuque, who figured largely in early Iowa. Two writers, however, have just now discovered much information concerning him, and this is promised for early publication.

HISTORICO-GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, FROM CASS LAKE TO LAKE ITASCA.

BY ELLIOTT COUES.

The following notes are derived mainly from observations made during my canoe voyage to the source of the Mississippi, in August and September, 1894. The article is extracted in substance from advance sheets of my new edition of Z. M. Pike's Expeditions, now in press and about to be published by Francis P. Harper, New York.

Le Haut Lac aux Cèdres Rouges of the French, Upper Red Cedar lake of the English, was so called in distinction from the one of like name much further down the Mississippi, near Aitkin. The valuable species of *Juniperus*, commonly known as "cedar" or "red cedar," is not a very abundant tree in N. Minnesota, and its prevalence about each of these lakes duplicated their designation. Pike's description of Upper Red Cedar lake is not good, and his map is so far out as to omit entirely the entrance of the Mississippi into this lake; for what he delineates as and mistook for the entrance of the main river is merely the discharge of the Turtle River chain of lakes from the Beltraman or so-called Julian source of the Mississippi, which falls in at the extreme N. border of the lake. Thus, what Pike's text means by saying "from the entrance of the Mississippi to the strait is called six miles," is the distance from the mouth of Turtle river to the strait which divides off Pike's bay from the rest of the lake; "thence to the south end," etc., is the length of Pike's bay; the "bay at the entrance" of the supposed Mississippi, i. e., of Turtle river, means the general recess of the lake on the N.; and finally, the "large point," given as 2½ m. "from the north side," is the point of Colcaspi or Grand Island, which is almost a peninsula, and which marks off Allen's bay from the rest of the lake.

With this much by way of comment on Pike, we will look further at this interesting body of water, which I have lately crossed twice. Its first English name, after the one above given, was Lake Cassina, bestowed by Schoolcraft in 1820, in honor of Governor and General Lewis Cass (b. Exeter, N. H., Oct. 9th, 1782; d. Detroit, Mich., June 17th, 1866), leader of the expedition which made its nearest approach to the true source of the Mississippi in July of that year. Their camp was on the N. shore, close by the mouth of Turtle river, on the W. side of that mouth, directly opposite the site of the old Northwest Company's



Ellis C. C. C.

trading-house. The name "Cassina Lake" stands on Schoolcraft's map of the Cass expedition of 1820; item, "Cassina L." appears on Long's map, 1823; the adjective "Cassinian" also occurs in Schoolcraft and elsewhere; but the latter afterward clipped the name to Cass, and it has become fixed in this form—the same as that of the county later dedicated appropriately to this eminent statesman and soldier. The Schoolcraft map of 1820 also lays down the Turtle River system with approximate accuracy, and on this map was first traced the course of the Mississippi to Lake Itasca. The latter had not then received its present name, but stands as "L. Labelish," i. e., Lac La Biche, or Lac à la Biche, translating the Chippewa Omoshkos Soglagon, and translated Elk lake in English. The main defect of the 1820 map was in laying down the Itasca source to the N. W. instead of to the S. W. of Cass lake—thus really on the line of the Turtle River source. This mistake was corrected in 1832, the year that Schoolcraft's party was guided to Lake Itasca itself by the Chippewa chief, Ozawindib or Yellow Head. Schoolcraft's nomenclature, in the main, was accepted by the greatest geographer who ever saw the source of the Mississippi, and Nicollet's example in this respect has been generally followed.

Cass is a beautiful lake, the third largest in the drainage-area of the uppermost Mississippi, being exceeded in size only by Winnibigoshish and Leech. The greatest length is nearly meridional; including Pike's bay it is $9\frac{3}{4}$ m.; the greatest breadth is almost due E. and W.; including Allen's bay it is $7\frac{1}{2}$ m. In position with reference to the 5th meridian, the range line of townships 30-31, and the line of townships 145-146, decussate at right angles in the center of the lake, just off the E. shore of Colcaspi island. The body of water thus occupies portions of four townships. In figure Cass lake is more irregular than Lake Winnibigoshish, less so than Leech lake. Pike's bay, on the S., is almost shut off from the rest of the lake by a long, narrow peninsula which stretches nearly across from E. to W., leaving but a very narrow thoroughfare. Pike's bay is of rounded form, about 3 miles in any diameter. Allen's bay, on the W., is almost equally well marked off by Colcaspi island; it is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, with an average width of over a mile, and includes two small islands, Elm and Garden. Red Cedar island lies in the S. E. part of the main body of water; but the most conspicuous feature of the lake is the island known as Grand or Colcaspi. The latter curious name is one of those verbal wind-eggs which Schoolcraft was fond of hatching; he tells us it is compounded of fragments of the names of "the three prior explorers;" and as this was in 1832, he means Cass and himself, 1820, and Pike, 1806. This island is shaped like a blacksmith's anvil; its greatest diameters, along conjugate diagonal axes, are $2\frac{3}{4}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles; aside from its horns the island would yield a square of about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles. The Chippewa village of Ozawindib, where Schoolcraft was camped July 10th and again July 15th—between which dates he went to Lake Itasca and back—was on the point of the anvil. I should advise canoeists to give this point a wide

berth; for a shoal runs far out northward, and the birch-bark may thump on a stony bottom if there is any sea. This shoal reaches out directly across the straightest traverse from the inlet to the outlet of the Mississippi. Colcaspi island is almost a peninsula in relation to the N. shore of the lake, but a canoe can generally be floated across the isthmus. I waded and dragged my boat on going up, but on returning was obliged to make a portage of a few paces, as the water had lowered. But even if it be found a carrying-place, it is the shortest and best way across the lake from the inlet of the Mississippi, either to its outlet or to the inlet of Turtle river. The latter falls in. at the extreme N. of the lake, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles N. W. from the outlet of the Mississippi, in the N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sect. 18, T. 146, R. 30. Here came David Thompson in 1798. along the usual traders' route from the Red River country, which was in part along what was then supposed to be the course of the Mississippi itself above Red Cedar lake. Here, in Roy's Northwest Company's house, on the E. or left bank, Pike came on the 12th of February, 1806. when he was at the highest point on the Mississippi he ever reached. Here were Cass and Schoolcraft in 1820; here came the Chevalier J. C. Beltrami in 1823, down this same Turtle river, from his Lake Julia, and so along the Julian source of the Mississippi. A mission once stood here; there is now an Indian village at a little distance westward. The place may be recognized at a distance by a high ridge on the right or W. bank, and on nearer approach by a stout post with historical inscriptions, erected by Hon. J. V. Brower, in August, 1894. About a mile up, Turtle river expands into a lake, called Kichi by Nicollet in 1836. No other considerable stream enters Cass lake, except the Mississippi itself. The Mississippi leaves the lake in a recess on the N. E. shore, easy to find by good land-marks; there is a clump of trees on the right of the outlet as you approach it, and a house on the first rising ground to the left. The position is in the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sect. 21, T. 146, R. 30. From this point the river flows about E. S. E. into Lake Winnibigoshish (makes $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles of southing in $8\frac{1}{4}$ miles of easting—air line about 9 miles). * The general course is about straight, but the reciprocal bends are numerous, giving an actual course of nearly 17 miles. This is the most beautiful part of the Mississippi—good flat water and plenty of it at the lowest stages of canoeing, with a moderate current and no rapids, shoals, or snags to speak of, and good camping-places all along on the wooded points or knolls. The only tributary of this "interlaken" course of the Mississippi is from the S.

* This comparatively short distance between Lake Cass and Lake Winnibigoshish has been grossly exaggerated by various writers. Thus, Mr. Schoolcraft once called it "45" miles, and twice spoke of it as "50" miles. Lake Winnibigoshish is much larger than Lake Cass, having an area of about 72 square miles. Besides the Mississippi, which flows into it from the West, it has three principal feeders, from the north and northwest: First or Cut Foot Sioux river; Second or Pigeon river; and Third or Brower river—the latter recently named in honor of the accomplished monographer of the Itasca basin.

about half way between Cass and Winnibigoshish; being the discharge from Horn lake (Eskabwaka lake of Owen). $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile (direct) E. of the boundary between Itasca and Beltrami counties, in the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sect. 30, T. 146, R. 29.

The Mississippi enters Cass lake at the west end of Allen's bay, by a crooked S shaped thoroughfare about a mile long, from the next lake above. The inlet into Cass opens in the center of Sect. 29, T. 146, R. 31; the outlet from the other lake is in the northwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of the same section. So close, in fact, are the two lakes, that at two places they are only separated by a hundred yards or less. At the northern one of these short portages stands a dilapidated old chapel, once a mission-house, and other buildings are scattered about, chiefly Chippewa cabins. I could learn no name for this next lake, though it is the one Schoolcraft, in 1855, called "Andrusia." The curious way of complimenting President Andrew Jackson has been followed by nobody. A letter before me from Hon. J. V. Brower, Itasca State Park Commissioner, dated St. Paul, September 15th, 1894, says: "This beautiful body of water situated upon Sects. 7, 8, 17, 18, 19, 20, 29 and 30, T. 146, R. 31, 5th M., above Cass lake, and through which the Mississippi takes its course, has this day been named by me Lake Elliott Coues, as a slight recognition of your services to the public, and for the purposes of a more accurate and correct geographical description." This lake is $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles in greatest breadth, with its long axis meridional. The Mississippi runs across its south end, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, from west to east, the inlet being in the northwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sect. 30 of the same township and range as the outlet. A trader's house is situated on the north side, in a Chippewa village. A winding course of the Mississippi of 2 miles brings us to another lake—that called Pamitascodiack or Tascodiack by Schoolcraft in 1832, and Vandermaelen by Nicollet in 1836; this and Lake Elliott Coues being both designated "the Andrusian lakes" on S. Eastman's map of 1855. Lake Tascodiack is hour-glass shaped, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long by about a mile across either bulb. The Mississippi enters it at the north and leaves it at the east, the inlet and outlet being within half a mile of each other, in Sect. 25, T. 146, R. 32.

For two or three miles above Lake Tascodiack canoeing is easy, through the flat water of marsh and meadow land; but then begins the trouble which hardly intermits thence to Lake Bemidji. The canoeist may as well put on his rubber boots at the start and keep them on, for he will have to wade most of the way and drag or shove his boat through almost incessant rocky rapids, shoals and snags. My canoe drew only about three inches of water when my man and myself were overboard, yet we had great difficulty in getting along at all without portaging. Where the water is flat, it is shoal and snaggy; otherwise it is all rocks and rapids. The distance from Lake Tascodiack to Lake Bemidji is only 8 miles in an air line, but this is the chord of a considerable arc the river describes northward, which, with the minor bends around the wooded points, makes $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles of water-course. The people call it 20

miles, but that is because it is such a hard road to travel. It took me a day and a quarter to make Lake Bemidji from Lake Elliott Coues; but I did the same distance in less than one day coming down. Beltrami calls this course "Demizimaguamaguensibi, or River of Lake Traverse;" which reminds me to say that among the Indians each section of the Mississippi between lakes takes the name of the lake whence it flows. The Bemidji section issues from the lake of that name in the northwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sect. 2, T. 146, R. 33, near the middle of the east shore. This outlet is hidden in a maze of rushes, and as there is no conspicuous landmark on shore, it is not easy to find. Lake Bemidji is a large body of water, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles long north and south, by $1\frac{3}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles broad, of somewhat pyriform figure, lying athwart the course of the Mississippi; whence the French name Lac Traverse, which we render Traverse, Travers and Cross lake. Schoolcraft renamed it Queen Anne's lake in 1855, but the Indian name is usually said. Among the forms of this are Pamitchi, as Schoolcraft; Pemidji, as Nicollet; also Bermiji, Permidji, etc., and with an additional element Bemejigemug, Pamajiggermug, etc. The spelling with B and not P is preferable, as first done by A. J. Hill. The north end of Lake Bemidji is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the south end of Turtle lake, so that the Julian sources may be here easily reached by portage. From the outlet as above described to the inlet is $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles, on a southwest course: for the Mississippi enters at the extreme southwest angle, in the northwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sect. 16, T. 146, R. 33. A short open thoroughfare of about 40 rods leads directly from Lake Bemidji into Lake Irving, so named by Schoolcraft in 1832 after Washington Irving, and still so called. This is only $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles broad by $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile long, lying chiefly in Sects. 16 and 17; the Mississippi comes directly across its short axis from south to north. The inlet is at the southeast corner of section 17. On Nicollet's published map "L. Irving" appears out of place altogether, on another stream. But this is a mere accident of cartography for which the admirable geographer is not responsible.

Three short bends and then a straight course of a mile bring us up the Mississippi to the mouth of a river from the south, to be particularly noted for several reasons. It is the largest remaining tributary of the Mississippi, and one of its sources is a lake no more than five miles from Itasca itself. This river joins the Mississippi in the southeast $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sect. 20, T. 146, R. 33. Going up it we at once fall upon the very small Lake Marquette; next, Lake La Salle (Lasale on Nicollet's map), larger and hour-glass shaped; next, Lake Plantagenet, a two-legged body of water, $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles long by $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles broad. Two of these three were named in 1832 by Schoolcraft, who also said that the largest one, was called Kubba Kunna, or Rest in the Path lake—these terms becoming Rabahkanna and Resting lake in Lieut. James Allen's report. Continuing through Lake Plantagenet and up this "Plantagenian source" of the Mississippi, as it has come to be known, we find that it forks in Sect. 21, T. 144, R. 34, at a direct distance of 7 or 8 miles from

Lake Plantagenet. The fork on our left as we go up takes us 5 or 6 miles further to Lake Naiwa, called Neway lake by Nicollet, and recently re-named Lake George. Alongside and emptying into this is Nicollet's Lake Bowditch, lately renamed Lake Paine. These two are in sections 15, 16, 22 and 21, township 143, range 34. Going up the other fork, we find in about 3 miles that it forks. The fork on our left as we go up comes north from a number of small lakes, one of them lately become known as Lake Chenowagesic; and this is probably to be considered the main course of the river we are now on. The other fork comes from the west; if we follow it up we proceed directly toward Lake Itasca, and find our stream heading in a lake which occupies portions of sections 2 and 11, township 143, range 35. This is Lake Assawa—Ossowa and Usawa of Schoolcraft, Usaw-way or Perch of Allen, Assawe of Nicollet; also Lake Alice of the Rand-McNally map (Chicago, 1894), whose compilers unfortunately and injudiciously adopted the names bestowed by a certain late disreputable adventurer. Another name this dishonest person gave this lake is Elvira. It is historically of the greatest possible interest, for from Lake Assawa did Schoolcraft's party proceed by portage to discover Lake Itasca in 1832, and from it also did Nicollet proceed by portage to Lake Itasca in 1836, and so on to discover the actual source of the Mississippi, which Schoolcraft missed in his hurry on that happy-go-lucky 13th of July. As to the name which the whole stream thus sketched should bear, there may be two opinions. Schoolcraft maps it with the legend "Plantagenian or South Fork of the Mississippi," and makes the Assawa lake fork the main source, calling the Naiwa lake fork by the name of this lake. Nicollet names the main stream R. Laplace, after the celebrated astronomer, as he did Lake Bowditch after the translator of that author's *Mécanique Celeste*; and he considers the main stream to be that middle one which comes from Lake Chenowagesic, furthest from the south (over the border of Hubbard county, in fact). This view is undoubtedly correct, and I, for one, should like to see Nicollet's designation of Laplace river stand. But the river is in fact called the Naiwa, and this current designation will probably prevail. I observe that our best maps in the present uncertainty omit any name, excepting the Rand-McNally map, which legends "Schoolcraft river," apparently after Eastman, 1855. Yellow Head is another name of this same river. Should the main stream come to be known to geographers as the Naiwa, I would suggest that its east fork be called the East Naiwa, agreeably with Schoolcraft's designation in 1832; and the other the West Naiwa.

We return from the excursion up the Naiwa or Laplace river, which forms the Plantagenian source of the Mississippi, and proceed up the Mississippi from the mouth of the Naiwa. We hold a due west course on the whole for $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles in an air line, but on a zigzag, with multitudinous minor tortuosities, making the distance more than twice as far: part of the way winding among wooded points, working our way over shoals and among snags, to a point in the northwest quarter of

section 28, township 146, range 34. Here is a small tributary sometimes called Allenoga river, on our right from the north, discharging a small, crooked lake which lies mainly in sections 16 and 21. Knowing no name for this, I call it Cowhorn lake, from its shape and from the trivial circumstance of finding a horn stuck on a stake in the river. We go on through a monotonous, swampy tract of reeds, rushes, wild rice, and lily-pads, alternately approaching and receding from tamarac clumps as the river winds about, for $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles further west in an air line, and more than three times that distance in actual paddling, till we reach some haying-meadows, and soon find the entrance of a notable stream on our right. This is in the northeast quarter of section 25, township 146, range 35; it is the discharge of Pinidiwin river, through a lake about a mile wide, completely filled with a fine crop of wild rice. Hence it is one of those many lakes which are called Rice, Manomin, or Monomina; but it had much better keep the distinctive name of the river which flows through it. This is a Chippewa word, which Schoolcraft translated Carnage; and he also called the same river De Soto, in one of those freaks of renaming to which he was addicted. I paddled up into Pinidiwin lake and was surprised at the volume of water it discharged, as well as at the strength of its current. But the river is a large, forked stream which drains a very extensive area north of the Mississippi. The volume of the Mississippi seems diminished nearly one-half above the mouth of the Pinidiwin.

The course up the Mississippi is now southwest to a point in the southeast quarter of section 35, township 146, range 35; where, at a bend, it receives a sizable tributary from the south. Nicollet charts this stream, but has no name for it, and I know of none that has been published excepting "Hennepin river," which appears on the Rand-McNally map. But the true Ojibway name of this stream is Wakomiti, as we are informed by the Rev. J. A. Gilfillan: and this designation is adopted both by Brower and myself. Wakomiti river rises as far south as about the middle of township 144, range 35, and flows nearly due north. Rounding the bend here we go northwest into the middle of section 28, township 146, range 35, and turn southwest to the corner of this section, on the property of Mr. A. J. Jones, a bona fide settler and cultivator of the soil. The situation is also marked by a small creek (say Jones') which falls in hard by from the west; but it is more notable as a sort of "Great Bend" of the Mississippi; for here is the place where, our course thus far having been on the whole westward, we turn quite abruptly southward to make for Lake Itasca, distant about 14 miles as the crow flies, but at least twice as far as that by the way we paddle. It has been good flat water, with no obstructions to speak of, for many miles back; but a little distance above Jones' place we come to rocky rapids for half a mile, reminding us of our experiences below Lake Bemidji. As we proceed other obstacles offer: snags abound, the Mississippi becomes in places too shallow to float a canoe, and in others bushes begin to meet across the channel, or fallen logs re-

quire to be chopped out of the way. We pass an insignificant creek on the right, and then soon sight quite an imposing pine-clad ridge on the left. Here, in the southwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 19, township 145, range 35, is the mouth of a creek on the left. This is marked on Schoolcraft's map "Cano river," which stands for Canoe river; the same author also has Ocano, for Au Canot, and moreover uses the Chippewa word Chemaun. The stream appears on Eastman's map of 1855 as De Witt Clinton river. It is charted by Nicollet, without any name. It has lately been properly described by Brower as Andrus creek, and was once named La Salle river by an unscrupulous person. Above Chemaun creek, in the southeast $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 26 of the township last said, a small creek comes in on the right, at "Dutch Fred's" place. I heard a man call it Bear creek, but very likely he is the only person who ever did so. Here the Mississippi enters (or rather leaves) a haying-meadow, and within a mile receives a small creek on our left, from the south, locally known as Killpecker or Chillpecker creek. It is less than a mile hence to the house of one Searles, in the southwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 35, township 145, range 35. There is still visible evidence on the ground that this was the site of an old trading-post, and most probably the very spot we hear of from William Morrison, who was the first known of white men at Lake Itasca, in 1804. From this place upward to Lake Itasca the Mississippi is practically unnavigable, at least in such a low stage of water as that I found—not so much on account of the extensive rapids as from snags and brush. The distance is called 20 and even 25 miles, but I think 12 miles would cover it. The air-line distance from Searles' to Lake Itasca is just 6 miles, and though the river is tortuous, besides having a general westward curve, it can hardly be much more than twice as far as the direct distance. One creek comes in on this course, called Division creek by Brower. It falls in from the west in the southwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 27, township 144, range 36. A tolerable wagon-road leads from Searles' house due south to the lower end of the north arm of Lake Itasca. The distance is about seven miles by this road, which keeps on the ridge east of and some distance from the Mississippi the whole way, till it ends at the lake, close by the outlet of the river, in the southwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 35, township 144, range 36. It is consequently almost on the line between township 144 and township 143, which cuts the end of the north arm, and forms the northern boundary line of Itasca State Park. In this situation Mr. Brower has recently (in October, 1894) discovered the site of a prehistoric village, and collected a large number of specimens of pottery, stone implements, etc. I had the pleasure of bringing this interesting discovery to the notice of the National Geographic Society of Washington, D. C., in a lecture on the Sources of the Mississippi delivered before that learned body on the 20th of January last; and I understand that Mr. Brower's full report on the subject will soon appear.

Itasca Park, created by Act of the Minnesota Legislature, approved April 20th, 1891, is 7 miles north and south by 5 miles east and

west, thus being 35 square miles, 19,701 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres, consisting of sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 33, 34, 35, 36, of township 143, range 36, in Beltrami county, with sections 1, 2, 3, 4, of township 142, range 46, in Becker county, sections 6, 7, 18, 19, 30, 31, of township 143, range 35, and section 6 of township 142, range 35—these in Hubbard county. The rectangle thus delimited includes nearly all the natural features about to be noted in the area designated as the ultimate reservoir bowl of the Mississippi by Brower, to whose admirable official report I am indebted for particulars which did not come under my personal observation on the spot, August 24th and 25th, 1894. The brim of the bowl is the Height of Land, Nicollet's *Hauteurs des Terres*, sc. between Hudsonian and Mexican waters; for all the water in the bowl runs into the Mississippi. The political boundary of the park is somewhat less than conterminous with the area of this bowl. The latter is conveniently divided into the greater and lesser segments, according to whether the waters drain into the west or the east arm of Lake Itasca; the greater segment contains the primal sources of the Mississippi. The brim of the bowl has a maximum elevation of 1,750 feet above sea-level. The southernmost lake in the bowl is Brower's Hernando de Soto, supposed to be 2,555 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the Gulf of Mexico, at an altitude of 1,558 feet. Another is Morrison lake. There are too many small lakes to mention, all beyond or beside any actual permanent surface connection with the Mississippian stream; two little ones which come near to such connection are Whipple and Floating Moss; but all contribute, either by seepage or flowage, to the Mississippi; their waters vary with season. Brower's important and fruitful studies of the hydrography of the Ultimate Reservoir Bowl have developed the unquestionable fact that all these lakes are to be considered collectively as Mississippi sources; and especially that by far the greatest volume of their waters flows through Nicollet's Infant Mississippi into the west arm of Lake Itasca. This effectually disposes of the recent fictitious and fraudulent exploitation of Elk lake as the true source of the "father of waters."

The Mississippi springs from the ground under a hill which I call the Verumontanum; the first collection of living waters, or what may be termed Fons et Origo Springs, occurs about the contiguous corners of sections ^{28;27}_{33;34} in township 143, range 36. The rill which issues thence runs northward in sections 27 and 28, and collects in a pool worthily named by Brower Upper Nicollet lake, after the keen-eyed geographer who first spied and mapped it in connection with his immortal discovery of the Mississippian *Verum Caput*. But this Lacus Superior Nicolleti is not now connected by surface flowage with the continuation of the Mississippi; Brower is correct in designating its feeder as the "detached upper fork" of the Mississippi; for the Upper Nicollet lake is separated by a dry ridge a few yards wide, forming a sort of "natural bridge," under or through which water seeps, but over which it certainly never flows. Stepping a few paces over this *pons naturalis*, we descend into

a boggy place where the several Nicollet springs issue from the ground and form a rill whose waters are continuous to the Gulf of Mexico. If one wishes to "cover" the Mississippi in any sense, one may do so literally here, where the river is a few inches wide and fewer deep, by lying at full length on both sides of the stream and drinking out of the channel. This rivulet is the principal feeder of the Middle Nicollet lake, which is of oval figure, less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile long, lying chiefly in the southeast quarter of section 21. The outlet of this lake is close to the inlet, by a well-defined stream say $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile long, which starts west, receives a small tributary called Howard creek from the south, and then curves north into the Lower Nicollet lake, one-sixth of a mile west of the Middle Nicollet lake. This is in size between the Upper and Middle lakes; it receives two rills, one of them called Spring Ridge creek; the Mississippi issues from the north end of this lake, and thence pursues a general northeast course for about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in an air line, though crookedly and with several small bends, to fall into the head of the west arm of Lake Itasca, in the southwest $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 15. On its way it receives Demaray creek from the west. Thus is constituted, entirely above or south of Lake Itasca, the infant Mississippi, discovered by Nicollet in 1836, and by him poetically styled the Cradled Hercules. The cradle is now known as Nicollet Valley; it is bounded on the west by the Hauteurs des Terres, now Nicollet Heights, and on the east by a long, curved and somewhat broken ridge, which I have named Brower Ridge, after the accomplished gentleman whose name will always be associated with the history and geography of the Itasca basin. This ridge is the best walking from Itasca up to the Fons et Origo springs—though in the present state of the ground this is not saying much in its favor, yet this way is less laborious than following up the Infant Mississippi. When the Park has been laid out and adorned, Brower Ridge will be an eligible avenue or carriage drive. The north end of the ridge rises on Morrison hill, which overlooks Itasca on the one hand and on the other gives a fine view of Elk lake; it is only a few steps down to either lake from the summit, where stands the Brower post of 1889 with its historical inscription, a sign-board commemorating Nicollet, and a granite boulder graven with a name. Elk lake is the largest body of water in the bowl after Lake Itasca, being of irregularly oval figure, about a mile long by $\frac{3}{4}$ as broad. It lies almost entirely in section 22, immediately south of the head of the west arm of Itasca, and thus alongside the Herculean Incunabula, from which it is separated by Brower ridge. Elk lake has the bad luck of a bad name, with the more serious misfortune of a vainglorious record of attempted fraud. In the first place the name—with due deference to Gen. James H. Baker, who in 1876 caused "Elk" to become official on the plat of township 143, section 36—seems to me badly chosen. For, as we have already seen, "Elk" was originally the English name of Lake Itasca, translating F Lac la Biche, and Chippewa Omoshkos Sogiagon; so its transfer to the smaller lake is liable to create confusion. It would have been better

could we have adopted the name of Breck lake, given by Rev. J. A. Gilfillan in 1881, or used the original Chippewa word Gagiwitadinag, meaning "lake embosomed in hills." In the second place, a certain unworthy person magnified the size of this lake, stretched out its principal feeder southward, lengthened, widened, and deepened its discharge into Itasca, labeled it Lake Glazier, and trumpeted his false claim of discovering the one and only true source of the Mississippi, to the scandal of geographical societies and other learned bodies. Elk lake was well described in 1872 by Julius Chambers, who called it Lake Dolly Varden: its discharge into Lake Itasca is now known as Chambers creek. This is a small side-stream about 333 yards long, in the bed of which I walked dry-shod, yet which has been exploited as the course of the Mississippi. Elk lake has several feeders, among them three called Elk, Siegfried, and Gaygwedosag—the latter named for Nicollet's guide of 1836, whom Nicollet called Kegwedzissag. All the features thus far noted are in the greater ultimate reservoir bowl, in relation with the west arm of Lake Itasca. Turning to the lesser part of the bowl, whose waters drain into the east arm, we find a chain of small lakes, whose names from south to north are Josephine, Ako, Danger, Twin, and Mary—the last of which was named in 1883 by Peter Turnbull, for his wife, who was the first white woman, and had the first white child, at Lake Itasca. Mary lake has continuous surface flow by Mary creek into the head of the east arm.

Such, in brief, are the main features of the Mississippian waters which drain from the south into Lake Itasca; but I suppose there are a hundred little lakes or pools in the bowl which seep through the bibulous soil; in fact, this flowing bowl is full of lees. The large lake which forms its strongest feature is of a three-pronged or triradiate figure—mostly arms, with little body, like a star-fish. It is said that the early name refers to the head and antlers of the elk, respectively represented by the three projections. There is not very much difference in size and shape between them, though each has its particular form. Where the three prongs come together as the main body of the lake is the small but picturesque Schoolcraft island, where the party of 1832 camped July 13th, as Nicollet did in August, 1836; it is decidedly the most eligible spot for the purpose before making one's periplus of the lake. The island is in section 11, township 143, range 35; its absolute position has been dead-reckoned by Mr. A. J. Hill to be lat. $47^{\circ} 13' 10''$ N., long. $95^{\circ} 12'$ W. Mr. Brower has this summer (1894) set up a very stanch oaken commemoration post, which bears a suitable legend and looks as if it might stand for a century. The island was named by Lieut. James Allen (Rep., p. 332). Near it is a shallow place called Rocky Shoal. The lake is $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles in greatest length from the end of the north to that of the east arm; the ends of the east and west arms are $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles apart. The west arm is marked off by Ozawindib point; the east arm by Bear point; and Turnbull point projects into the latter arm about opposite the place where Nicollet struck the lake in portaging over from Lake Assawa. The

best view of the lake is to be had from Rhodes Hill, near the base of the east arm. Itasca has several feeders besides Mary creek, Chambers creek, and the Infant Mississippi; four of these are Island creek, from the west, opposite Schoolcraft island; Floating Bog creek, falling in by Bear point; Boutwell creek, on the west side of the west arm; and Shaw-inukumag creek, a little rill close by the mouth of the Infant. There is one point about the lake I wish to signalize by the name of Point Hill, after my esteemed friend, Mr. Alfred J. Hill of St. Paul. When you come to the north end of the north arm, at the usual landing or embarking place there, where McMullen's house stands, your view of Schoolcraft island, as you look southward up the north arm, is intercepted by a promontory from the west side, near the center of section 2, township 143, range 36; this is Point Hill.

The altitude of Lake Itasca is given by Brower as 1,457 feet; its distance from the Gulf of Mexico, by the channel of the Mississippi, is probably about 2,550 miles—by no means those “3,184” miles which the Rand-McNally map exploits. The general situation is: 150 miles west of Lake Superior; 125 miles south from the north border of Minnesota; 75 miles east from the west and 252 miles north from the south border of the same. The lake is reached from St. Paul by 240 miles overland; take the G. N. R. R. to Park Rapids, and go thence in one day by wagon. The distance from St. Paul by the Mississippi is said to be 560 miles; it is ineligible as a route, because of obstructions to navigation, especially by logging-booms. A much easier way than I selected for my own excursion is, as just said, to the lake by rail and wagon, thence down the Mississippi by canoe or skiff to Deer river or Grand Rapids, where you strike the railroad to Duluth, or even down to Brainerd, where the N. P. R. R. crosses.

The names most prominently associated with discovery and exploration in the Itasca basin are: William Morrison, 1804; Henry R. Schoolcraft and James Allen, 1832; Jean R. Nicollet, 1836; Julius Chambers, 1872; James H. Baker and Edwin S. Hall, 1875; Hopewell Clarke, 1886; and J. V. Brower, 1889-94.

EACH GENERATION, as it takes its place in the long succession, owes a debt to the past and to the future. The obligation is most sacred to collect every shred of testimony throwing light upon the history of the past and of the present, and to transmit the record to the ages that come after. Only thus can the evidence be accumulated upon which a final judgment can be safely pronounced. Whilst contemporaneous testimony may be tinged with prejudice and passion, historic criticism will censure it only as the iron in the marble which sometimes discolors its polished surface.—Address of Rev. Dr. B. M. Palmer, of New Orleans, before Louisiana Historical Society.

GENERAL SAMUEL A. RICE AT JENKINS' FERRY.

BY JOHN F. LACEY.

Brigadier General Samuel Allen Rice was the only general officer from the State of Iowa who died of wounds received in battle. He fell at the age of thirty-six, in the beginning of a career already great. He was a self-made man, as the term is generally understood. By his own efforts he acquired a collegiate education and prepared himself for that success in life which in America so often rewards men of his class. He was in his youth a steam-boat pilot on the Ohio and Mississippi, and his earnings in this employment were expended in obtaining a classical and mathematical education at Union College. It is hard to tell how much of his rapid success in military life was afterwards due to the vigils and training of the pilot. It takes a memory of exceptional cultivation and strength to follow the currents and shallows of the mighty streams which he learned to navigate. At that time no government lights by night, or land marks by day, aided the pilot. The frequent changes of the channel kept him ever alert.

The training of sight, hearing, and memory which fitted General Rice for a skillful and successful pilot was supplemented with a full collegiate course, and upon graduation he came to Iowa to follow his profession. His rise was rapid, and his reputation soon became as wide as his state, and he was elected to the responsible position of Attorney General at the early age of twenty-eight.

With his wife and little children around him he hesitated at the beginning of the war to follow his inclinations and sense of duty into the field; but in the great enlistments of 1862 he was chosen by Governor Kirkwood as



Colonel of the 33rd Iowa, one of the newly organized regiments.

It is not my purpose to write the life of General Rice, nor a history of the battle of Jenkins' Ferry, but to give a sketch of the man and of the occasion that, at the same time, ended his career and crowned it with glory. No soldier in the Union Army in only two years time accomplished more or won greater distinction. Commissioned in July, 1862, he was followed to the grave in July, 1864. Those were two years when history traveled with electric speed. When he was appointed Colonel of a regiment of new recruits he had never looked into a book of tactics. With an old Springfield rifle in his office he learned the manual of arms and the facings, practicing with a good drill-master until he could handle his gun with the skill of an old regular army sergeant. The book of tactics was ever in his pocket, and the drill of the company, the regiment, and finally the brigade and division, became as familiar to him as if he had commenced life as a cadet at West Point. It did not take him long to learn. Constant vigilance and study, the never failing attention to the material needs of his men, his strict discipline, invariable courtesy and kindness to all, and when the opportunity came, his cool heroism in battle, won him the respect of every man in his regiment, brigade and division, and finally the admiration of the whole army with which he served.

At Helena his first experience in defending an intrenched fortress against the gallant and desperate assault of Generals Holmes and Price won for him the stars of a Brigadier General.

His subsequent experience in campaigns in the field prepared him for the last trying hours that I have chosen to describe in this sketch.

Steele's army left Little Rock March 23, and was at Camden April 25, 1864. His attempted cooperation with

Banks had failed, for Pleasant Hill had been fought and lost before Steele could form a junction with the Red River Army. A return to Little Rock became imperative, but it was delayed at Camden at request of Banks, who believed that he was threatened with Kirby Smith's whole army following in his rear. In fact Smith's victorious infantry, fresh from his successes on the Red River, were hurrying in hot haste to crush Steele before the Army of Arkansas could regain the line of the Arkansas river at Little Rock.

The defeat of one brigade of Steele's army at Poison Springs, and the capture of General Drake's brigade and supply train at Mark's Mills, rendered retreat imperative, and on the night of April 26th after tattoo and as taps were sounded, the pickets were drawn in and the army crossed the Ouachita, the enemy being unaware of the movement until daylight next morning. A pontoon bridge built of boat gunnels and timbers was hastily built constructed by the Confederates, and Smith's army commenced the pursuit with Steele twelve hours in the lead. On the afternoon of the 29th the rebel cavalry under Marmaduke attacked the rear of the retreating army. Steele had made a shrewd movement to the right so as to cross the Saline at Jenkins' Ferry, thus placing that river behind him one day earlier than he could hope to do if he took the direct road to Little Rock by way of Benton. He apprehended what proved to be the fact, that a force of rebel cavalry was waiting for him on the Benton road. This move upon the chess board of war saved his army, and gave him the bloody morass of the Saline bottom in which to turn at bay. Had he gone forward on the Benton road he would have met Fagan's cavalry who would have held him in the open country until Kirby Smith closed up upon the rear. No one in Steele's army knew that the pursuers were anything but the Marmaduke and Shelby cavalry, which had already been hanging on front, flank and rear

since the first of April, and when the night of April 29th came down in rain and gloom, the army was in the act of crossing wagons, artillery and cavalry as rapidly as possible over the pontoon bridge to the hill on the eastern side.

Had the rain-storm delayed a few hours the river would have been crossed and the Union Army would have been in a place of safety.

An attack in the rear by a formidable division of cavalry was expected in the morning, but no one of the Federal Army knew that all the way from Princeton to our picket-lines the troops of Kirby Smith were marching through the darkness in overwhelming force. At midnight Churchill left Princeton, following the muddy trail that Steele had passed over the evening before. Parsons was six miles north of Princeton, and started with his division, on the same road. Walker's division, with Scurry's, Randall's and Waul's brigades, broke camp at 2:20 A. M., and marched in the same direction. Marmaduke's cavalry had harrassed the Federal rear the afternoon of the 29th and were ready to renew the contest at daybreak. Not suspecting this gathering storm of Confederate Infantry, Steele expected a battle next morning with the enemy's cavalry which he thought would attack the rear of his column in force, as it was crossing the river. It was a fearful night. Lightning flashed, thunder rolled and rumbled, rain poured down in torrents and the river bottom speedily became a sea of mud, rendering the passage of the wagons, artillery and cavalry extremely slow.

It was impossible to pass the river with the whole army in the night, and the rebels were known to be already face to face with our rear guard upon the hills overlooking the river bottom. Steele was an old soldier who had gone direct from West Point to Mexico and had spent his life in arms. He was a classmate of Grant and Sherman, and had won their confidence at Vicksburg. He

knew Rice's brief experience, but had seen him tried so often that he relied upon him as implicitly as if the volunteer General had been bred like Hannibal, in camp and field. With Rice at the point of danger Steele felt secure.

In the little log cabin of the widow Jenkins the commanding General and his staff stood at 2 o'clock in the morning, seeking shelter from the pelting rain. The dim light of a single tallow candle only deepened the effect of the gloom without. The troops stood or sat in the woods, protecting themselves as best they could with their ponchos. General Rice was sent for to go to headquarters. Steele said to him, "General, we are sure to have an attack upon our rear in the morning, and I look to you to hold the enemy in check with your brigade until the remainder of the army can cross the pontoon bridge." This Rice promised to do, and his preparations were speedily made.

But, while waiting in that little cabin, standing upon its muddy puncheon floor, discussing the issues of the next morning, neither Rice nor Steele for a moment realized the magnitude of the storm that was gathering along the Princeton road ready to burst upon them with the break of day. Thus it is with battles. Not often do the opposing commanders know fully the position or strength of their foes. But in this campaign the Confederate operations had been so completely shrouded and covered by the movements of their large force of cavalry, and communication with Banks was so completely cut off, that no one could have guessed that Kirby Smith had abandoned the Red River, leaving only a small force of cavalry to follow Banks on his retreat. In fact the Confederate General had planned and rapidly executed one of those brilliant movements upon short inside lines which so often resulted in great successes in the campaigns in Virginia. It was well devised and skillfully executed, and had the retreating army been brought to bay in the open country at a place where superior num-

bers could have been made available it would have resulted in assured success. There was one spot between Camden and Little Rock where the Union Army could best resist the largely superior forces of the foe, and that was at the crossing of the Saline. There was one part of the valley within our lines where the defense of the next morning could be best made. Rice promptly chose that particular place. There he saved the army, and there he lost his life.

The retreat had been a severe one. Coffee happened to be plenty, but food was scarce, and parched corn and coffee were the only diet of the men. Blankets and extra clothing were torn to shreds and dropped by the wayside as the army lightened its burdens for its long and hungry journey.

The enemy were following, and they, too, were stripped for the race and followed upon light diet. They were elated with success, but many of them had met the same troops before at Helena and in the campaigns in Arkansas, and they knew their foe. The night march from Princeton and then the descent into the dark valley, where in the rain and gloom the Union army were waiting for the attack, excited the liveliest emotions on the part of the Confederates, who knew that death had an appointment there for many of them. To overtake Steele in the open country was the wish of his enemies, for there the maneuvers of a superior force would be of great advantage. All night long the struggle to get the train, artillery and cavalry across the turbid river continued, and all night long the march of the pursuers was kept up; and when day broke the men who were about to attack and those who were to defend were alike wet, hungry, gloomy, sullen and desperate. Such a night robbed life of its charms and death of its terrors.

General Rice selected the place to make his stand behind an open field in which the timber had been deadened.

Coxe's Creek was on his right flank, a swamp rapidly growing deeper on the left, and he knew that his brigade could do much in such a position against a superior force. And thus it happened that, though only commanding a brigade of Salomon's division, Rice had practically given to him the immediate management of the forces in the battle on the Union side. Having formed his line with the 29th Iowa, 9th Wisconsin and 50th Indiana, he brought back the 33rd Iowa from the hill where they had stood guard through the night, and with his brigade in line he was ready to make the defence that he had promised. He did not have long to wait.

The battle began with suprising suddenness and desperation. Marmaduke opened the ball, not as cavalry usually do, but with that confidence and assurance which distinguishes that arm of the service when strengthened and supported by masses of infantry. As the battle raged, re-enforcements were sent from the direction of the river to report to Rice, and he placed the new troops in line as they came.

The left flank was partially turned by the enemy and re-enforcements coming forward, the gap was filled up to the swamp on the left: a few of the enemy were taken prisoners, who disclosed for the first time the fact that General Kirby Smith's whole trans-Mississippi Confederate army was engaged. Not only were the formidable cavalry of Marmaduke in the fray, but Price, Walker, Parsons, and Churchill were there with their infantry against the Union forces. Every soldier under Rice knew that if the two blue lines that reached from the creek to the swamp should waver or break, defeat with captivity or death would follow. It was a vital moment.

There were many turning points in the wavering lines of success and failure, of advance and retreat, from the Potomac to the Red River, which attended the progress of the war. Pleasant Hill marked the turn of the invading tide

of the Union army in Texas, but the returning flow of rebellion again ebbed from the bloody repulse of Jenkins' Ferry; and out of that now silent valley the form of Rice still rises in our minds after thirty years as the chief figure of one of the turning points in history.

Never was an army in greater peril. Never was an army saved by more heroic endurance and resolute bravery. On the bloody field of Essling, with the swollen Danube at their backs, Napoleon's soldiers stood waiting for night, and no command was heard but the oft-repeated "close up," as shot after shot made a gap in the ranks. So the line of the Army of Arkansas remained on that fearful day by the dark Saline river. It was an obstinate contest. Ankle deep in mud the combatants stood for six hours, shooting each other down in their tracks, and filling the morass with the dead and dying.

The roll of honor is a long one, and I feel tempted here to turn aside and recount the many deeds of valor performed on that memorable field. But I must refrain, for it is with Rice, the chief spirit of the scene, that we are dealing. He dominated the battle; around him it raged; he was the central figure; his inspiring example and unflinching bravery set the example that the whole army was in a mood to follow. Rice seemed to love the heat of battle. Danger stimulated him. He never lost his head. Mounted on his roan horse that day, he moved along the lines carrying confidence wherever he appeared. His coolness and personal presence cheered his men at all points of the line.

I will not in this article attempt to enumerate the individual deeds of bravery of others. The length of the space to be occupied forbids, and to select a few might seem to detract from others who were equally deserving; but the living and the dead may yield alike to the gallant Rice as the master spirit of the field. Every one of his

comrades in honest pride may say: "I fought with Rice at Jenkins' Ferry."

The repeated assaults of the enemy were brave and impetuous. They did honor to their blood and lineage in the gallantry of their deeds in their mistaken cause. The pall of smoke, mingled with the drizzling rain, the dark forest and the gloomy swamp, the constant roar of musketry, the repeated assaults of fresh troops, as one division followed another in the attack, the position of the men, many of them knee-deep in mud, with a rapidly rising river in their rear, all combined to make the Union troops realize their desperate situation; and every man seemed to feel that our line could not be broken without ruin to all, and that not a gap must be made in it except by death. When they learned that Kirby Smith's army was in the field, Steele and Salomon supported Rice with all the troops that could be sent to the front, for the rear of the army had become its front. Cavalrymen brought forward boxes of cartridges from the wagons and distributed them along the line, and fresh ammunition was the most effective reinforcement that could have been sent.

Marmaduke and his division made the first attack, followed by Churchill and Parsons' divisions in succession. Each attack had been successively repulsed. After steady and fierce fighting the battle slackened and Parsons' troops withdrew. Only desultory firing followed for a few minutes, and an order came from Steele, through Salomon, to fall back towards the river. Rice, with his quick intuition, and being at the very front, realized the danger of attempting then to obey this premature order. The time to retire had not arrived. The only safety lay in holding the line of defense. He said to his staff: "I am ordered to fall back; such a movement at this time would be disastrous, and as I am here on the ground and understand the situation, and there is nothing in the order as to how I shall retreat, I will first advance my whole line and at-



John T. Lacey
A. A. Guil...

tack the enemy, driving him back. before executing the order to retire. This is the only safe way to carry out the order. If we drive them a little way, they will let us fall back unmolested." He gave orders to have the regiments in front exchange places with the rear line, as the ammunition of the front line was nearly exhausted, and the line in the rear had just refilled their boxes. This movement was executed, and as he was about to give the order to advance, Walker, with his Texas division, came thundering down upon him, like a hurricane, and the battle was renewed with the greatest fury along the whole line. In the early part of this last attack a minie ball struck General Rice in the right foot, shattering it and driving his spur buckle into the body of the foot. The writer of this article assisted the wounded General from the field. In the dense smoke and noise of this last assault the wounding of Rice was known to but few of his men. Colonel Salomon, of the 9th Wisconsin, took his place, the attack was continued, the defense was stubbornly maintained until Walker was repulsed and the battle was ended. Then the order to cross the river was again renewed, and the bloody, but barren field was left to be taken into possession by the Confederates.

The struggle for life resulted in all the advantages of a victory to the Union cause. The Federal army pursued its way unopposed to the defenses of Little Rock; the crippled and exhausted army of Kirby Smith returned, broken and dispirited, to its former lines. General Rice was carried to his home in Iowa where his great heart soon ceased to beat, and in his own loved state he sleeps beneath a marble shaft "erected to his honor by the soldiers of Rice's brigade."

In the early part of the fight Gov. Crawford, with his 2d Kansas colored regiment, came forward and reported to Rice. The 29th Iowa was nearly out of ammunition and

Rice desired to relieve them with the 2d Kansas. The hail of bullets was severe, and General Rice had never seen a black regiment under fire. "Do you think your men will stand so hot a fire?" said Rice. Colonel Crawford said: "Try them, they will stand where any men will," and they passed through the lines of the 29th Iowa and were soon loading and firing with great effect. Very soon two guns of Ruffner's Confederate Missouri Battery were brought up in front of the colored regiment and commenced firing. An immediate charge was made by the 2d Kansas and 29th Iowa, and in a few minutes the guns were brought back in triumph. The whitened bones of eighteen horses still mark the spot where this splendid charge was made.

As an illustration of the high regard in which General Rice was held by every member of his command, I will relate an incident connected with the last battle. Our mules were exhausted and starved, and many of our wagons were burned to keep them from falling into the hands of the enemy, and amongst them was the one carrying the books and the baggage of the brigade headquarters. The writer had a valise in the wagon containing clothing and other articles which he supposed was burned with the rest. A few days after our return to Little Rock an ambulance driver of the 50th Indiana met me in the street and said he had brought my valise to the city, and asked where he should leave it. Said he: "I saw it lying in the mud near the burning headquarters wagon; it was marked with your name, and I knew that it belonged to one of Gen. Rice's staff. I thought if I could do anything for General Rice, or for any man connected with him, that it was a pleasure and a duty to do so." General Rice's pale face lit up with a smile when he was told of the courtesy that I had thus received by reason of the honor of service by his side. "God bless the whole brigade," he said.

One of General Rice's rules on the march was to halt his brigade just as they were approaching camp, close up the ranks and have his musicians strike up some lively air, and come into camp to the step, and in close marching order. This gave an individuality to the brigade which attracted the attention of the whole army. They never came in straggling. The day of the battle of Terre Noir, where Rice had fought all day defending the wagon train from the attacks of General Jo. Shelby, his brigade did not get into camp until long after dark. They were weary and hungry, but they closed up, the music started up as if there had been but an ordinary day's march, and as the brigade filed into camp the cheers of the whole army greeted them and their leader.

A small circumstance often produces great consequences. General Rice was accustomed to wear his spur with the buckle on the side of the foot next to the flank of his horse. The day before the battle this trivial matter attracted his attention, as he noticed his staff officers wore their buckles fastened on the other side of the foot. He spoke of it and said he believed he had worn his spurs wrong, and sat down on a log and changed them. Next day the fatal bullet struck the brass buckle and carried it into the middle of his foot, where it remained undiscovered for a week, contributing to, if it did not cause, the blood poison which ensued and from which he died.

Twenty-two years after the battle a party of General Rice's comrades revisited the scene of his glory, and cut a letter "R" upon a large tree at the place where he received his fatal wound. A monument ought to be erected there to Rice and the gallant men who fell with him defending the country's flag. The remains of those who fell had been dug up and transferred to the National Cemetery at Little Rock, where their graves are marked "Unknown,"

and over their resting place flies the Nation's flag from sunrise to sunset.

General Rice was made a Major-General by brevet after his death, in recognition of his services in the Camden campaign.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH IOWA VOLUNTEERS. FROM WINCHESTER TO DAVENPORT.

BY CHAS. L. LONGLEY.

(Concluding article.)

The paper published in the October ANNALS left the Twenty-fourth Iowa at Winchester, West Virginia, under orders to take the cars in the early morning of January 6th, 1865, for some unknown destination. But before actual departure from that locality it is desired to correct the statement that Camp Russell was named for the gallant officer "killed in the final charge at Cedar Creek." General Russell fell at the battle of Winchester, September 17th, 1864, while General Lowell gave his life in the final struggle at Cedar Creek. The familiar association of the two names is doubtless responsible for the inadvertence.

After over two years in active service the men of the Twenty-fourth now considered themselves veteran soldiers: nevertheless a wholly unexpected order to move, in the dead of winter, from comfortable quarters only just completed was not received with complete resignation. It is true the order was promptly obeyed, but obedience was accompanied by certain observations, commonly known as "kicking," which were lurid enough to modify the weather. Perhaps they did so. At all events it rained, and the snow



Leander Clark

on the ground was turned into slush as the regiment "fell in" before broad daylight and looked its last on the "shanties" and "shebangs," now minus their "dog-tent" roofs, which were fondly expected to have been a cozy abiding place for the remainder of the winter. There was a march of some three miles to the terminus of the recently reconstructed railway, and here was found an opportunity almost inevitable when troops were called out early in a rainstorm—namely, to stand around in the wet and wait for the next number on the programme. What with the snow and mud under foot, the chilly wind and the absence of any shelter whatever, it was doubly disagreeable in this instance, and it lasted until 3 o'clock P. M. At this hour, soaking wet as they were, the men were loaded on flat and box cars—all without fire, of course, and the latter occupied on the roofs as well as inside, for an all-night ride. Saying nothing of the discomfort endured, nor even of the rheumatism and other lasting ills contracted, it is quite probable that as many men were actually killed by this trip as in the battles of Winchester and Cedar Creek combined. Such incidents as this were very common in the army. Perhaps too common to deserve detail. But they were costly, if human life and health are held valuable; and no one but those who experienced them will appreciate the actual suffering caused thereby.

At Baltimore, next day, quartered in a stable which had just been vacated by its lucky four-footed tenants, as it only amounted to a roof, the final destination of the regiment was as great a riddle as ever. On the 8th the sun shone, and with warmth came good cheer. And on the 13th, when the command marched across the city to the wharf, it was with colors flying, drums beating and a degree of style that made every man quite willing to be asked. "What regiment is that?" Here, again, was a wait of seven hours, though not an unpleasant one, and at 9. P. M., embarkation took place upon the sea going steamer

Suwonada. She was a huge freighter, built, we were told, for the China tea trade, and took on board some twelve hundred men, including brigade headquarters. A start was made just before daylight, but it was only after the stop at Fortress Monroe next day, after the open sea had been reached and the pilot discharged, that the sealed orders were opened to learn that we were bound for Savannah, Ga., where "Uncle Billy" Sherman was then resting and refitting his army of champion walkers.

The voyage was in no way an unusual one, and was completed with the proper allowance of seasickness, on January 18th, when we anchored in Warsaw sound and waited for a pilot up the comparatively shallow and devious Savannah river, which was specially difficult to navigate from the attempts of the rebels to blockade it by sinking hulls in the channel. Hence the wharf of the city was not reached for disembarkation until the afternoon of the 21st, the 20th having been spent transferring into "lighters." Sherman's army was already moving out, the rear division marching early the next morning, leaving his "Christmas gift" to President Lincoln in the hands of the newly arrived division of the 19th Army Corps to which the Twenty-fourth Iowa belonged, with General C. Grover in command.

The city of Savannah was and is an old and interesting one. Founded by General James Oglethorpe in 1733, it contained at this time about 20,000 people, including many refugee negroes and the wives and families of not a few distinguished Confederate officers, such as Generals G. W. Smith, A. P. Stewart, and others. It was considered a perfectly safe refuge up to the time that General Sherman demonstrated the similarity of the Confederacy to an egg shell by breaking through it with the greatest ease. Situated on a plateau along the river, fifty feet above the level of the sea, it was rendered especially attractive by its parks and wide streets, beautifully shaded by magnifi-

cent live oaks—than which no handsomer trees are known. In one of the smaller parks stood a notable statue of General Count Pulaski, who was mortally wounded in the attack on the city, then held by the British, October 9, 1779. The corner stone of this monument was laid by LaFayette in 1825.

But space does not permit dwelling upon the winter attractions of this far Southern city, nor upon the humdrum life in camp there, for the few weeks that it served as a base for General Sherman's march to the east and northward, which was greatly retarded by high water and mud. The most notable incident of this period occurred January 27, when soldiers and civilians were alike awakened by what seemed to be a rattling skirmish fire, pretty close at hand. Commissary Sergeant T. L. Smith (whose posthumous manuscript furnished the earlier of these papers) and the present writer were sleeping in a house used as an office and situated pretty well down town. Dressing hastily in the dark, the street was stealthily gained only to hear a projectile or fragment of shell hurtle along over head and bury itself in the ground further up. Thus confirmed in the belief that fighting was in progress somewhere, an exceedingly cautious advance was made down the dark side of the street in the attempt to find where and what. But the silent streets soon began to be populated, mostly with darkeys "toting" beds and bedding and other incongruous loads of household gear, who replied to anxious questions by declaring that the city was "done burnin' up." But as it seemed to be "blowin' up" also, anxiety continued to reign until the situation was fully explained by learning that an immense warehouse filled with fixed ammunition for the Confederate Navy, had been fired by some incendiary; and as they gradually heated up, the huge shells exploded, singly and by tens and by fifties, spreading destruction far and near. The scene at the fire was a strange one.

One poor, little, old-fashioned hand engine, named "Pulaski No. 2," was the only fire apparatus in working order in the city. This was manned wholly by negroes, who stood right to their work, although one of their number was killed by a flying fragment of shell at the brakes, and, under the leadership of the foreman, a bronze Hercules who stood on her deck with one foot on the brake-arm and shouted the refrain, cadenced an iterative song which gave time for every stroke. To see these men, under the lurid glare of the burning city, thus risking their lives to save the property of their late oppressors, made an impression not easily effaced. Nearly all the troops were called out, their first duty being to move a vast store of small-arm cartridges from a building near the fire, and next to preserve order and prevent the spread of the flames so far as possible without serious exposure. About six blocks were eventually burned over, and a number of lives lost, nearly if not quite all of whom were negroes.

The further stay of the regiment in Savannah was uneventful, and nothing but the prospect of the inevitable sea-sickness prevented general satisfaction when, on March 4, it embarked on the steamer "Delaware" for other "parts unknown." She touched at Hilton Head, stopped at Paris Island to coal, and on the 7th. touched at Wilmington—that great blockade-running port having just been surrendered as a result of Sherman's demonstrations in her rear. Contrary to expectation, we did not go ashore, but again, next day, took to open water to put in a night that no one present is likely to forget, provided he was not too sick to appreciate the situation. The ship was a small coaster, built with an "overhang," like a river ferry boat; and, encountering a heavy sea off Cape Fear, she so nearly foundered that her officers and crew at one time wholly despaired. On the lower deck, where were most of the men, water poured in in torrents; and as it

went swashing from one side to the other the alarm became general. It was, moreover so genuine and so serious, that, contrary to usage, the participants failed to chaff each other much about it afterward—the extempore prayer meeting being alluded to somewhat reverently, and even the man who crawled up and embraced the anchor for safety being leniently treated. But it was a bad night. A serious leak was sprung and the pumps kept constantly going, so that the shelter of the inlet reached next day was warmly welcomed.

The point of disembarkation proved to be Morehead City, a city in nothing save the name, but situated about the center of the North Carolina coast, with a sheltered roadstead and the terminus of the Atlantic & N. C. railway, which intersects the through line from Wilmington to Richmond at Goldsboro, something over a hundred miles inland. General Sherman's Chief Quartermaster and Commissary were already here; and ships which filled the harbor were not only loaded with supplies, but also with everything necessary to re-equip the railway, including locomotives. And it was to the work of putting this road in order, unloading the ships and getting the supplies for an army of eighty thousand men ready to go promptly forward that the energies of all present were bent, both day and night for a part of the time.

A month of very hard work was done at Morehead City, but there was delight for our prairie-bred boys in the ocean and what its convenient beaches would disclose—always including the oysters, which were plentiful here, if not of the finest quality. And it was here, on April 6th, that there came the glorious news of the fall of Richmond, soon followed by that of Lee's surrender—which latter event was celebrated both formally and informally to the extent of the individual and collective ability of the entire regiment. And it is still something of an open question whether the more successful celebration tran-

spired in Col. Wright's tent, or out in the company quarters. There were plenty of men and material in both places.

The command went by rail to Goldsboro, reaching there April 10th, just as Sherman's army was marching out—many old friends in other Iowa regiments being greeted by the men of the Twenty-fourth. Our stay here was but little over two weeks, but it was signalized and forever saddened by the news of Lincoln's assassination. This was peculiarly an era of strange news, stranger rumors and suppressed excitement. Homeward bound stragglers from Lee's army, and deserters from Johnson's, were every day coming into our lines. It was evident that the war was over, and men went about with a stone on their heads—or at least a brick in their hats, in their vain effort to keep their elated feet steadily upon the ground.

On April 30th, a beautiful Sabbath, all regimental colors were dressed in mourning (which still appears on some of the Iowa flags stored in our State Capitol) and the several regiments formed at 9 a. m. to listen to the reading of Stanton's order relative to the death of the President. A national salute was fired, and divine service held afternoon and evening.

Upon going to Goldsboro the regiment had not received pay for fully six months, and in consequence money, as well as anything dependent upon the possession of money, was at the lowest possible ebb. A chew of tobacco looked to those who used it as large as a meeting house, and much more precious; while laundered garments, even among the officers, were an unknown luxury. It was at this time that the regiment was called upon to furnish an escort for Gen. Sherman, who was making a flying trip to Wilmington, as now remembered. Company B. was detailed for the duty and its commanding officer, upon the authority of Col. Wright, borrowed from Dr. Lyon the only paper collar in the command, and by

carefully splitting it in two, was able to make his toilet both going and returning.

Upon the first day of May the Regiment returned to Morehead City by rail, and on the fourth again took ship, disembarking, after three more days of sea-sickness, at the familiar wharves of Savannah. Upon the 11th inst., the 24th in company with the 22nd and 28th Iowa and four other regiments, started to march to Augusta, 135 miles distant by the roads travelled. And as these roads were mostly deep with sand, leading through a dense pine forest, the weather very warm and the march continually crowded, it was one of the most trying ones made during the service. Seventeen miles was the shortest distance made in a full day's march, and one of them covered twenty-eight miles—a trial of endurance and patience very difficult for men to understand who had supposed the war was over and that their next move would be toward home, instead of the opposite direction. Reaching Augusta on the 19th, the regiment marched through the city in column by companies, as the diary referred to says, “with great display and much distress from heat, to edify a crowd of rebels and niggers.” It then crossed the Savannah river into South Carolina and camped in the hamlet of Hamburg—then as now a community almost exclusively composed of colored people, and since known to history as the scene of the first “negro massacre” of the reconstruction era. The residence of “Judge” Butler, believed to have been an uncle of him afterward known to fame as “Hamburg Butler,” was near by on the river bluff, and a guard was promptly stationed there to preserve the old man's garden and hen-roost from depredation—the war being considered over in this respect at least. This guard, (of whom John Coutts, now resident in Sioux county, was one) were royally fed and cared for, and in return did their duty so far as the Confederate fowls were concerned. But this did not prevent the first one who came to camp from

reporting that the old Judge possessed a large kennel of fine bloodhounds, which the darkies reported to have been frequently used to catch fugitive Union soldiers, escaping from prison, as well as fugitive negroes. The sequel came about ten o'clock the same night, when the sounds of a smart though somewhat scattering rifle volley, mixed with canine execrations, came floating down over the camp. Their purpose was not known outside the self-appointed party of executioners, but they did their work quickly and completely—insomuch that when the old Judge came to camp next morning looking for mourners to attend his dog funeral, he was totally unable to identify, or otherwise to find, a single man who looked as if he had ever visited him before or could be induced to do so again.

The stay of the regiment at Hamburg lasted until the 31st of May, during which time, strange as it seemed then and will still appear, we had company and battalion drill almost daily and dress parade every evening. Companies F and I, in the meantime, made a trip to Greensboro, eighty miles distant, where some disturbances were reported. On the date last given, the 24th and 28th Iowa Regiments moved through the city of Augusta—again showing the paroled Confederates who lined the streets what we could do in the line of style—and marched out to the old United States Arsenal some three and a half miles above the city on the high ground along the river, where there were quite comfortable quarters for both officers and men. This arsenal was of course taken possession of by the rebels at the beginning of the war, and that double-dyed traitor, Floyd, as Secretary of War, had seen to it that it was fully stocked as possible with ordnance and munitions of all kinds. During the war this was one of the very few places where the Confederacy attempted the manufacture of its own supplies—adding two or three large, long buildings for shop and factory purposes to

those already there. Augusta was also one of the few places in all the South to attempt cotton manufactures before the war—the chief product of the crude mills being at that time a coarse, heavy muslin used for the slaves and known as ‘nigger cloth.’ This was, during the war, made still heavier, and in the form of webbing and otherwise substituted for leather in many articles for the martial gear of both horses and men. Shell fuses were also made here, and signal rockets. And one of the evening diversions of the Iowa boys was impromptu fireworks—several hundred men shooting the fuses from their muskets through the air in all directions, and punctuating their fire-fly gleam with an occasional sunburst from a great signal rocket. The effect was fine, but it was suddenly and sadly abandoned when a misdirected rocket plunged across the parade ground and into the breast of one poor boy (from the 28th as now remembered) whose dreams of home were quenched by sudden and violent death. Another product of Confederate ingenuity was a home-made cavalry sabre; but although a large room full of them were in store, none appear to have been issued—at least no one ever saw one in use. The blade was clumsy and poorly tempered and the scabbard made of butternut wood.

This was an exceedingly attractive place, especially in this beautiful month of June; and relieved from war's dread alarms the three week's sojourn there would have been thoroughly enjoyable, save for the anxiety which possessed every one to be moving toward Iowa. Many incidents of this time recur to mind, one of which must have at least brief mention: The long delayed pay was still delayed, and officers and men were alike impecunious. Under these circumstances, and only a few days before our departure, two officers of the regiment, R. S. Williams of K and W. T. Rigby of B, went to an ex-Confederate officer in the city who, although just returned from Lee's

army, was already embarked in the merchant tailoring business, and with whom they had before had barely a few casual words, and secured from him the loan of \$50 each in cash and credit for two suits of citizen's clothing upon their bare promise to reimburse him after being paid off in Iowa! The favor was promptly and willingly granted; and it is needless to add that the promised remittance went to Savannah from Davenport, eliciting a letter of acknowledgment from which the conclusion, including the name of the writer, should be quoted here if it were within reach.

At last, however, the order from the War Department, which had been following us from Goldsboro, N. C., overtook us, and General E. L. Mullineaux, commanding the Post of Augusta, issued General Orders No. 11, dated June 6, 1865, directing a rendezvous at Savannah, for the purpose of being mustered out, and concluding in these words:

"In thus bidding you good bye, on your approaching departure to your distant homes, let me express to you my thanks and appreciation of your soldierly behavior, and the hope that you and your families may long enjoy the peace you have so gloriously won."

The march back to Savannah, which was begun June 21, was a hot and trying one. Arriving there other weary weeks went by while muster-out rolls were being made and transportation secured. By these rolls the existence of the 24th Iowa is made to cease on July 17, 1865, all the discharges being signed as of that date. But this date should really have been August 2, to which time we were paid, martial organization and discipline having been meantime maintained as usual. The days now passed slowly. They were long days and hot days, and not even the noisy salute firing and the fervid oratory with which the visitors to Savannah regaled the citizens on July 4, had power to greatly interest. But the last day finally came, and on Wednesday, July 19, Companies B, E, G, and

K, under command of Major Leander Clark, boarded the steamer "Detroit," and on the following day the remaining Companies, commanded by Colonel Wright, embarked on the small propeller, "Virginia," both being bound for Baltimore. In scripture order, the latter were the first to arrive, and after dinner at the Soldiers' Home, at once took freight cars on the B. & O. R.R. for Pittsburg. Arriving there in the middle of the night, wholly unheralded, to our great surprise we were met by a committee of the citizens and escorted to the old city Hall, where, under the auspices of the local organization that fed in that very room 409,745 soldiers, we were given a splendid meal—the value of which was greatly enhanced by the kind words and bright smiles of the many ladies, who with their own hands administered the boundless hospitality of that city. Chicago was reached, supperless, at eleven the next night; but when it became a question between going after something to eat, or stealing a train then in waiting for the 22d Iowa and getting off at once, the supper was not considered a moment. But it did seem a little trying, upon arriving in Davenport about nine o'clock next forenoon, without breakfast, as a matter of course, to be drawn up the first thing to listen to speeches of welcome from two or three of the warm-hearted Iowans resident there. The occasion was somewhat inspiring! Here stood the survivors of the thousand men who in answer to their country's call had left their State three years before, now returned in triumph "with glory and scars," holding aloft the banner under which their comrades died and which had by them been borne with honor on many bloody fields! Little wonder the Davenport orators wished to "improve the opportunity." But never, methinks, was eloquence so sadly handicapped! Col. Wright made a response the brevity of which testified to his appreciation of the situation, and then away we went to Camp McClellan—only to find that not only was there no breakfast there, but no

rations. Then the Colonel made another speech, brief but emphatic, as he started for the city to stir some one up, in virtue of which we managed to break our long fast some-time in the afternoon. This was on Wednesday, July 26th. On the next day the other four companies, under Major Clark, arrived and the regiment was once more united. Relatives and friends of the members of the regiment were here in great numbers, and the time passed quickly, although the old habits still continued in quasi-military routine, until, on August 2nd, the paymaster discharged all the obligations of Uncle Samuel (so far as they were set down on the muster-out rolls). Then the end came, and the Twenty-fourth Regiment of Iowa Volunteers, for three years a vigorous entity, ceased to exist and its four hundred remaining members bade each other good bye and merged into the common, every day citizenship of Iowa, without a ripple.

KEOKUK'S FIRST VILLAGE IN IOWA.

BY HON. J. P. WALTON.

It is the generally accepted opinion that when Keokuk and Black Hawk separated in 1826, and Keokuk and a portion of the Sacs and Foxes moved to the west of the Mississippi river, he went to the Iowa river and built his village. I have never been able to find any one who could tell where this village was located.

At the present time many persons believe the city of Keokuk was the place. Neither of these opinions is correct.

About six miles southwest of Muscatine, along the Muscatine slough or the west side of Muscatine island,

there is a beautiful lake. It is about the only body of water within the county large enough to be called a lake. When I came to the county in 1838 this was known as "Keokuk Lake." I recently made an effort to find how the name came to be applied to it and in so doing I learned that it was the site of the habitation of the noted chief, Keokuk. His village was situated on the west bank of the lake. This village was probably vacated in 1834. In that year the Indians raised corn in this vicinity for the last time. There are parties yet living in this vicinity who saw the frame work of the buildings in this Indian village. A gentleman of my acquaintance who visited it a short time after Keokuk left it, says that it occupied nearly all the high bottom land west of the lake—at least forty or fifty acres. Wapello had his village on the Iowa river, near the present city of Wapello, in Louisa county.

DESTRUCTION OF IOWA LAKES.

A few years ago Owl Lake, in Humboldt county, was purchased, or otherwise legally acquired, by a private citizen, who proceeded to drain the water away and make dry land of its bed. In fact, the peaty bottom of the lake was soon so dry that it came very near being converted into a bed of ashes from an accidental fire. The fire was extinguished only by great effort and at considerable expense. Since then it has been noted for the large crops grown where fishes swam and water-fowl were abundant in the old days of thirty-five years ago.

Mud Lake, in Hamilton county has always been known as a beautiful sheet of water, abounding with water-fowl and fishes, with myriads of pond lilies growing along its

margins. Many beautiful natural groves adorned its banks. But during the past year it has also fallen a victim to private greed, and we understand that it has been made dry land. We hear it stated that it is to be converted into a "celery farm." When this matter first came under discussion a few months ago, Professor J. L. Budd of our Agricultural college gave expression to his estimate of this sort of work in the following indignant protest:

"The story comes that Hamilton county has sold the tract of land covered by Mud Lake—about 1,000 acres—for the small sum of \$4,000, and that the work of draining it will begin at once. All that we can say is that it is a burning shame. With an expenditure of \$1,000 the low points of bank, furnishing outlets in a wet time could have been raised by dredging, thus deepening the water from the inflow of springs, fully eight feet. This would have made one of the most beautiful lakes of northern Iowa, and by percolation would have added to the value of thousands of acres in that section, besides giving out much needed moisture to the air. Instead of draining lakes, thousands more should be made over all parts of the state where a clay bottom is found near the surface. The once fine body of water known as Goose lake has also been drained recently and dozens of smaller lakes which might easily have been made into things of beauty and aids in keeping up the needed soil and air conditions requisite for crop growing."

The Webster City Freeman of October 31, 1894, replied to the above and other protests as follows:

"There seems to be some misapprehension of the facts in relation to the disposition of certain so-called lakes in this county by the board of supervisors. The question of disposing of these lakes has been discussed at different times for the past dozen years or more. It is and always has been the opinion of the best lawyers that the county has no right or title in these meandered lakes, and that whatever it could get out of them was clear gain, and never, until they were contracted away, was there any special value attached to them. For years past they have been growing up to reeds and rushes and the volume of water in them has been constantly decreasing. The county has no authority to appropriate money for their drainage or improvement and there is no probability that private individuals would ever go to the expense of making these improvements unless they could reap some direct advantage thereby. It is quite certain that these lakes would, in time, become wholly dried up and then the question of ownership would probably be settled on some basis of riparian rights of

ownership. In fact the parties who are paying for quit claims from the county recognize this possibility and are making terms with abutting property owners upon this theory. In view of all these facts we cannot see wherein the supervisors have not done the proper thing in getting what they can for the county out of these lakes, and we believe the tax-payers generally will take this view of the case."

We copy these articles in order that they may be placed upon record; but we endorse the views so clearly expressed by Professor Budd. We look upon the destruction of these beautiful lakes as nothing short of gross, inexcusable vandalism. The \$4,000 received by Hamilton county is the merest pittance, even when cash values are taken into account. If the county could not improve her lakes just now, there can be little doubt that she could in the not very distant future. Surely, the legislature would grant the authority if it were asked. We have heard it estimated by a most intelligent gentleman that, with moderate improvement, Mud Lake—as it was—could be made to produce \$4,000 worth of fish every year. It could easily have been made a beautiful summer resort for hundreds of people who cannot go to the greater lakes. Sufficient water could be raised from a few wells along its margins partially, at least, to balance the evaporation constantly going on; and if the lake had ultimately gone dry, it might have remained for many years an object of surpassing beauty and of much actual profit to the public. With the water supply so gradually and constantly diminishing, it looks like criminal folly to destroy such a lake simply to enable a private citizen to "make money." Good land is still abundant enough in Iowa. Other communities in this state, and throughout the country, and all over the world for that matter, are devoting tens of thousands of dollars to the work of making lakes and ponds, while Humboldt and Hamilton counties, in Iowa, are selling them out for much less in comparison than a "mess of pottage." When a private citizen employs a brainy lawyer to devise means for the destruction of such a lake, the

county should be authorized to employ a brainier one to defeat him. It is certainly to be hoped that the next legislature may take some action looking to the preservation of our beautiful Iowa lakes.—*Daily Capital*, Des Moines, January 30th, 1895.

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS OF KEOKUK COUNTY.

BY J. D. HAWORTH.

Historians of states and countries, as well as of wars and peoples, seldom pick up the little events—the warp and woof of the lives of the men and women who make and mold the history that is read with so much eagerness in the years that follow. The little things are skipped, the common people are in a great degree overlooked, yet it is from and by these that others become great and of historical renown. Many things of small account at the time they transpire, of so little consequence that they are scarcely noticed, yet in after years their value becomes in many cases almost priceless, and large sums of money would be given for facts, stated by an eye-witness. Could we at this late day resurrect the thousand and one small facts that transpired during the days of the first settlement of the eastern States by our forefathers, what would we not give? Four hundred years and more have elapsed since this country was discovered, yet how short a time is that compared with the great space that has been drawn out since history first began. We have our histories of the early days of this country, yet how meager is that history—a mere outline! Nothing to tell us of the thousand small things that went to make up the lives, the joys or the sorrows of the people, who

paved the way for the present great empire that we enjoy. Not that what we may say in this article will be of consequence in shaping history, but we would, widow-like, throw in our mite, that others may be stimulated to do likewise; thus, on the whole, much may be preserved that is so rapidly passing away.

The east tier of townships of this—Keokuk county—was included in the first or Black Hawk purchase. Where we now write was within three miles of the western line of that purchase, and the writer was at that time an inhabitant thereof, though small, yet old enough to distinctly remember many things and incidents that occurred in that early day. The first settlement was made in 1839, yet a few of the early pioneers are remembered by the writer, most of whom have long since passed to the great beyond. William Bristow, who is still living on the farm that he took as a claim in the spring of 1839, though old and feeble, yet remembers well many of the events of that period. Henry Hardin, Aaron Miller, James M. Smith, Prior Woodward, William Searcy and a few others, whose names have slipped my memory, were of the 1839 period, but have long since passed away. These were men of energy and vigor, and not only able but willing to breast the wintry blasts of the early Iowa climate, that they might pave the way for what is now one of the foremost states of our Union, and make homes for themselves and their posterity. Then, is it not fitting that their names be kept sacred in history as in memory?

This township (Richland) was the first settled in the county, while the townships to the north of it were settled later. To the early settlers the reason was plain. There was plenty of timber along the Skunk (Chatauqua) as it was then called, as also along Richland (then called Thunder) creek, which attracted the attention of the early pioneers, and which was thought indispensable.

A township organization was early effected, with all

of the proper officers to execute the laws, then territorial, and of little force. For all judicial purposes the eastern tier of townships was attached to Washington county, which had just been organized. Statutory laws were enforced when they fitted a case, but when they did not satisfy justice, as viewed by these hardy pioneers, a more rigid code was enforced, to the dismay of evil doers. One of the most serious infractions of justice, to which statutory law did not reach, was "jumping claims"—that is, to move on and take possession of some earlier pioneer's rights. In this kind of violation of law, punishment was sure and severe. Club law was resorted to, and its decree was inexorable. It was as unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians. The punishment was, on conviction a coat of tar and feathers, with as many stripes as was adjudged proper by an improvised jury of his peers, selected from the adjacent neighborhood. These laws continued for several years after the first settlement, as will be remembered by those who lived on the frontier.

To give a clearer idea to our young people of how severe the penalty was for violating this code of laws, we will give an instance. The lands had been sectionized by government surveyors and platted, that they might be put on the market, so that the settlers could buy their homes, thus securing what they had risked so much to obtain. Here is where the "club law" came in such good play, and was so rigidly enforced. The land was thrown upon the market. Any man who had \$100 could go to the land office and enter (buy of the government) any eighty acres he might find still vacant, without asking any questions, and get a certificate of purchase from the government. There was no pre-emption or homestead law in those days. You could get land only by buying of the government at the small price of \$1.25 per acre, and then only in forty, eighty, 160 acres, or a multiple of the same. Many, in fact nearly all, of the earliest pioneers were poor in purse, but

proud in spirit and resolute in purpose. Hard it was on the man who had the temerity to go to the land office (then in Fairfield) and enter (purchase) the claim of a pioneer who was too poor to buy his claim of the government when it was announced as open for purchase, provided he ever put in an appearance in the neighborhood where the land was situated. One or two instances of such violations of "club law" will suffice to give the reader some idea of the treatment the violators received, and may not be uninteresting. An early pioneer had settled on north Skunk river and commenced to erect a mill, that the new settlers might be able to get a little corn ground into meal. The mill was a very primitive affair, only a dam and a kind of a platform with a small set of burrs, without any cover whatever, but in running condition and grinding corn, which was hailed as a blessing that would save the people from going forty or fifty miles to mill. They watched this primitive plant with a jealous eye. A Mr. Cooley was the proprietor and builder, and he was looked upon as an extraordinary man for his day. He had no money, but by the aid of his neighbors in work and supplies he had erected the mill and it was already running. What a blessing! A fortune was in sight, which excited the avarice of one "Pep" Smith, a whiskey vender, and one Frisbey, who coveted the bonanza that had been set on foot, and would in due time reap the harvest. Seeing this they set about to secure the prize. Accordingly they raised the necessary \$50 to enter the land upon which the mill was situated. Slyly and in the night time they hied themselves away to Fairfield, and finding the land vacant bought it of the government, receiving a certificate of purchase. No one was any the wiser, not even the government people knowing that there was a mill in operation on these premises. The government had the money, Smith and Frisbey held the certificate of purchase, and who could say all was not right? In the course of a few

days the matter leaked out; then there was trouble in the air. Soon a company was gathered and a descent was made upon the homes of the two men who had violated the "club laws of Iowa." Smith and Frisbey were arrested, by what would now be termed a mob—but then considered a legal process—and started toward the mill. They were placed upon horses, and marched in the center of the crowd, nothing being said as to their fate. Having gone some distance one of the guards discovered that Frisbey was wet from some cause. It being in the night the guard could not understand what was the matter. He reported the fact to one of the leaders, a halt was called, a light was made, when it was discovered that what seemed to be water was blood. Upon examination it was found that Frisbey had attempted to commit suicide with a long-bladed knife, by stabbing himself in the breast, in the direction of the heart. In due course of time the party reached the mill, where a halt was called and Frisbey's wound was examined and pronounced by these rough frontiersmen as fatal. Accordingly he was carefully laid on the soft side of a pile of logs near the mill and a guard left to watch over him, while the remainder of the crowd turned their attention to Smith. He was duly tried, found guilty of violating the laws of the pioneers and sentenced to receive a coat of tar and feathers, and to deed by warranty the land he and Frisbey had entered with a return of the fifty dollars they had expended in the purchase of the land, and then leave the country forever. Accordingly a clear warranty deed was made out, presented to the two culprits with the choice of signing the same or being hung to the nearest tree. They were in the hands of determined men and therefore it did not take long for them to make up their minds. They signed the deed in the presence of the magistrate, who was conveniently present, and who took the same to the wives who also signed it. Smith was given a handsome coat of tar and

feathers—a lady who was in the secret of the scheme and was conveniently near, furnished the feathers by ripping open a pillow—while Frisbey was taken to his home where he was left with the thought that it would be impossible for him to recover. The work was done, so far as the pioneers were concerned. Through the aid of his friends, Smith relieved himself of the coat of tar and feathers, while in a few weeks Frisbey recovered sufficiently to travel. Both parties left the state and went to Missouri where they were never heard of more, and the original owner, Mr. Cooley, was left in peaceable possession of the mill to bless the early settlers with many a sack of coarsely ground meal. On another occasion a Rev. F. F. Lyon, an itinerant M. E. minister, who is living yet, had taken a claim of one hundred and sixty acres of Uncle Sam's wild domain, built himself a cabin, and with his family was in legal possession according to the laws of the land, (club law). The land was in the market and open to entry, and yet the reverend gentleman was unable to gather enough money together to pay the government price, therefore the land was subject to be entered by whomsoever might have the money and be so disposed. Avarice did not have to wait long, for soon an old doctor, having the necessary funds, went to Fairfield and duly bought the land, little thinking that in an incredibly short space of time he would be glad to deed the land to the claimant and receive back only the money he had invested. The old Doctor was so proud of his easily acquired farm—for the land was quite well improved—that he was unable to keep his action to himself until such time as it found its way to the public otherwise. He told a friend, the friend told another friend, and so it was very soon public. No sooner had the matter become known than a meeting was quickly announced and a large number of these rough but honest toilers were gathered together for the purpose of redressing the wrongs their neighbor had

suffered from the hands of the spoiler. The Doctor was at once notified of what was expected and what would be the consequence should he refuse to "stand and deliver." It did not take long for the argument to take effect when informed how Smith and Frisbey had suffered. The deed was duly made and the money paid over, when the Doctor remarked that it had been his intention all the time to deed the land back, and that he had only entered it to keep some one else from doing so, to protect the reverend itinerant. How honest he was the reader can judge for himself.

Thus it will be seen that the pioneers had ways that were not dark nor were their tricks vain, for their manner of dealing with men was effective in securing the ends of justice.

Richland was one of the early towns, it having been surveyed and platted in 1843. Prior Woodward, above mentioned, was the proprietor. It is situated in the center of section 27, township 74, range 10, west of the fifth principal meridian. Prior to the survey of the town, and just west of where the residence of Dr. H. A. Swayze now stands, Aaron Miller built his first cabin in 1839, under the shade of a half dozen burr oak trees. At the time, Mr. Miller was a middle aged man, and was the father of quite a large family of both boys and girls, a number of whom, including the parents, long since passed away. The cabin of this pioneer was a hospitable one, and many were the weary western pilgrims who could testify to the host's hospitality. Poor as the accommodations were, they were gladly accepted by the tired hunter or the seeker for a suitable location for a claim upon the wild domain. With this family lived one Peter Perry, a young man, who had come to the new purchase that he too might partake of the benefits of the fertile and virgin soil. Active and full of vigor, he also had located a claim adjacent to that of Mr. Miller. Wm. Searcy, late of this

county, was a son-in-law of Mr. Miller. His cabin also stood near that of his father-in-law, and with him lived a brother, Elijah Searcy, a young man about nineteen years of age, and one who had not been blessed with over-much intelligence. The Miller cabin was the rendezvous of the neighborhood, and when nothing especially was on hand in the way of work, and the weather was fine, it was not an uncommon thing to see a dozen men under the shade of the trees about the cabin. On one of these occasions a number had gathered together and were lounging in the shade in their accustomed manner. Among them were Peter Perry and young Searcy. The latter not being considered very bright was the butt of the jokes of the crowd on this as he had been on other occasions where he happened to be present. At this time Mr. Perry was telling a story on Searcy in which a young lady figured and which reflected on the character of Searcy. Although intended only as a joke, the story so enraged young Searcy, that he grabbed a convenient club and in the twinkling of an eye dashed out the brains of Perry. The victim expired at once without a groan. Realizing what he had done, Searcy fled, while the bystanders were making diligent efforts to bring to life the victim of his own joke. In a very few moments it became evident that there was no hope of resuscitating Mr. Perry, and attention was called to the young man who had committed the crime. On looking about the discovery was made that he had fled and was nowhere to be found. Runners were sent out in all directions who soon spread the news of the murder of Mr. Perry, with instructions to promptly apprehend Searcy as the murderer. In an incredibly short space of time the pioneers were searching the woods as well as the prairies for the escaped criminal, and had he been apprehended at that time his life no doubt would have paid the penalty. Fortunately for him he had escaped and was so well secreted that his hunters

were unable to find a trace of him. The hunt was kept up, but while it was going on the real facts of the murder became known, together with the mental condition of the murderer, which had a tendency to allay the excitement of the people. Those who would have hanged Searcy in the beginning would now have set him free. In the course of a few days, becoming hungry and tired of hiding, the murderer returned to the scene of his crime, more dead than alive from fright at the thought that he had killed Perry, and from starvation while in hiding, although he had not at any time been more than a half mile from where the crime had been committed. He was taken into custody, fed and concealed for a day or two until a convenient time presented itself to take him to Washington where he was confined in a little log jail, from which he was either let out or escaped of his own accord, and was never afterwards heard of. The remains of Perry were prepared for burial, a coffin was improvised from some boxes, as undertaking was an unknown trade in this section at that time. The remains were followed by a few of the great-hearted yet rough backwoodsmen and their families to a little hill southwest of the Miller residence, where a grave had been dug, and where brief services were conducted by a pioneer minister. A little mound still marks the final resting place of the first victim from the hands of his fellow-man in Keokuk county.

Throughout our State a deep interest is constantly manifested in its history, as well as in that of our towns, counties and public institutions. Every passing week witnesses the publication by Iowa papers of scores of historical articles, read with avidity now, and which will possess untold value in future years.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

THE SPIRIT LAKE AND OKOBOJI MONUMENT.

Ever since the cruel massacre by Sioux Indians around the lakes in Dickinson county, in 1857, there has been a strong public feeling that some adequate memorial should be erected, not only to perpetuate the names of the pioneer settlers who sadly lost their lives, but of the men of the Relief Expedition who gallantly marched thither under Major William Williams, of Fort Dodge. The stories of the massacre and of that notable march have been often told, as they will be in coming time, and we need not attempt their rehearsal here. At the opening of the Legislature of 1894, Mrs. Abbie Gardner-Sharp, who was carried into barbarous captivity by the Indians, came to the Capitol and remained through the session. Largely through her efforts, heartily seconded by Senator A. B. Funk, who resides at Spirit Lake, a bill was passed appropriating \$5,000 for a monument. The law provided for "a special commission composed of five members appointed by the Governor of the State to carry out the provisions of this act." Governor Jackson approved the bill March 30, and appointed the following persons as commissioners: Ex-Governor Cyrus C. Carpenter and Hon. John F. Duncombe of Ft. Dodge, Mrs. Abbie Gardner-Sharp and Hon. R. A. Smith, of Okoboji, and Charles Aldrich, of Boone. The commission was organized by the appointment of Governor Carpenter, Chairman, and Mrs. Sharp, Secretary. A suitable location having been secured without expense to the State, a contract for the

erection, for \$4,500, of a granite monument, 55 feet high, with a large bronze tablet on each of its four sides, was let to the N. P. Peterson Granite Company of St. Paul, Minnesota. The monument was completed about the middle of March. It is a beautiful shaft, built in alternate sections of rough and polished Minnesota granite. This material is hard and durable, susceptible of a high polish, somewhat resembling Scotch granite, containing, however, less of red and more of gray and black than the imported article. The site selected is near the Gardner cabin. The four large bronze tablets are inscribed as follows:

EAST TABLET.

The pioneer settlers named below were massacred by Sioux Indians, March 8-13, 1857. The barbarous work was commenced near this spot, and continued to Springfield (now Jackson), Minn.

Robert Clark,	James H. Mattock,
Rowland Gardner,	Mary M. Mattock,
Francis M. Gardner,	Alice Mattock,
Rowland Gardner, Jr.,	Daniel Mattock,
Carl Granger,	Agnes Mattock,
Jos. Harshman,	Jacob M. Mattock.
Isaac H. Harriott,	Jackson A. Mattock,
Joel Howe,	Robert Mathleson,
Millie Howe,	Lydia Noble,
Jonathan Howe,	Alvin Noble,
Sardis Howe,	John Noble,
Alfred Howe,	Enoch Ryan,
Jacob Howe,	Bertell A. Snyder,
Philetus Howe,	Joshua Stewart, wife and two
Harvey Luce,	children,
Mary M. Luce,	Elizabeth Thatcher,
Albert Luce,	Dora Thatcher,
Amanda Luce,	George Wood.
Wm. Marble.	Wm. Wood.

WEST TABLE.

Roster of the Relief Expedition. Fort Dodge, March 24, 1857,
Major William Williams, commanding.

COMPANY A.

C. B. Richards, Capt.
F. A. Stratton, 1st Lt.
L. K. Wright, Serg't.
Solon Mason, Corp.

PRIVATES.

W. E. Burkholder,
G. W. Brazee,
C. C. Carpenter,
L. D. Crawford,
Julius Conrad,
Henry Carse,
— Chatterton,
Wm. Defore,
J. W. Dawson,
Wm. Ford,
John Farney,
John Gales,
Andrew Hood,
Angus McBane,
Wm. McCauley,
Michael Maher,
E. Mahan,
W. P. Pollock,
W. F. Porter,
B. F. Parmenter,
L. B. Ridgeway,
Winton Smith,
R. A. Smith,
G. P. Smith,
O. S. Spencer,
C. Stebbins,
Silas Vancleave,
R. U. Wheelock,
D. Westerfield.

COMPANY B.

J. F. Duncombe, Capt.
James Linn, 1st Lt.,
S. C. Stevens, 2d Lt.,
W. N. Koons, Sergt.,
Thos. Callagan, Corp.

PRIVATES.

Jessie Addington,
A. Burch,
Hiram Benjamin,
D. H. Baker,
Orlando Bice,
Richard Carter,
A. E. Crouse,
R. F. Carter,
Michael Cavenaugh,
Jer. Evans,
John Hefley,
O. C. Howe,
D. F. Howell,
A. S. Johnson,
Jonas Murray,
Daniel Morrissey,
G. F. McClure,
A. H. Malcombe,
Michael McCarty,
J. N. McFarland,
Robt. McCormick,
John O'Laughlin,
Daniel Okeson,
Guernsey Smith,
J. M. Thatcher,
W. Searles,
John White,
W. R. Wilson.
Washington Williams,
Reuben Whetstone.

COMPANY C.

J. C. Johnson, Capt.
J. N. Maxwell, 1st Lt.
F. R. Mason, 2d Lt.
Harris Hoover, Sergt.
A. N. Hathway, Corp.

PRIVATES.

Thos. Anderson,
James Bralnard,
T. B. Bonebright,
Sherman Cassady,
W. L. Church,
Patrick Conlan,
H. E. Dalley,
John Erie,
John Gates,
E. W. Gates,
Josiah Griffith,
James Hickey,
H. C. Hillock,
M. W. Howland,
E. D. Kellogg,
W. K. Laughlin,
A. S. Leonard,
W. V. Lucas,
F. R. Moody,
John Nowland,
J. C. Pemberton,
Alonzo Richardson,
Michael Sweeney,
Patrick Stafford,
A. K. Tullis.

G. R. Bissell, Surg.
G. B. Sherman, Com'y.

NORTH TABLET.

(Iowa Coat of Arms.)

ERECTED BY ORDER OF
THE TWENTY-FIFTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OF THE STATE OF IOWA,

1894.

SOUTH TABLET.

MEMORANDA.

Miss Abbie Gardner, Mrs. Margaret Ann Marble, Mrs. Lydia Noble, and Mrs. Elizabeth Thatcher, were carried into captivity.

Mrs. Marble was rescued May 21, and Miss Gardner June 23, 1857, through the efforts of Gov. Sam.

Medary and Hon. Charles E. Flandreau, of

Minn. Mrs. Noble and Mrs. Thatcher were murdered by the Indians.

Capt. J. C. Johnson, of Webster City, and William E. Burkholder, of Fort Dodge, were frozen to death on the return march, in Palo Alto county, April 4, 1857.

PERSONS WHO FLED FROM THE ATTACK ON SPRINGFIELD (JACKSON), MINN., AND WERE RESCUED BY RELIEF EXPEDITION.

John Bradshaw, David Carver, Mrs. S. J. Church and two children, Eliza Gardner, George Granger, Mrs. Harshman and children, — Harshman (son of the preceding) and wife, Morris Markham, Mrs. Wm. Nelson and child, Jareb Palmer, A. P. Shiegley, J. B. Skinner and wife, — Smith and wife, Dr. E. B. N. Strong, wife and two children, John Stewart, Drusilla Swanger, J. B. Thomas, wife and five children.

The work upon this monument is believed to be of the best quality, and it has seemed fully to meet the expectations of all who have seen it. The task of preparing the inscriptions has been a most difficult one, owing to the lapse of time and the insufficiency of records. In many cases dependence has been of necessity placed upon the memories of living persons, which, after more than a third of a century, are in danger of being confused; but it is believed that these tablets contain the names of all who lost there lives in the massacre, or participated in the Expedition. And thus the State has rendered a just and generous tribute to their memories. Many of the men in the Expedition afterward volunteered in the Union armies and several of them fell in defense of their country. At the date of this publication it seems probable that the Commission will complete its labors by turning the monument over to Gov. Jackson on the 4th of July next.

ARTICLES AND PORTRAITS.

We present the first of a series of articles on the life and military services of the illustrious Major General John M. Corse, by his distinguished townsman, the Rev. Dr. William Salter of Burlington, author of many works of Iowa history and biography. The reader will find these articles very interesting and valuable, presenting ampler knowledge of General Corse than has hitherto been accessible. It is appropriately illustrated by portraits of Generals Corse and Sherman. For the use of the latter we are indebted to the courtesy of the editor of the *Midland Monthly*.

From advance sheets of the forthcoming edition of the "Expeditions of Lieutenant Z. M. Pike," by Dr. Elliott Coues, we have an interesting account of his exploration in 1894 of the sources of the Mississippi River. It is a historico-geographical article of great value, as throwing light upon that long mooted question. We publish with it a portrait from Dr. Coues' best photograph.

Having known General Samuel A. Rice intimately and well, we take great pleasure in publishing an article from the pen of Hon. John F. Lacy, of Oskaloosa, upon the circumstances of his death. Mr. Lacy went out as Adjutant of the 33rd Iowa Infantry, commanded by Colonel Rice. When the latter was promoted to Brigadier-General, Lieutenant Lacey was commissioned Assistant Adjutant General, with the rank of Captain. At the time that General Rice received his mortal wound, at the battle of Jenkins' Ferry, Captain Lacey was by his side and helped him off the field. The tribute he pays to that brave soldier is every word deserved. Had General Rice lived through the war we believe no Iowa hero would have stood higher. We are glad to present excellent war-time portraits of General Rice and Major Lacey.

Captain Charles Longley gives his readers the concluding chapter of the history of the 24th Iowa Infantry, leaving the heroes of that gallant command mustered out of the service and en route to their several homes. A good portrait of Major Leander Clark, from a recent photograph, accompanies this last chapter of that "strange eventful history." Major Clark "still lives" at Toledo, Iowa, and has been heard from on many occasions since the war.

Mr. Walton's item on "Keokuk's Village," and the article on "Destruction of Iowa Lakes," will be read with interest aside from their permanent value, as will also Mr. Haworth's "Recollections of Early Times in Keokuk County."

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

In the person of Senator H. F. Andrews, of Audubon, Iowa, our state possesses one of the most thorough and industrious students of genealogy in the West. His first work in that direction which came to our notice was the genealogical history of the Andrews family, to which he belongs. In its prosecution and publication he was quite successful, though he was working upon it at intervals for twenty-five years. Upon its completion two or three years ago, he began a like work for the Hamlin family, a numerous one in this country and England, one of the earliest records of which was in the victory of Hastings, where William the Conqueror won the crown of England. Hannibal Hamlin, Vice President of the United States, and the Methodist Episcopal Bishop, L. L. Hamline, who died in Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, in 1865, were of this family. Mr. Andrews has issued ninety-six pages of his work, which bids fair to be an extensive one. He brings the genealogy down to the third generation in this country, very successfully clearing the way for its continuation. How long it may take him to complete the work, we presume that even he would be unable to predict. But as he has the support of several of the leading members of the Hamlin family, we have no doubt that it will proceed more rapidly than his first work in which he had little, if any, outside aid. We copy the title-page of this new and very large undertaking, which in itself indicates its scope and purpose:

“HISTORY of the HAMLIN FAMILY with Genealogies of Early Settlers of the name in America. 1639-1894. Origin of the name. Early Account of the Family in England. Coats of Arms, Crests, etc. First Settlements in America. Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution, War of 1812, Mexican War and of the Rebellion. Statesmen, Lawyers, Clergymen, Physicians, Merchants, Bankers, Educators, etc., etc. To BE PUBLISHED PERIODICALLY. PART ONE. Commencing the Genealogy of James Hamlin, of Barnstable, Massachusetts, 1639, with First Four Generations in America, with copies of wills, etc., and collateral pedigrees. By H. FRANKLIN ANDREWS, Attorney at Law, Audubon, Iowa. Exira, Iowa, George W. Guernsey, 1894.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF RAFINESQUE. By Richard Ellsworth Call, M. A., M. Sc., M. D. Louisville, Ky., the Filson Club, 1895.

In the year 1783 a boy was born near Constantinople, Turkey, of French-German parentage, who was named Constantine Samuel Rafinesque, and whose after life was a most remarkable one. He resided during his childhood and youth in France and Italy, where he acquired a thorough education, his tastes naturally inclining him to the study of natural history. He came to this country in 1802. Returning in 1805, he went to Sicily, where he remained ten years. During this period, while occupied with many other matters, his attention was largely given to the study of animated nature and botany. Though

yet a very young man, his investigations resulted in several publications of more or less value. He returned to this country in 1818, and from that time until his death in 1840, his life was filled with arduous labors in natural history, including geology, meteorology, botany, ichthyology, conchology, astronomy, chemistry and metaphysics, to which he sometimes added that of lecturer, and teacher. Notwithstanding his great ability and diversified knowledge, he was an eccentric character who would be called "a crank" by many people at the present time. But he was the first naturalist to explore the valley of the Ohio and other portions of this country, the results of which for the most part were published in his life-time. But as the years passed other men explored the same regions, to a large extent ignoring the work and publications of Rafinesque. He came at last to be mentioned as a "Forgotten Naturalist." It has been a labor of love for Prof. R. E. Call—a former resident of Des Moines—to make a thorough study of the life and writings of Rafinesque, carefully estimating his labors and giving him the credit which, as an early explorer and discoverer, he undoubtedly deserves. The results of his studies have been published by the Filson Club of Louisville, Kentucky, in a most beautiful volume of 227 pages, with two portraits of Rafinesque and other engravings, of which a large paper copy has reached the Historical Department of Iowa. It also presents a bibliography of the writings of Rafinesque, containing a grand total of books, pamphlets, translations, magazine articles, etc., of 447 titles. It has made permanently accessible, in an attractive form, whatever is known of this pioneer naturalist, who certainly deserved to be remembered and not forgotten.

THE IOWA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, Volume 3, Second Annual Report, 1893, with accompanying papers. Geological Corps: Samuel Calvin, A. M., Ph. D., Geologist; Charles Rollin Keyes, A. M., Ph. D., Assistant State Geologist; G. E. Patrick, A. M., Chemist. Des Moines, Iowa: The Kenyon Press, 1895.

This is an exceedingly beautiful volume, handsomely printed, tastefully bound, copiously illustrated with engravings, maps, diagrams, etc., and thoroughly indexed. It presents a report of the operations of the Iowa Geological Survey for the year 1893. In addition to the labors of Messrs. Calvin and Keyes, the survey had the aid of thirteen special and temporary assistants. The energies of the organization were largely devoted to the investigation of the coal deposits of our State, but much attention was also given to our clays, building-stones, lime-burning rocks, soils and other geological resources. Several of the assistants are represented by papers upon subjects which they have specially studied in the field. Professor Calvin contributes an interesting chapter on the "Composition and Origin of Iowa Chalk," which is illustrated by a fine plate showing the shells of the microscopic animals which built up the cretaceous rocks. Dr. Keyes is represented by chapters on the "Work and Scope of the Geological

Survey," "Glacial Scorings in Iowa," "Gypsum Deposits of Iowa," "Geology of Lee County," and "Geology of Des Moines County,". Mr. H. F. Bain writes of his studies of the "Cretaceous Deposits of the Sioux Valley," Mr. W. H. Norton of the "Thickness of Paleozoic Strata of Northeast Iowa," and Mr. C. H. Gordon of "Buried River Channels in Southeast Iowa." While these and other topics are treated from the standpoint of geological science, the various papers are written in a style which will make them highly interesting to the general reader. We regard the work as a very valuable one. The clear and beautiful type from which it was tastefully printed, the large pages and broad margins, and the many fine and graphic illustrations, combine to make the volume a fine specimen of the art of book-making, highly creditable to the Kenyon Press of Des Moines. The book will go into the leading libraries at home and abroad, where it will be sought by all who desire information concerning the geological history and abundant resources of Iowa.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOLS. By John Fiske, LL. D., with topical analysis, suggestive Questions and Directions for Teachers, By Frank Alpine Hill, Litt. D. Boston, New York, and Chicago, Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1895. For sale by L. B. Abbill, Des Moines Iowa.

While this is a most copiously illustrated history of our country, and mainly intended for the use of schools, it is yet so full and comprehensive, so suggestive of wider fields of investigation and the sources of information, that it may well find a place in every library, public and private, and be read with profit by both the young and old. As a reference hand-book, we know of nothing better. Prof. John Fiske has never put forth a volume, historical or scientific, which will impart so much useful information to so many people.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

ARTHUR HASWELL, who settled in Cass Township, Hamilton county, in 1856, died in Webster City on the 11th day of February last. He was a useful, exemplary man in the early society of that section, active in religious and educational work, genial and kindly in his ways, and honest and upright in his dealings with others. The Golden Rule governed his course throughout his life. In 1862 he enlisted in the 28th Iowa Infantry, serving with credit, not only through, but some months after, the close of, the war for the Union. He was captured at Mansfield, Louisiana, by the Confederates, and spent fourteen months as a prisoner of war at Tyler, Texas. When the writer established *The Freeman* at Webster City, in June, 1857, Mr. Haswell's was one of the first names to be placed upon the subscription list, where we suppose it remained through all these thirty-eight years until his death. He possessed considerable facility as a writer, not only as a voluntary gatherer of neighborhood news, but in the discussion of political, religious, and educational topics. As an enterprising pioneer settler, a

patriotic defender of his country, and a promoter of the highest interests of the community in which he lived, Arthur Haswell deserves to be remembered.

JOSEPH C. GOODSON who died in Dallas county on the 17th of February, was one of the early pioneers in that part of Iowa. He came to the Des Moines valley in 1847, and entered the farm where he spent the remainder of his life. He was born in Tennessee in 1812, and lived to the age of eighty-three. His wife was from Indiana, and taught the first school in Boone township, Dallas county, in their old log house, where church services were also held in early days. Mr. Goodson was a staunch Democrat and in 1852 was chosen to represent Polk, Dallas, Jasper, Boone, Marshall, Hardin, Guthrie, Yell (now Webster), Risley (now Hamilton), and fifteen other unorganized counties of north-western Iowa in the House of the Fourth General Assembly. His colleagues from that district were J. F. Rice and Benjamin Green. Mr. Goodson held several township and county offices at various times in all of which he served with fidelity. He was an active member of the Methodist church during his whole life. G.

GEORGE W. VAN HORN of Muscatine died at his home in that city on the 8th of February. He was born at Springfield, Massachusetts, October 12, 1833. He studied law with Chas. R. Ladd at his New England home when a young man, and came to Muscatine, Iowa, in May, 1855. After admission to the bar he became the partner of Hon. D. C. Cloud, then Attorney General of the State. Mr. Van Horn was an earnest Republican in the early history of that party, and an active advocate of its principles in the Fremont and Lincoln campaigns. Upon the election of Lincoln, Mr. Van Horn was appointed U. S. Consul to Marseilles, France, serving with marked ability until 1866 when he was removed by President Johnson. Upon his return to Iowa he was called by the Republican State Central Committee of Arkansas to take editorial charge of the new state paper just established at Little Rock. In 1870 he returned to Muscatine and began the publication of the *Muscatine Tribune*. Mr. Van Horn had now become an advocate of free trade and "local option" for the liquor traffic, and thus found himself in harmony with the Democratic party. When the daily *News* and *Tribune* were consolidated he was made editor of the combined papers. In 1893 he was appointed postmaster of Muscatine by President Cleveland, which position he held at the time of his death. As a writer and editor he held high rank, winning distinction in literary circles. He was the author of many charming stories and sketches. He was an enthusiastic patron of art, science, and general literature, and one of the promoters of the City Lyceum and the Academy of Science. In religious belief Mr. Van Horn was a Unitarian. In September 1858 he was married to Mary, only daughter of Dr. J. G. Morrow one of the founders of Muscatine. Miss Morrow was the first girl Mr. Van Horn met when he landed from the steamer that carried him to the little frontier village of Muscatine, in May, 1855; and she was said to have been the first native bride in Iowa. G.

JUSTUS CLARK, one of the best known citizens of southern Iowa, died at Los Angeles, California, on the 17th of February. Mr. Clark was born at Royalton, Vermont, March 22, 1819. He was brought up on a farm and never forsook his early occupation. His father bought the Governor Chittenden farm which was the largest in the State, and it is still owned by the Clark family. In his school days, Justus attended the Williston Academy where Chester A. Arthur (the future

President) was a student, and Arthur's father was principal of the Academy. Young Clark came west in May, 1839, the year after Iowa was organized into a Territory, settling at Burlington. In 1842 he purchased a farm near the city, where he took his young wife (a Miss Cartmill) who was also one of the first settlers in Des Moines county. He has held at various times most of the township and county offices. In 1852 he was elected one of the Representatives from Des Moines county to the Legislature, James W. Grimes being one of his colleagues. In 1857 he was again chosen to represent his county in the lower house of the Legislature, and was re-elected in 1859. His colleagues in the Eighth General Assembly from Des Moines county were Judge J. C. Hall and M. W. Robinson in the House and W. F. Coolbaugh in the Senate, all of whom were legislators of unusual prominence. About the year 1876 he removed to a large farm he had purchased in Montgomery county, where he eventually increased his plantation to 3,500 acres, all of which was under fence, and clear of incumbrance. He was for more than forty years one of the best and most successful of Iowa farmers, accumulating a large fortune by intelligent and judicious farm management. Mr. Clark has been President of the Iowa Fine Stock Breeders Association, and Vice President of the National Cattle and Horse Growers Association. He was an extensive traveler, having visited the principal countries of Europe, as well as Alaska, the Pacific states and Mexico at various times, always returning to Iowa with renewed love for the Hawkeye State. Mr. Clark was a life long Democrat, and one of the trusted leaders of his party. In 1883 he was nominated for Lieutenant Governor, with Judge Kinne for Governor; but the Republican majority was too large to be overcome by this unusually strong ticket. During his fifty-five years residence in Iowa, Justus Clark has won and retained the confidence and esteem of the best people of the State. His life was one of great usefulness, and his memory will be revered by thousands of his fellow-citizens.

G.

CAPTAIN ALLEN E. WEBB a veteran of the war of the rebellion, died at his home in Eldora on the 7th of March, nearly sixty years of age. He was a native of Ohio and came to Iowa in 1853, settling at Eldora. At the beginning of the late war Mr. Webb was among the first to enlist as a private in the Union army. Upon the organization of Company A of the 12th Iowa Volunteers, he was chosen first Lieutenant. He was wounded at the battle of Corinth in October, 1862. He was promoted to Captain for meritorious services, and was very popular with his company, always doing his duty bravely. In 1863 his wound became so troublesome that he had to resign his commission and return home. Later he was elected sheriff of Hardin county and held other important offices at various times. He was a gallant soldier, a good citizen, and highly esteemed where he had lived so long and was known so well.

G.

DR. GEORGE H. MCGAVREN of Missouri Valley, died at the home of his daughter on the 16th of January. He was one of the first pioneers in Harrison county, having settled there early in the "50's." He was an eminent physician, and the leading practitioner in that part of western Iowa for more than thirty years. He was chairman of the first board of supervisors of Harrison county, and in 1870 he was its representative in the State Legislature. He left a widow and seven children. The Doctor was widely known throughout western Iowa and highly esteemed.

G.

The death of Judge WILLIAM H. SEEVERS of Oskaloosa, on the 24th of March, removes one of the most eminent of our public men. He was a native of Virginia where he spent his boyhood days. In 1843 his father moved with his family to Mahaska county, Iowa. The next year the son, William H., came to Oskaloosa and entered upon the study of law. He was admitted to the bar in 1846 and began the practice of his profession at home. In 1848 he was chosen Prosecuting Attorney, and in 1852 he was elected District Judge. In 1857 he was elected to the lower house of the Seventh General Assembly as the representative from the district consisting of Iowa, Poweshiek and Makaska counties. This was not only the first Legislature which met at Des Moines, then the new capital of the State, but it was the first held after the adoption of the constitution of 1857 which radically changed our organic law.

It became necessary to reorganize our entire system of state government, and provide a new code of civil and criminal practice. The house numbered among its members an unusual array of able and brilliant men, who won high rank in later years as statesmen, jurists and soldiers. Lincoln Clark, a distinguished ex-member of Congress from Dubuque, and the afterwards famous D. A. Mahoney were the acknowledged leaders on the Democratic side. M. V. B. Bennett, of Knoxville, one of the ablest young politicians of the State, Phil Bradley, of Jackson, W. W. Belknap, of Keokuk, G. W. Gray, of Lansing, and Justus Clark, of Burlington, were among the Democratic members. On the Republican side W. H. Seevers was made chairman of the judiciary committee, the post of honor, and of the highest responsibility at that particular time. James F. Wilson, of Fairfield, C. C. Carpenter, of Fort Dodge, George W. McCrary, of Van Buren, John Edwards, of Lucas, Colonel Shelledy, of Jasper, Tom Drummond, of Benton, Ed. Wright, of Cedar, M. M. Trumbull, of Butler, E. E. Cooley, of Winneshiek, were also Republican members of that historic House. William P. Hepburn was its chief clerk.

As chairman of the House Judiciary Committee Judge Seevers at once entered upon the arduous work of giving rigid examination to an unusual number of bills of the highest importance. There was a general understanding among members, that owing to the radical changes made by the new constitution, all important bills should be submitted to the judiciary committee for rigid examination. Judge Seevers gave every bill submitted to his committee the most careful personal consideration, and when a measure proposed had passed that ordeal it was generally conceded that it might be safely enacted into law. As the Seventh General Assembly necessarily had to frame and enact more laws of importance than any of its predecessors or successors, the position held by Judge Seevers was most arduous. His superb legal mind and excellent judgment were here tested, and all must admit that he was equal to the responsibility. Few of the present generation realize the full measure of the important legislation placed upon our statute books by that first General Assembly which convened after the adoption of our present constitution. Its work largely survives on our statute book after the lapse of more than a third of a century. To Judge Seevers and James F. Wilson is due a large measure of credit for the enduring work of that House of 1858. Of the subsequent career of Judge Seevers as Code Commissioner and Judge of the Supreme Court, the press of the State has made appropriate notice. But so far as I have knowledge, no mention has been made of the most important public work of his life, quietly but most ably given in shaping so largely the important legislation of the Seventh General Assembly which has proved so satisfactory and enduring.

B. F. G.

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Jos. M. Haxel

ANNALS OF IOWA.

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GENERAL JOSEPH M. STREET.

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BY WILLIAM B. STREET.
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Joseph Montfort Street was born in Lunenburg county, Virginia, December 18, 1782. His father, Anthony Street, was a planter; his mother, Mary Stokes, was the sister of Montfort Stokes, Governor of North Carolina; his grandfather, Captain John Street of Bristol, England, came to Virginia early in the eighteenth century. Anthony was the youngest of four sons; the family history says of him: "He volunteered as a private in the Continental Army and continued in the service of his country until the close of the war; was in the battles of Guilford Court House and King's Mountain, and at the close of the war was a Colonel commanding a regiment." Anthony Street succeeded to the office of Sheriff of Lunenburg county by seniority as magistrate. His family held the office for fifty years uninterruptedly. The family were Episcopalians. In Bishop Mead's "Notes on the Old Families of Virginia," he gives the names of several of the family who were vestrymen of St. Peter's church, Lunenburg.

Joseph was made Deputy Sheriff while in his teens; and the black buckskin knee breeches and long stockings, worn while "riding as Deputy," were long preserved as relics in the family. After this he was in a commercial

house in Richmond, Virginia. Leaving there, he went to Kentucky, read law in the office of Henry Clay, and practiced in the courts of Kentucky and Tennessee.

Later on, in company with John Wood, a Scotchman of some literary reputation, he began the publication of "The Western World," in Frankfort, Kentucky—a weekly paper, independent in politics. The style of the firm was—"J. M. Street & Co." In the paper he charged Aaron Burr with conspiracy against the government. Many persons in Kentucky had been induced to favor Burr's plans, some of them believing his proposed expedition was of a legitimate character, and sanctioned by the government. The paper met with violent opposition, and Burr's friends determined to silence it. Judge Innis sued the publishers for libel. The editors plead justification, and proved that the judge had transmitted sealed documents, received from Burr, to New Orleans. It may be that Innis did not know the character of the papers, for when their treasonable character was shown, he fainted, and was borne out of the court room. Others sought personal satisfaction. Many challenges were sent to which Street paid no attention further than to notice their receipt in the paper, with the remark that they were on file and the writers would be attended to. One of these persons took position in front of a hotel where Street was expected to pass. When he came, the man stepping before him, holding a copy of the paper in his hand, asked if he wrote the article pointed to. Street said, "I am responsible for all that appears in that paper." The man with an oath said, "he would cowhide the man who wrote it," and drew a whip from his sleeve. As he raised his arm Street, with a dextrous stroke of his cane, struck him on the point of his elbow; the whip dropped; the next stroke brought the man to the ground, and, before his friends could interfere, he had been punished so severely that he was confined to his bed for some time. At another time Burr's friends

undertook to drive Street from a ball room, when Colonel Thornton A. Posey of the army came to his assistance. They remained and successfully repelled the assault. Finally, George Adams a young lawyer, was selected to dispose of Street. He placed two strong men in an alley. As Street passed, they seized and held him until Adams advancing, pistol in hand, ordered the men to stand aside. He then shot, turned and ran. The ball struck a button and glanced from its direct course through the heart and broke the lower part of the breast bone. Street drew a dirk and pursued, striking—when in reach—so that Adams' coat was cut in ribbons from the collar to the skirt. Adams ran into a bank and closed the door. Street sat on the steps, too weak from loss of blood to stand. As persons gathered about, Adams came out of the back door and ordered them aside that he might finish him. Humphrey Marshall, who came up at that moment, wrested the pistol from Adams' hand. Street lay for months when each day was expected to be his last. He was so low when Burr's trial came on that he was unable to appear as a witness against him.

The foregoing details are deemed necessary on account of an erroneous statement in Mr. Adams' History of Jefferson's Second Administration (as quoted in *The Nation*, May 8, 1890). He says, "John Woods after thundering so loud in the pretended revelations he made in *The Western World*, was brought to say under oath, that he knew nothing which would amount to evidence." Street too—"the fighting editor of *The Western World*" as Mr. Adams describes him—"was similarly reticent as a witness."

Mr. Street married Eliza Maria, daughter of Major-General Thomas Posey of the Revolutionary Army, and giving up the law, engaged in mercantile pursuits. From Kentucky he went to Shawneetown in the Territory of Illinois, where he was clerk of the court for over sixteen

years. During this time he was postmaster and recorder of deeds. In 1827 he was appointed by President John Quincy Adams Agent for the Winnebagoes at Prairie du Chien. General Street's family have letters from Henry Clay, one dated December 17, 1806, written from Wheeling, Virginia, when on his way to Washington to take a seat in Congress; others dated in 1827, which relate to General Street's appointment. In one dated February 11, 1827, he says:

I received your letter of the 11th ult. communicating your wish to obtain some public employment. I assure you most sincerely that I have all the disposition to serve you which you could desire. With respect to past transactions to which you advert, I look upon them as matters long since gone by, and I have already given you evidence that they have left no unfriendly impression on my mind. [Referring to their relations during the trial of Burr.]

In another letter he conveys the intelligence that General Street has that day been appointed Agent for the Winnebagoes, and expresses the conviction that his appointment will be for the welfare of the Indians and the honor of the government. General Street entered upon the duties of Agent in November, 1827, and removed his family to Prairie du Chien in 1828. He found the people of the village outside of Ft. Crawford, with few exceptions, French and half-breed Indians.

The Winnebagoes were the only tribe whose Agent resided at Prairie Du Chien, although a band of Menominees, Chippewas, and Wabashaw's band of Yankton Sioux, were attached to that Agency. A portion of the Winnebagoes lived at the portage of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, and had a sub-agent at Ft. Winnebago. The Winnebagoes had a bad reputation; they belonged to the "British band" during the war of 1812; were lazy, cruel and treacherous. Their former Agent, Nicholas Bolvin, an old Frenchman, was quite inefficient, being the tool of the traders. The Indians, spending much of their time in or near the village of Prairie du Chien, were becoming

demoralized by the use of bad whiskey, and bade fair soon to become extinct as a nation.

A short time before General Street went among them, "Red Bird," a chief, and two other Indians, in a drunken spree, went to the house of a man named Gagnier, near the village, and shot him and a man named Lipcap and scalped a little girl, leaving her for dead. She recovered, however, and years after when the writer saw her, there was a bare spot on her head from which the scalp had been cut and torn off. The Indians were tried and condemned to be hung. General Street investigated the case and concluded there were extenuating circumstances that would justify their pardon, and at his solicitation President Adams pardoned them, though Red Bird died while yet a prisoner. Their friends had prepared the grave clothes of white buckskin, with fringes of the same on the arms and down the legs. They presented these suits to General Street.

The Indians were controlled by the traders, whose avowed object it was to keep them as hunters and trappers. Joe Roulette, a Frenchman, agent of the American Fur Company, and H. L. Dousman, also French, his assistant, had been long with the Indians and allowed no one to interfere with their management of them. They met the new Agent cordially and proffered assistance in the performance of his official duty. He met them in like spirit and all went smoothly until the agent fully understood the situation. He had come among the Indians as their friend, to do them good; he would reclaim them from their savage life, and to do this must teach them the arts of civilization, educate and christianize them. The traders soon discovered that they could not use him, and, as he was gaining the confidence of the Indians, they used every means for his removal; but with General Wm. Clark as Superintendent at St. Louis and many friends at Washington, they could effect nothing while Mr. Adams was presi-

dent. When General Jackson was elected in 1828, and took his seat in 1829, they expected his early removal; but their efforts failing, they applied to General Lewis Cass, who, in an interview with the President asked for his removal, stating that he was a Whig. "Yes," said General Jackson, "I know General Street well; we rode upon the circuit in Kentucky and Tennessee together when we were young men. He is a Whig, but an honest man, and I shall keep him in office while I am President." General Jackson re-appointed him twice, and Mr. Van Buren once, in spite of the persistent efforts of the traders and their friends at Washington.

The Indians are often deceived by pretended friends, but are seldom mistaken in a true friend, and when found never desert or betray him. General Street gradually gained control of his own Indians, and the confidence of neighboring tribes. Providential circumstances contributed to fix firmly his influence over the Winnebagoes. One of the principal chiefs, Caramanee—the lame—in a drunken spree killed Green Corn, a young chief of influence. General Street sent for Caramanee, and had him pitch his camp in the Agency yard; he then sent for the family and friends of Green Corn, told them he knew that according to their customs Caramanee's life was forfeited, to be taken by the nearest of kin to the murdered man—if the deed was not covered by a ransom paid by the guilty man or his friends. He did not wish to interfere with their customs, but as they all knew, Caramanee was too poor to pay for the dead, but he as the next friend would pay for him. The Indians named a sum in tobacco and goods, which was paid, and Caramanee was free. General Street sent the interpreter to tell the old chief to wash the black paint from his face and come in. He then showed him the folly of his course, and concluded by saying if he would promise to drink no more whiskey he would be his friend, and would show him how he could save his people by

teaching them the arts of the white man. Caramanee was a good hearted, honest man, and seeing the Agent was his friend, made the promise which he only broke once. This was when General Street brought the whole tribe to Prairie du Chien and they pitched their camp near the Agency to prevent them from assisting Black Hawk and his followers, who were passing through the Winnebago country to escape the army. Some bad white men had induced Caramanee to drink. In his drunken condition he thought he must go to his friend; it was more instinct than reason. He picked up an old shot gun and went to the office of General Street, who was sitting at his desk. Caramanee stalked in, made a violent speech, spoke of his poverty, had no blanket or gun fit for a chief, broke the gun with his foot and threw the pieces out of the door; then stood erect and looked at General Street, who sat calmly in his chair. Their eyes met and the Agent motioned him to sit down; he shook his head, much like an enraged animal. Soon his limbs began to tremble and he sank to the floor, covering his face with his hands, the tears running down his cheeks. The interpreter was sent for. When he came the old chief seemed almost sober, sat, up and listened to a serious talk. The interpreter then took him home, and he was never drunk again.

By honest dealing with the Indians, and constant efforts for their good, together with his fearless course, he gained great influence over them and at the same time incurred the bitter hostility of the traders. He several times in the performance of duty came in conflict with the traders, who were so opposed to schools and farming among the Indians that he had to wait till 1832 before an opportunity offered. In 1829, a Mr. Whitney of Green Bay, with some Stockbridge Indians, went on the Winnebago lands to cut and carry off timber. General Street sent John Marsh with a request to Major Twiggs, commanding Ft. Winnebago, to furnish troops to remove

them, which was done. Whitney commenced suit against Street and Twiggs, and after causing them much annoyance in the courts, the case was dismissed. At Prairie du Chien the traders and settlers had been in the habit of going on the Indian land for timber. The Indians complained, and hearing that Jean Brunet was about twenty-five miles above Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi, coming down with a quantity of pine logs and lumber, he applied to Major S. W. Kearney, then in command of Ft. Crawford, who sent a force, seized the logs and lumber and had it worked up in building Ft. Crawford. Brunet sued Major Kearney and General Street for trespass and false imprisonment; Henry Baird of Green Bay, Thomas P. Burnet of Prairie du Chien and Mr. Hempstead of Galena (afterwards Governor of Iowa), were attorneys for defence. The plaintiffs denied that defendants had any authority to seize the lumber, said Street did not have any order from the Indian Bureau, nor Major Kearney from the War Department, and that they did not show any law of the United States or Michigan. The defence argued that it was every one's business to know the law, and it was made the duty of these officers to prevent trespass on the Indians. In this case Judge James D. Doty decided that Street and Kearney must pay for the lumber, and issued an order to the Sheriff, in default of immediate payment to arrest the defendants and place them in jail until the same was paid. Eventually Congress passed a bill to relieve Street and Kearney, but the amount appropriated was only sufficient to pay judgment and costs. Street and Kearney had to pay their attorneys \$750. These facts are given to show the difficulties that General Street had to contend with in his endeavors conscientiously to discharge his duty, which was to prevent the Indians from doing anything that would disturb the peaceful relations between them and the whites, and to see that every stipulation on the part of the government was faithfully

carried out; and especially to protect the Indians in their persons and property against the encroachments of the whites, and at all times advise them for their best interests.

As was the custom in those days, General Street kept liquor in his house and set it out to his friends, but he could not do the same by the Indians when they came to to see him. He saw the inconsistency of this course and at once banished it from his home, quit the use of it, and never tasted liquor from that time. He saw that whiskey was the worst enemy the Indians had, and determined by precept and example to discourage the use of it.

The only religious organization at Prairie du Chien was a Roman Catholic Mission, the members of which were French and half-breeds, and there was no effort to teach the Indians. General Street started a prayer meeting in his own house on Sundays, at which he would read a sermon. These meetings were attended by the employees at the Agency and officers from the Fort. Among the latter were Major E. A. Hitchcock, Captain G. Loomis and Lieutenant Ogden.

During the Black Hawk war, 1832, General Street's control of the Indians of his Agency and his influence with all those within reach was clearly demonstrated. He moved the Indians from the Wisconsin river and sent them up the Mississippi; and, when the hostiles had crossed the Wisconsin and were making for the Mississippi, he brought his Indians to Prairie du Chien and camped them at the Agency. Part of Black Hawk's people came down the Wisconsin, intending to cross to the west bank of the Mississippi. General Street directed his Indians to bring them in. After the battle of Bad Ax and the return of the army to Rock Island, the Winnebagoes brought in Black Hawk and the Prophet, with about fifty prisoners, whom he delivered to Colonel Zachary Taylor, commanding Fort Crawford.

Soon after hostilities began, Henry Dodge of Mineral Point, Wisconsin, received permission to raise a volunteer mounted rifle company to act as scouts in the country through which the hostile Indians were expected to pass. William S. Hamilton (son of Alexander Hamilton) came to General Street with an order from General Atkinson, to raise a company of friendly Indians to act under General Dodge in protecting the white settlements. The company was raised, consisting of Winnebagoes, Sioux, and Menominees. The Sioux were from Wabashaw's village on Lake Pepin. General Street bought guns for their outfit on his own personal responsibility. Colonel Hamilton's receipt to him, as follows:

I, W. S. Hamilton, acting under orders from Brigadier-General H. Atkinson, to conduct to the army under his command such Indian forces as General Joseph M. Street, U. S. Indian Agent, shall raise and commit to my charge for that purpose, do certify that General Street assembled, in six days after my arrival at Prairie du Chien, warriors of the Sioux, Menominee, and Winnebago nations, who after an address from him expressed their anxiety to join the army acting against the Sac and Fox Indians, and were turned over to me for that purpose. I further certify that finding the Indians mostly unarmed and opposed to the use of muskets, in consequence of their weight, General Street procured and furnished North West guns and rifles of the kind generally used by the Indians, for arming the forces sent to General Atkinson; the greater part of the arms were delivered to me in boxes to be distributed to the unarmed Indians on the way, at my discretion.

WM. S. HAMILTON.

When Decorie and Chartiar (Winnebagoes), brought Black Hawk and the Prophet to General Street, Chartiar said:

My father I am young and I do not know how to make speeches;
 * * * * I am no chief; I am no orator, but I have been
 allowed to speak to you. Father, when you made the speech to the
 chiefs, Wau-Kon-Decorie, Caramanee, and One-eyed-Decorie, and
 others, I was there and heard you; I thought what you said to them
 you also said to me; you said if these two (pointing to Black Hawk and
 the Prophet) were taken by us and brought to you, there would never
 more a black cloud hang over your Winnebagoes; your words entered
 into my ear, my brain and my heart. I left here that same night. I have
 been a good way, and had much trouble,, but when I remembered your

words, I knew what you said was right; this made me continue, and do what you told me to do. Near the Dalles of the Wisconsin, I took Black Hawk, no one did it but me; I say this in the ears of all present, and I now appeal to the Great Spirit, our grand-father, and the earth, our grand-mother, for the truth of what I say, Father, I am no chief, but what I have done is for the benefit of my nation, and I hope to see the good that has been promised us. That one Wabokeshich (the prophet) is my relation; if he is to be hurt, I do not wish to see it. Father, soldiers sometimes stick the ends of their guns into the backs of Indian prisoners, when they are going about in the hands of the guards. I hope it will not be done to this man.

General Street replied:

My children you have done well; I told you to bring these men to me and you have done so; it is for your good; I am pleased at what you have done. I assured the great chief of the warriors (General Atkinson), that if these men were in your country, you would find them and bring them to me; and now I can say much for your good. I will go to Rock Island with the prisoners, and I wish you who have brought them, especially, to go with me, with such other chiefs and warriors as you may select. My children, the great chief of the warriors, when he left this place, directed me to deliver these and all other prisoners, to the chief of the warriors at this place, Colonel Zachary Taylor, who is here by me. Some of the Winnebagoes, south of the Wisconsin, have befriended the Sacs, and some of the Indians of my Agency have also given them aid; this displeases the great chief of the warriors, and your great father the President, and was calculated to do much harm. Your great father has sent a great war-chief from the east, General Scott, with a fresh army of soldiers. He is now at Rock Island; your great father has sent him and the Governor of Illinois to hold a council with the Indians; he has sent a speech to you, and wishes the chiefs and warriors of the Winnebagoes to go to Rock Island to the council on the 10th of next month. I wish you to be ready in three days, when I will go with you. I am well pleased that you have taken Black Hawk and the Prophet, and other prisoners; this will enable me to say much for you to the great chief of the warriors and to your great father. My children, I shall now deliver the two men, Black Hawk and the Prophet, to the chief of the warriors here. He will take care of them until we start to Rock Island.

Colonel Taylor upon taking charge of the prisoners made a few remarks to their captors. Soon after this, General Street, in an interview with General Winfield Scott, obtained permission for the Winnebagoes to attend the treaty with the Sacs and Foxes at Rock Island. He knew that if the traders suspected there was to be a treaty for

the session of Winnebago lands, they would be present to prevent it or resist any action for the civilization of the Indians. At his suggestion General Scott stated in his order, that the object in calling the Winnebagoes was that they might join in a treaty of peace as the allies of the whites. He therefore ordered General Street to come to Rock Island with his Indians and bring the prisoners he had taken also, and ordered Colonel Taylor to furnish a military escort. Colonel Taylor placed Lieutenant Jefferson Davis in command of this guard. Black Hawk had been delivered to Colonel Taylor and held for several days in the guard house of the fort till the party should be ready to start. While in custody Black Hawk had been put in irons, and was so delivered to Lieutenant Davis. When General Street went on the boat he walked around the deck taking each Indian by the hand, until he came to Black Hawk. Seeing the irons on his wrists, he turned to Lieutenant Davis and said: "Lieutenant Davis, have these irons removed." Davis suggested that it might not be safe. Then Mr. Street, facing him, said, "Sir, I hold myself personally responsible for this man's safety and good conduct." Lieutenant Davis replied, "If you direct it, General," and turning to his orderly sent for a blacksmith belonging to the boat to file them off. The irons were made from a small half round bar bent around each wrist and riveted. The iron was cutting into the flesh.

General Street knew that Black Hawk was honest in his intentions; he had not sold his land, and the men who signed the treaty, had no right to do so. He did not intend war, but was led into it by the Prophet. Black Hawk was one of the best specimens of the "Red man," the descendant of a long line of chiefs, and General Street's treatment of him while a prisoner was so considerate that Black Hawk ever after entertained the warmest friendship for him.

At Rock Island General Street left the boat, and Lieutenant Davis took Black Hawk and the Prophet to Fortress Monroe. When released he was returned to his tribe under charge of Major Garland.

In his autobiography Black Hawk says after his return from Washington:—

I called on the Agent of the Winnebagoes (General J. M. Street) to whom I had surrendered myself after the battle of Bad Ax, who received me very friendly. I told him that I had left my great medicine bag with his chiefs before I gave myself up; and now, that I was to enjoy my liberty again, I was anxious to get it, that I might hand it down to my nation unsullied. He said it was safe; he had heard his chiefs speak of it, and would get it and send it to me. I hope he will not forget his promise, as the whites generally do, because I have always heard that he was a good man, and a good father, and made no promise that he did not fulfil.

That part of the Winnebago tribe living on the upper Wisconsin and Fox rivers were represented by a delegation in charge of John H. Kinzie, the sub-agent at Ft. Winnebago, and Pierre Pauquette, interpreter, and some of his family, and the traders also accompanied them. When General Street laid before these Indians the draft of the treaty, they were taken by surprise, and made objections; but, when they found the rest of the tribe (largely in the majority) would do as General Street advised and make the treaty, they asked for personal consideration, as their village was on the land offered for sale. They asked that several sections of land be reserved for Pauquette and his family, and certain sums be paid to their traders. Whatever may have been General Street's objections, he would not incur the risk of postponing the sale of the land, so necessary to the growth of Wisconsin; and not only unnecessary but hurtful to that part of the tribe living on it. They were half surrounded by white settlements, renegades from other tribes made their home among them, and their close proximity to the border settlers was a constant menace to the peace which then

existed. Not to mention the great advantage to Wisconsin, the benefit to the Indians was beyond calculation. By the treaty they were given the "Neutral Ground," a rich tract west of the Mississippi, which General Street hoped would be their permanent home—by opening farms on the land, to be given them in severalty, building mills and school houses, which, as he said to them, would place them in more comfortable circumstances than their white neighbors. This was his plan for the use of the proceeds of the sale of their lands, instead of squandering it on half-breeds or giving it to traders who sold them "fire water" and fleeced them—thus rendering their condition as the years rolled by more degraded and hopeless, until finally they would become extinct as a nation. In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian affairs, General Street says, speaking of the fund to be used under this treaty of 1832:

This fund if rightly employed will have a deep and permanent influence upon the happiness, prosperity, and very existence of the Winnebagoes as a nation; these sums may be considered as savings from the vast sums annually engulfed by the traders and whiskey sellers, under the head of "Specie Annuities." At the mention of annuities, which in most of our Indian treaties are specially stipulated to be paid in specie, every heart that feels for the fading remnant of a once numerous race, would do well to pause and consider the cruelty of such a system of abominations directly tending to the destruction and ultimate extermination of the Indians. The present system of acquiring Indian lands is horrible in its results, revolting to every sense of justice and humanity towards poor, ignorant, dependent savages, in the hands of cunning, wily, unprincipled and unfeeling traders; the Indian land is purchased, the hunting ground circumscribed, and thousands are stipulated to be paid annually to the Indians; not in any way calculated to improve their condition, and lead them to provide for themselves by learning to cultivate the soil, but in *specie*. Does no member of Congress in legislating for these defrauding creatures wish to know the reason of this strange demand? It is the trader acting by his whiskey on the unsuspecting mind of the poor ignorant savage. And will such a government as ours, aspiring to the highest character among the governments of the world for liberality and justice to all nations, permit such an abominable system of fraud, involving certain ruin to the Indians, to exist under the sanction of their treaties with the Indians? Forbid it humanity, forbid it justice!

After the treaty of 1832 was completed General Street made out the following account:

THE UNITED STATES INDIAN DEPARTMENT,

1832.

To Jos. M. Street, Dr.

Sep. 22.	For attending with the Winnebagoes of my Agency, a council held at Rock Island with General Scott and Governor Reynolds, from the 3rd to 22d of Sept., 1832; at which a purchase of the whole Winnebago country south of Wisconsin river was made, and the Indians agreed to move west of the Mississippi—two hundred miles from my Agency,	\$250.00
	(Note which was made at a later date).	
	Amount allowed,	\$200.00
	Amount disallowed,	\$50.00

In remarks appended to the above account he says:

I have ventured to ask that this sum be awarded me to cover my expenses, and be some small compensation for my services, from the following considerations, to-wit:

The immediate agency I had in bringing the Indian war to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion by the delivering up to General Scott, the principal hostile chiefs, through my influence and extraordinary exertions: attending the Council at Rock Island at a period of the greatest mortality from the cholera, and in effectually aiding General Scott in effecting the treaty entered into with the Winnebagoes for the cession of a large portion of their country on the east, and removal of many of the Winnebagoes to the west of the Mississippi.—Services which I feel confident General Scott and Governor Reynolds will readily acknowledge. After the treaty no means of conveyance offering, I purchased for cash, a horse and saddle to ride home.

(Signed) Jos. M. STREET,

U. S. Indian Agent.

The cutting off of one-fifth of General Street's claim for extra services shows a short-sighted policy in the Indian Department, when it is known that the Indians repeatedly offered him land and money as a grateful acknowledgement of their obligations to him, and he found it necessary often to explain to them that he was paid by their Great Father and could not take money or land from them. The traders would have paid largely for his favor in overlooking irregularities in their dealings with the Indians. In 1836 Keokuk wanted him to accept a reservation of land; but on his refusal, proposed to place a sum

of money in Mr. Davenport's hands (the trader at Rock Island) for him, saying no one would be the wiser. He looked at Keokuk with a smile and said: "Do you want me to be under Mr. Davenport's thumb?"

After the treaty of September 15, 1832, as the Winnebagoes were returning from Rock Island to Prairie du Chien, their head chief, Carramanee, the lame, died of cholera. This was a great loss to the tribe and to General Street, who expected through him to carry out his plans for the civilization and education of the Winnebagoes. He was the only chief that he had been able entirely to withdraw from the influence of the traders—and in this reformed drunkard he could place implicit confidence.

In connection with the treaty of Feb. 15, 1832, there occurred a circumstance of interest in the history of Wisconsin. For some time General Street had seen that he could not settle and civilize the Winnebagoes in Wisconsin; and, in 1830, when an opportunity offered he suggested to the government the purchase of a strip forty miles wide, extending from the Mississippi to the Des Moines, half from the Sacs and Foxes, and half from the Sioux, to be held as neutral ground, and thus put a stop to the wars between those tribes. In 1832, he got the commissioners to give this land (the neutral ground) to the Winnebagoes for land in Wisconsin, thus opening a large tract for settlement, and removing the Indians from that part of the Territory. This gave quite an impetus to the growth of Wisconsin, by opening the country south and east of that river, and removing the Indians from that part of the Territory. It gave quiet to the frontier, not only by opening new lands but by avoiding any danger of trouble with the Indians.

In the treaty of September 15, 1832, the government agreed to build a school house and open a farm for the Winnebagoes. In 1833, when General Street took the portage band to their new home, he located the farm and commenced the school building, but before it was com-

pleted, the work was stopped by an order from the Indian Department, which caused the delay of a year. In 1834, General Street was transferred to the Sacs and Foxes and the school and farm made little progress for years.

The traders would have had General Street removed from office if it had not been for the steadfast friendship of General Jackson; they only prevented the carrying out of his plans for the civilization of the Indians. There is no doubt that he would have settled the Winnebagoes in permanent homes and started them on the way to civilization had he been sustained by the Indian Department. In a letter to Mr. Carr (Secretary of War) urging the adoption of his plans, he says, (Sept. 12, 1834):

Previous to my arrival at the Prairie du Chien Agency, two years had not passed together since the late war without some white man being killed by these Indians; since my appointment not one instance of killing has occurred.

The difficulties he had to surmount during the years from 1832 to 1834 were calculated to discourage a less resolute and determined man. but in his efforts to protect the Indians and advance their interests he never faltered. After his removal to Rock Island in 1835, there had been a sub-agent (Mr. Boyd) placed at Prairie du Chien, and in 1837 the Winnebagoes sold their land east of the Mississippi. By this treaty which was made to suit the traders, the Indians were to receive the price of the land in annual specie payments. There was also a sum set apart, to be paid to the traders on old debts, and to the half breeds. As this money was to be distributed among the parties entitled to it, the government sent commissioners to Prairie du Chien to designate the amounts to be paid to each person. General Simon Cameron and a Mr. Murray were sent out for that purpose. After the certificate had been issued by the Commissioners, several persons wrote to Major E. A. Hitchcock, Superintendent of Indian Affairs

at St. Louis, and to General Street, charging that fraud had been practiced in making the distribution. General Street wrote to Major Hitchcock on the subject and informed the parties at Prairie du Chien that, if they could sustain the charges, he and Major Hitchcock would get the action of the Commissioners set aside. They succeeded in having this done and a new award was made.

General Street did not wish to be changed from the Winnebago Agency at Prairie du Chien to the Sac and Fox Agency at Rock Island and made a strong appeal, which was endorsed by Colonel Richard M. Johnson, who said:

Congress was under the impression that the Sac and Fox nation could not do without an agent, and established by law the Rock Island Agency. After the adjournment, the Rock Island Agency was transferred to Green Bay, and the Sacs and Foxes attached to the Prairie du Chien Agency. This arrangement is ruinous to the Indians in this country, is calculated to stop all improvement of the Indians, throw them completely into the hands of the traders; will render them more and more miserable and dependent, and will eventuate in another Indian war. No military commanding officer however he may desire the amelioration of the Indian can devote that time to the subject, especially to schools and agriculture among them, that an agent can, and without the constant and faithful personal attention of an agent, it is entirely throwing away money to attempt to school or to teach them farming. There ought to be an agent for the Sacs and Foxes to reside on the Des Moines within their country. They are an important, warlike nation, many of their chiefs well informed, and they require a good agent, who by living among them on the Des Moines, could soon acquire a decided influence over and control them; and in a few years they might be taught to farm entirely. Now they raise a great quantity of corn without help or instruction, but are much pestered by white traders with whiskey, etc. If removed to the interior of their country and given the necessary aid and the personal attention of a capable and faithful agent, they would rapidly improve in their agriculture, gradually withdraw from the roving life of hunters, and with the acquisition of property desire security and peace. The Prairie du Chien Agency is as much as one man can possibly do justice to. The important services rendered by General Street at that agency during the Sac and Fox war, the influence he has shown he possesses over the Winnebagoes and part of the Sioux, and the steps he was taking to educate them and teach them farming, point him out as

the proper person for agent at Prairie du Chien; and his services certainly ought to induce the President to assign to him a residence and to have some regard for his personal feelings and interests. General Street, as he wishes it, ought to be stationed at Prairie du Chien, and the Sacs and Foxes made a distinct agency established on the Des Moines at the place where the Fort is placed, if any is established there, if not, at or near the Indian village on the Des Moines.

Something of the customs of the Indians may be learned from a letter written by General Street to General Wm. Clarke, Superintendent at St. Louis, August 14, 1833. He says:

Sometime past I transmitted to you an account of three Sac prisoners now with the Sioux, two young men and a little girl. The little girl was taken to Rock Island by Wabashaw, the Sioux chief, and delivered to me at that place. The Sioux chief had adopted her into his family to replace a little girl who had recently died, and desired me to ask her of General Scott, which I did, and General Scott made inquiries of the interpreter who informed him that her nearest relatives had been killed during the war. General Scott upon this gave the little girl to Wabashaw, and he took her home and treated her as his child. The two young men were adopted into families, but can return home when they please. Having acted with Colonel Z. Taylor, commanding at Fort Crawford, and obtained from the Sioux all the prisoners except these three, he called on me to make inquiries as to these. I did so; and communicated to him the above facts. Before Colonel Taylor requires these prisoners of the Sioux. I would be greatly gratified to receive instructions on the subject. To wrest the little girl from the Sioux chief after her delivery at Rock Island and the act of General Scott, would have a tendency to impair that confidence the Indians now repose in the officers of our government and possibly cause much discontent. The others might be required to be brought to this place, and when delivered to Colonel Taylor told that they might do as they pleased: give them liberty to go home to the Sacs and Foxes or return to the Sioux, and let them make their selection and act accordingly. Be pleased to answer this as early as convenient, as Colonel Taylor wishes to make the requisition as soon as I can receive your instructions.

Observe how readily any commendable trait in the Indian is recognized and respected and with what care the honor of our government is guarded and their respect for it cultivated.

In 1835, General Street removed his family to Rock

Island, where he resided until the autumn of 1837, when he returned to Prairie du Chien at his own request and at very considerable personal sacrifice, on account of his desire to place the Winnebago school and farm on a permanent footing. The Superintendent, Rev. David Lowry, had complained that they were not prospering on account of the opposition of the traders and lack of proper care on the part of the government in carrying out the stipulations of the treaty of 1832. In 1838 he selected the site for the new Sac and Fox Agency on the Des Moines and let contracts for the necessary buildings. In the spring of 1839, he removed his family to the new Agency, and, as it was so far from Prairie du Chien, he gave up all supervision of the Winnebagoes.

In October, 1837, General Street took a deputation of Sacs and Foxes to Washington, consisting of Keokuk, Appanoose, Poweshiek, Wapello, Black Hawk and Kishke-kosh. There may have been others. On the trip they were at one time on a boat commanded by Captain West (afterwards of Des Moines) and were so well treated by him that General Street recommended other Indian deputations, who were behind, to take Captain West's boat. At one of the transfers a line of coaches stood beside the platform, Black Hawk was in one of them and in the next one back Keokuk, and in front of him Mr. A. Le Claire. The people ask for Black Hawk; Keokuk pointed forward, and, as Le Claire was in front, he was mistaken for Black Hawk, and thus Keokuk's quick wit gave the impression that Black Hawk was a fat man of over 300 pounds weight. In New York no attention was shown the party, and when they walked out to look at the city they were so crowded that General Street led them through a store into an alley and thus back to the hotel. In Boston they were entertained by the Mayor and Governor Everett, and Keokuk was presented with a silver

medal.* They were taken around the city in open carriages and gave a war dance on Boston Common. The impression left on the minds of the Indians was that Boston was the finest and largest city in the United States. At the treaty made at this time they sold a strip of land west of the Black Hawk purchase (in 1832) twenty-five miles wide at Iowa City and narrower at the north and south terminus. Before the lines were run on the Des Moines river some settlers got over the line, among whom was Mr. Van Caldwell. When the order was issued for the removal of the intruders General Street appointed Mr. Caldwell to keep a ferry over the Des Moines river for the convenience of the government employees in going to the mill built for the Indians on Soap Creek. Mr. Caldwell was probably as well known as any of the early settlers in that region. He was a Virginia gentleman of the old school and a warm personal friend of the most prominent men of Iowa of his day. His son, Henry Clay Caldwell, is now one of the judges of the United States Circuit Court.

Of the early settlers General Street numbered among his friends Captain Jesse B. Brown, Messrs. William and John Graham of Keokuk, (whom he had known before they came to Iowa), General A. C. Dodge, General V. P. Van Antwerp, Messrs. Grimes and Star who were his legal advisers, and J. A. Edwards who was publishing *The Union Patriot* at Jacksonville, Illinois, when he first met him. Mr. Edwards came to Ft. Madison and afterwards settled in Burlington, where he established *The Burlington Hawkeye*.

* This medal was found in a ploughed field in one of our southern counties, twenty or more years afterward. The man who found it cut a strip about an inch wide from the lower side of the medal, from which to make a sight for his rifle! He then sold it to one of the early jewelers of Des Moines—in whose possession I saw it—for old silver. It was very smooth, thickest in the center, sloping to a thin edge, and bore this inscription: "The City of Boston, to Keokuk, Chief of the Sacs and Foxes." I believe it also bore the date, "1837." Years afterward I made an effort to trace and secure this medal for the State, but without success.—EDITOR OF THE ANNALS.

Iowa had been more fortunate than any of the States, up to that time, in having no Indian wars and much of the credit of this peaceful condition may be given to General Street. His influence over the Indians from 1827 to 1839 and his intercourse with the white settlers, were constantly used to secure and preserve peace. During those years there were often occurrences that would have led to bloodshed had it not been for his efforts. The Winnebagoes were with the British in the war of 1812 and there was some feeling of hostility among them up to 1827. A part of the Sacs and Foxes were also called "The British Band." He brought both these tribes to a feeling of warm friendship for the people and the government of the United States.

General Street had obtained, by treaty stipulations, the setting aside a portion of the annuity paid to the Sacs and Foxes, to be expended in aid of their advancement in the arts of civilization. During the year 1839 he proposed to the tribe to sell a portion of their land and apply the proceeds to the improvement of a small portion on the Des Moines river, which he advised them to select for their permanent home, to be allotted in severalty. But his failing health prevented the carrying out of these plans. He was taken sick in November, 1839, and lingered until May 5, 1840. When the Indians heard of his death they came to the Agency and requested the family to bury him in their country, saying they would give his widow a section of land to include the grave, and a half section to each of his children. But finding the government opposed to this, the Indians were determined not to sell the land on which the grave was located. That section was reserved for Mrs. Street by the treaty of 1842.

General Street's plan was the allotment of the Indian lands to them in severalty, and as soon as practicable make them citizens of the United States. This is the plan now adopted by the government. He gained great influ-

ence over the Indians with whom he was associated, and his management and control of the intercourse between them and the whites was such as to insure peaceful relations. Previous to his going among the Indians there had been constant trouble in Illinois and Wisconsin, but during his time there was never any trouble with the Indians of his Agency, and the settlers of Wisconsin had no Indian wars. General Street refers to this fact in his letter to the Secretary of War.

One of his many communications to the Indian Department closes with these words: "Teach him agriculture and his family domestic economy, give him by experience right notions of individual property, and the plan of civilizing the Indian commences with the A, B, C, of civilization."

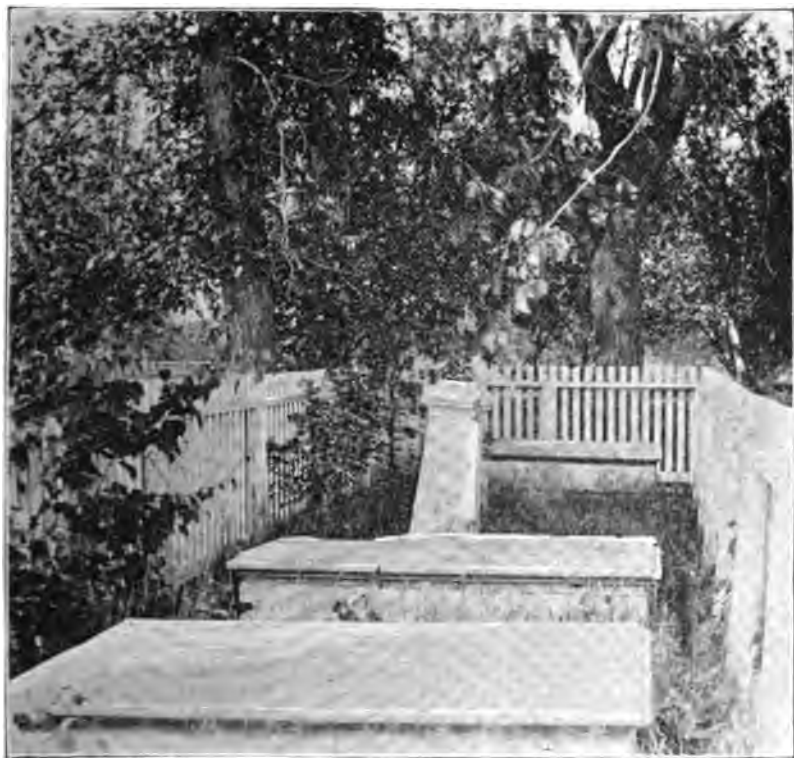
General Street's private and public life show him to have been one of the best of men. He was an affectionate husband and father, a sincere friend and a devoted Christian. All who knew him respected him and his family and friends loved him. Had he been permitted to carry out his plans for the management of the Indians, many of them would now be civilized and settled in Iowa and Minnesota. Within the last few years some of his plans are being adopted. He obtained the first appropriation for farms, mills, and schools, recommending the allotment of lands in severalty, the abolition of tribal relations, and their admission to citizenship.

General Street lingered through the winter of 1839-40 at the Sac and Fox Agency, near the Des Moines river, Iowa, not far from the place where since has been built the city of Ottumwa. Dr. Enos Lowe of Burlington, afterwards one of the founders of Omaha, and Dr. Volney Spaulding of Ft. Madison, attended him, coming a distance of seventy-five miles, there being no physician nearer. As soon as he could be summoned, his brother-in-law, Dr. Posey, of Shawneetown, Ill., came to his assis-

tance, and was in constant attendance until his death. His disease, which was paralysis, was attended with aphasia, and he had much difficulty in expressing himself, but his mind was clear and his faith bright. A short time before the end he called his family together and spoke of his probable death with his customary fearlessness, and charged them to meet him in heaven.

The affairs of his Agency were attended to by his sons, and the Indian Department was apprised of his illness. The course of the Department is another evidence of the strong hold his long and faithful services had given him with the government. The President offered, if his illness should permanently unfit him for the duties of the Agency, to appoint any of his sons or sons-in-law whom he would recommend. And after his death the President did appoint one of his sons-in-law, Major John Beach, to succeed him.

A life-long friend, the Rev. John Cameron, of the Cumberland Presbyterian church, preached his funeral sermon, and he was followed to the grave by the Indians whom he had loved, and for whom he had labored with disinterested zeal, and who had in return given him in full measure respect, love, and trust. Does any one want proof of the true nobility of the Indian character? Let him go to the home of this Agent when he lay in his winding sheet. Keokuk and other chiefs stood around the body of their friend, when after short speeches, in which they eulogized him in such terms as would have done honor to the best on earth, they asked that he might be buried in their country. They wished, as above stated, to give the widow a section of land to include the spot where his body might be laid, and a half a section to each of his twelve children. Keokuk said this promise was in the name of the whole tribe, and if but one Indian was left when the land was sold, that one would see that the promise to the dead was faithfully kept.



OLD GRAVES AT AGENCY CITY, IOWA.

The pillar marks that of Gen. J. M. Street; those in the foreground were members of his family; that of the Indian Chief Wapello is next to the picket fence in the back-ground.

In many ways these Indians gave evidence that he still lived in their memories. One instance is worthy of mention. Wapello, one of the chiefs, and at his own request, was brought by the Indians many miles from his camp to be buried at the side of his "father and friend."

The text of his funeral discourse is a fitting conclusion of a life lived in the fear of God and fearless of man: "Say ye to the righteous that it shall be well with him: for they shall eat the fruit of their doings." Isaiah 3. 10.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN M. CORSE.

IN THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1864.—1. IN THE RED RIVER EXPEDITION. 2. IN THE ATLANTA CAMPAIGN. 3. AT ROME, GEORGIA, AND IN THE DEFENSE OF ALLATOONA. 4. IN THE MARCH TO THE SEA, AND THE CAPTURE OF SAVANNAH.

BY REV. DR. WILLIAM SALTER.

Upon recovering in a measure from his wounds received at Tunnel Hill on Missionary Ridge, General Corse was assigned to the command for a few weeks of the rendezvous for drafted men at Springfield, Ill., and on the 29th of February was ordered to report to General Sherman. Meantime General Grant, understanding that more brigadier-generals had been appointed than could be confirmed by the Senate, submitted to General Halleck a new list of recommendations, giving names in the order of his preference, taking into consideration services rendered and fitness for the position. He was personally acquaint-

ted with them all. Of fourteen names the fifth on the list was John M. Corse.

Early in March General Sherman had sent a force of ten thousand men under General A. J. Smith to co-operate with General Banks in the Red River expedition. With reference to this and other movements General Sherman entrusted a confidential mission to General Corse, the nature of which appears in extracts from orders and dispatches relating thereto, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
NASHVILLE, April 3, 1864.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL CORSE, Present:

I select you for special service, and hereby clothe you with power to use my name to carry out certain plans which I herein describe, and on the exhibition of this letter all commanders subject to my orders will be governed.

You will move with all dispatch to Paducah. Explain to Colonel Hicks my satisfaction at his handsome defense of his post, which he may announce to his troops in orders. Deliver to him a copy of the inclosed memorandum, and one to General Veatch, to be sent up (the Tennessee river) to him by some certain conveyance; then touch at Cairo and explain to General Brayman the same, Columbus and Memphis the same, and then proceed down the Mississippi till you meet the fleet of General A. J. Smith. If you don't meet him this side of Red River you may at your discretion ask for a flat gun-boat or go on in the boat you start with, up Red River, till you find General Smith and deliver to him the orders and instructions for him; also send to Admiral Porter, General Banks, and General Steele the communications for them.

After you have had communication with all these, report to General Smith and act under his orders. If to carry out my plans you find it necessary, you may make written orders, signing by order of General Sherman. I place at your disposal here at Nashville a fleet steamboat guarded by one hundred armed and dismounted cavalry, which steamboat you can take with you all the way or transfer to others, discharging this at your discretion.

GENERAL MEMORANDA:

1. The posts of Columbus, Cairo, and Paducah to be held in force, and mere excursions sent out to occupy the attention of Forrest.
2. General Veatch to occupy a point near Purdy and to strike Forrest in flank as he attempts to pass out.
3. General Hurlburt to operate from Memphis with his infantry

and cavalry, guarding the passes of Big Hatchie and communicating with General Veatch.

4. General A. J. Smith to return from Red River, pause at Vicksburg to replenish supplies, and to push up Yazoo to Greenwood and Sidon, march rapidly to Grenada, and operate in Forrest's rear. If Forrest is escaped, broken up or captured, all the troops to resume the statu quo, and General Smith to conduct his force by steady marches across to the Tombigbee, and up to Decatur, Alabama, where General Dodge will move out to meet him. This column to move light as to wagons and artillery, depending for forage, corn, meal and meat, on the country, reckoning for supplies only at Vicksburg and Decatur; General Smith taking with him the two tried generals, Corse and Mower.

5. General Corse may order in my name any subordinate details to carry out these plans and the instructions of the commanding general.

Copies of this to be sent to Generals McPherson, Veatch, Brayman, Hurlburt, and McArthur, and to the commanding officers at Paducah and Columbus, with express orders of secrecy.

W. T. SHERMAN,
Major-General Commanding,

SHERMAN TO GENERAL A. J. SMITH, COMMANDING DETACHMENT ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE, UP RED RIVER.

NASHVILLE, April 3, 1864.

General Corse who brings this will explain to you the exact attitude of things and will serve under your orders. You will have in Generals Corse and Mower two of the finest young officers in any army, and I will endeavor to preserve the most absolute secrecy. Should any combinations now unforeseen arise, you may depend on my reaching you with notice; therefore act with the confidence that insures success. I want you and the generals I have named advanced in rank, and you may rely on all the influence I possess.

Call on Admiral Porter or any naval officer you find for co-operation and assistance, and you will find them ever ready.

SHERMAN TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS, COMMANDING DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF, RED RIVER.

NASHVILLE, April 4, 1864.

The thirty days for which I loaned you the command of General A. J. Smith will expire on the 10th. I send down with this Brigadier-General John M. Corse to carry orders to General Smith, and to give directions to a new movement preliminary to the general campaign.

I beg you will expedite their return to Vicksburg, to co-operate against Forrest, after which to march across to Decatur, Alabama,—a big job, therefore should start at once.

**SHERMAN TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL J. A. RAWLINS, CHIEF
OF GENERAL GRANT'S STAFF, WASHINGTON, D. C.**

NASHVILLE, Tennessee, April 4, 1864.

Last night I sent General Corse down the Cumberland with orders and verbal explanations to the commanders. He is to push on to Memphis, and hurry up Red River to General A. J. Smith, and bring him with all dispatch to Vicksburg and up the Yazoo, and rapidly occupy Grenada. With 10,000 men and two such dashing officers as Corse and Mower, A. J. Smith can whip all the cavalry and infantry (if any) in North Mississippi.

General Banks agreed with me that our troops should form a junction at Alexandria on the 17th of March. Mine were there on time, capturing Fort De Russy en route; but Banks did not leave New Orleans till March 22d. This failure in time in conjoint operations is wrong, because it endangers the troops that punctually obey orders. I suppose that Steele is moving on Shreveport with 7,000 and Banks with 17,000. These are enough to co-operate with the gunboats, and therefore I rightfully claim my 10,000 with General A. J. Smith at the time agreed on, April 10th, at which time General Corse should find them at Alexandria and conduct them to their new field of operations.

**SHERMAN TO GENERAL MCPHERSON, COMMANDING DE-
PARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE, HUNTSVILLE,
ALABAMA.**

NASHVILLE, April 6, 1864.

General Banks pledged me his word that he would leave New Orleans March 7th, and that my troops will not be wanted up the Red River beyond the thirty days after they enter it. That time will expire the 10th, inst., and General Corse will be at the mouth of Red River by that time. He left Cairo with a good boat and two pilots, on the 4th, at 11 A. M.

CORSE TO SHERMAN.

MEMPHIS, April 6, 1864.

Arrived 11:30 A. M. Saw General Hurlburt. The force of the enemy I think is exaggerated, but underrated by yourself. I leave immediately.

**HEADQUARTERS POST AND DEFENSES,
VICKSBURG, Miss., April 8, 1864.**

Arrived about 8 A. M. Will coal and leave at 11 A. M. Will make mouth of Red River at about 7 A. M. Gave General McArthur the memoranda, and informed him of the projected plan. He can give us 500 cavalry and will mount the 100 you gave me for an escort, which I will retain and bring back overland. I directed scouts to be sent out immediately, so as to have all information possible by my return; also a

cavalry force thrown out too see whether two brigades of cavalry that were at Mechanicsburg are still there or not. The tendency is to over-estimate the enemy wherever I go, but I think that if we can find a crossing on the Tombigbee we can whip anything they have got. From information I can gather I am induced to believe our best route is from Grenada to Columbus, thence to Decatur on the ridge between the Tombigbee and Black Warrior. However, we will see.

SHERMAN TO CORSE, VICKSBURG.

NASHVILLE, April 9, 1864.

After consultation with General Grant it is determined not to make the march from Grenada. Smith's forces will therefore come up the Mississippi to Cairo, thence up the Tennessee to join McPherson. After Smith is out of Red River you may therefore rejoin me, wherever I may be, via Nashville.

SHERMAN TO GENERAL MCPHERSON, HUNTSVILLE, ALA.

NASHVILLE, April 11, 1864.

I want Smith's entire command to come to your right flank for a special reason. I want Mower and his command. He is the boldest soldier we have. He and Corse, with 5,000 men each, would break through any line you encounter. In your operations in the campaign you will need two such officers as Mower and Corse.

ADMIRAL D. D. PORTER TO GENERAL SHERMAN.

FLAG SHIP CRICKET, Off Grand Ecore, La., April 14, 1864.

You will no doubt be much disappointed at not having General A. J. Smith's division returned to you in the time expected, but you will be reconciled when I assure you that the safety of this army and my whole fleet depend on his staying here. His is the only part of the army not demoralized, and if he was to leave there would be a disastrous retreat. The army has been shamefully beaten. It is too long a tale to write; General Corse has heard it all and will tell you all about it.

CORSE TO GENERAL SHERMAN.

CAIRO, April 21, 1864, 2:30 p. m.

Banks was attacked by Kirby Smith near Mansfield, Louisiana, on the 18th inst., and retreated to Grand Ecore *a la* Bull Run. He refused to let Smith go for obvious reasons, stating however that he had authority from both Generals Grant and Halleck to retain your troops longer. The Admiral's iron-clads are caught by low water, some above the bars at Grand Ecore, the rest above the falls, and he not only refuses to consent to the removal of Smith, but refuses to allow him

a transport to take him out of the river; stating that to take Smith away would occasion the loss of his fleet, the destruction of General Bank's demoralized command, and enable the enemy to crush General Steele. I have communications from General Banks and Admiral Porter, and will be with you as speedily as possible.

GENERAL BANKS TO GENERAL SHERMAN.

GRAND ECORE, April 14, 1864.

Your dispatch of the 3d was delivered to me by General Corse. I have been compelled to say to General Smith that I could not approve your order for the withdrawal of his force at this time.

SHERMAN TO HALLECK, WASHINGTON, D. C.

NASHVILLE, April 23, 1864.

Corse is here, having just come from Grand Ecore. He describes the battle more satisfactorily than I had it before. Banks had 17,000 men, A. J. Smith 10,000; that force well handled should have whipped Kirby Smith. General Corse says that General Banks ordered a retreat from the battlefield back to Grand Ecore, near thirty-five miles, that, too, when the enemy was also retreating. Our wounded, dead and trains were left on the field. That is defeat. I would not ask General Banks to send away Smith's command under these circumstances, but I would ask him to renew the attack. General Corse speaks of all the troops being demoralized except those of A. J. Smith.

2.—IN THE ATLANTA CAMPAIGN.

[“To be at the head of a strong column of troops in the execution of some task that requires brain, is the highest pleasure of war—a grim one and terrible.”—GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN, *Memoirs*, II, 407.]

On the 27th of April General Sherman took the field at Chattanooga for the Atlanta Campaign. The next day he placed General Corse upon his staff as Inspector General. In this capacity General Corse took part in all the movements from Chattanooga to Atlanta, pushing things in every direction, now reconnoitering in front, now building pontoon bridges, now commanding detachments, now supervising the forwarding of supplies, going

back and forth between different commanders with explanations and instructions, enjoying in every situation the unlimited confidence of his chief. In his official report at the close of the Atlanta Campaign, General Sherman spoke of General Corse and of the other officers upon his staff, as "officers of singular energy and intelligence, and of immense assistance to him in handling the large armies of his command."

The death of General McPherson on the 22nd of July necessitated changes in many commands. General Logan was assigned temporarily to command the Army of the Tennessee, and he at once applied for the services of General Corse with that Army. In granting the request General Sherman said, "I give up General Corse because the good of the service demands that at this crisis you should have good division commanders;" and he issued the following orders:

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
In the Field, near Atlanta, Ga., July 26, 1864.

SPECIAL FIELD ORDER, No. 43.

1. Upon the application of Major-General John A. Logan, commanding the Army of the Tennessee in the field, Brigadier-General J. M. Corse, acting inspector general of this army, is hereby relieved and assigned to duty with the Department and Army of the Tennessee, and will report in person to General Logan, that he may be assigned to duty according to his rank with troops.

2. The general commanding in thus relieving General Corse from a purely staff position, to enable him to accept the higher and more appropriate one in connection with troops in actual service, thanks him for his personal and official services rendered during the present campaign near his person.

The same day at the request of Major-General G. M. Dodge, commanding left wing, Sixteenth Army Corps, General Corse was assigned to the second division of that corps. That division was composed of veterans, and now numbered 3,754 effectives. It had repulsed a terrific as-

sault upon its lines the day McPherson was killed, and retrieved disaster with surprising valor and heroism. It was now under marching orders to move from the left to the right and take a new position in the siege of Atlanta. On the following day, July 27th, General Corse occupied a commanding ridge about two and a half miles west of the city. The same day Major-General O. O. Howard took command of the Army of the Tennessee. The ridge was soon entrenched, and a six-gun battery built upon a prominent knoll, the line having an open field in front, beyond which Atlanta was visible. The next day, July 28th, as the enemy made a furious assault upon the Fifteenth Corps which was then getting in position further on the right, General Corse sent two regiments at a double quick to the relief of that corps. Their services at the critical moment proved invaluable, and were warmly appreciated by General Logan who had resumed command of that corps.

From day to day General Corse's force was occupied in strengthening his works, erecting batteries, in skirmishes, digging rifle-pits, advancing his line, and shelling the enemy's works and the city. On the 4th of August the enemy's first rifle-pits were captured, and after severe fighting, being driven from and recapturing these pits three times, the enemy was driven back and the line taken was entrenched that night and held by a double line of skirmishers. On the 12th the command occupied works thrown up in the night on a ridge overlooking part of the city, the skirmishers being about sixty yards from the enemy. From this line a single ravine separated the ridge from that on which Atlanta was located. About 2 a. m. Welker's battery, Lt. Blodgett commanding, moved in to an elevated point that furnished a fine natural position for a battery. As the fog lifted from the intervening space, the enemy, says General Corse, discovered our line, our battery and working parties, and opened all their



GEN. O. O. HOWARD.

metal on the six 12-pounders. Their shot and shell penetrated the parapet, tore out the revetment, burst in front, over and inside, killing and wounding the gunners, and threatening demolition to the entire battery. But our veteran artillerists stuck close to their guns, and handled them so well that Lt. Blodgett was enabled in one hour to silence both forts in his front. The true effect of artillery was best found in volley firing. While one or two guns fired consecutively at an object for a week may produce no effect, six guns fired together and repeatedly will overcome an obstacle in a short time. The great success of this battery throughout the campaign was owing to its concentrated fire. On the 13th of August, a 4½ inch Rodman was placed in battery where the line connected with the right of the Army of the Cumberland. The position overlooked the whole valley, and the gun opened on the city every fifteen minutes through the day and every five minutes during the night. This piece fired 1,080 rounds before being dismounted. A battery of 20-pounder Parrotts was placed in position with Welker's guns; a furnace was built; and hot shot fired from two of them during the night. The heating process seemed to expand the shot so as to take the rifling more perfectly, and the experiment was a perfect success. General Corse was not sure that the hot shot fired any houses, but large fires were visible in the city every night hot shot was used save one.

The command suffered severely as a besieging party. They were so close to the enemy that extreme danger attended exposure at any point on the skirmish line, and batteries on our right and left flanks destroyed many in the reserve lines. There was no safety or security; cooks, grooms, clerks in their offices, were as subject to being hit by random shell or shot as men in the extreme front.

Pursuant to orders, General Corse withdrew from the siege August 25th at 8 p. m. The movement was made with secrecy and celerity to mislead the enemy. The

Army of the Tennessee moved south to break the rebel lines of communication by the West Point and Macon railroads, and after considerable resistance entrenched in front of Jonesborough, and awaited an assault by the Confederate forces under General Hardee. General Corse says: "The morning of the 31st found us bivouacked on the west bank of Flint River, about two miles from Jonesborough. After throwing up a strong line on the river bank and building two bridges, I was directed by Major-General Howard to send Adams' brigade across the river. Lieutenant Blodgett's battery was placed on the right of the brigade, without any protection. The distance to the river from the battery was about 1,000 yards, which was left open for the enemy to come in. At 1 p. m. General Rice's brigade was thrown across the river in reserve. The line we occupied was on a ridge with a cornfield in front, a ravine intervening. Dense woods along the river furnished excellent cover for infantry; along the farther edge of the cornfield was another strip of timber. At 2 p. m. our skirmishers were pushed in, followed by a line of battle which emerged from the forest and came out obliquely into the cornfield. Adams' brigade with Blodgett's battery sent them back. Rice's brigade was now double-quickened to the right of the battery. Again the enemy charged, advancing through the cornfield squarely with our works, their flags floating in the lazy breeze. The men were ordered not to fire till the enemy came out of the field of corn into the meadow in front of our works. Their appearance was welcomed by a tremendous volley along Adams' brigade, and by double-shotted guns from the battery, followed by the rattling of file-firing along the line. A portion of the rebel line broke and ran for life to the woods; the rest, in front of Rice's command, sought shelter in a gully about deep enough to conceal a man, and were temporarily safe. The 66th Indiana rushed into the gully, killing and driving them out, and bringing about sixty

back as prisoners. Rice's brigade built a parapet, from which it would have been impossible to have driven them, so expert had the men become in practical engineering. Meanwhile the enemy reformed his scattered lines, massed, and moved through the woods, but not sufficiently covered to prevent our canister from raking his flanks, so as to compel him to hurry off, leaving his dead and some of his wounded in our hands."

On the 1st of September the command advanced the line and after a brisk skirmish drove the enemy from a portion of his line. At daylight on the 2d the skirmishers found the rebel lines deserted. On pressing into Jonesborough they were too late to capture a train of cars just leaving, but gave it a few farewell shots. The same night that the Confederate forces under Hardee evacuated Jonesborough, the Confederate forces under Hood evacuated Atlanta, and both places were that day occupied by the Union troops.

After a few movements against the retreating enemy, and tearing up the Macon railroad track, General Corse marched his command back to Jonesborough. In the evening of Sept. 5, a terrific thunder storm overtook them, filling the roads with sink-holes and slush, and flooding the streams so that men must go waist deep to ford them. All night the patient, wet and weary men labored over the roads, now halting and lying in the road until some team was pried out of the mud, now deploying as skirmishers, now moving to the rear to take the place of some other command that had left the rear without orders, or to cover some cavalry brigade. Daylight on the 6th found them dragging their weary way into Jonesborough, and by 7 a. m. they occupied the same works they were in during the battle of August 31st. The next day they marched toward East Point, and went into camp near that place "in good spirits, cheerful, and as strong for mischief as if they had not walked their toilsome miles or fought the most

stubborn struggles of the war." "Words are inadequate," says General Corse's official report, "to convey a fitting eulogium of the brave and gallant officers of this command. Their conduct inspires one with admiration for his species, and their devotion to their country's cause awakens the conviction that with such men the flag of our country will ever be triumphant."

In marching through the enemy's country General Corse gave stringent orders against pillaging. Observing a disregard of this rule by a certain company, he ordered charges preferred against the officers in command of the company, "for conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline. Pillaging, at all times disgraceful and demoralizing, will not be allowed in this command. While brigade commanders can appropriate properly any article of provision or forage necessary, they are to use every exertion to enforce orders against marauding and lawlessness."

On the 10th of September General Corse issued the following address:

TO THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE SECOND DIVISION SIXTEENTH ARMY CORPS.

You have just passed through the most arduous campaign of the war, and by un murmuring endurance of privations and hardships have won the everlasting gratitude of your Government and people. By heroism and gallantry on the field you have earned and now enjoy the reputation of being among the best soldiers the Republic has sent into the field. Your name is historical, and future generations will point with pride to your deeds, and be stimulated to emulate your actions when danger shall menace the institutions for which you have so manfully struggled. It is unnecessary to enumerate the scenes through which you have passed, for they are engraved in the hearts of a grateful people, and the satisfaction of knowing that you have done your duty, and done it well, is sweeter than listening to the catalogue of obstacles overcome and trials endured. You must remember it is equally if not more difficult to sustain a good name than to secure one. Your labors are not finished. Although we have set down for a season of rest, you are not to be idle. You must turn the energies you have hitherto displayed into other channels. Officers must strive to render

themselves proficient in the profession to which they have devoted themselves. Schools of instruction for officers of all grades will be established. Strict attention must be paid to the conduct and military bearing of the men at parades, guard mountings, and roll calls, to the policing of the camp, to the cleanliness of the men and the neatness of their arms and clothing. All must labor to be prompt and vigilant on duty, to be patient to inferiors, and obedient to superiors. The debasing influences of camp vices must be counteracted by the introduction of harmless games; gymnasiums must be established, where exercises will be introduced to add strength to the body, activity to the limbs, and grace to the motion. The men must be made to understand that it is disgraceful to get drunk, to quarrel, or use profane or coarse language; that they are regarded as gentlemen, and should bear themselves as such. Brigade and regimental commanders will institute a judicious system of rewards and punishments, and all must strive to impress upon their commands that their profession is the most dignified and honorable in the world, that the rank and reputation of each man depends upon his own conduct, and that the success of a cause, the most sacred in which man ever embarked, is dependent upon their labors while in camp.

You have a difficult task before you, but you can accomplish it, if you manifest one-half the energy, patience, and perseverance you have displayed throughout the campaign, on the marches, in the trenches, and on the battlefield. Let every man do his duty.

JOHN M. CORSE,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

3.—AT ROME, GEORGIA, AND IN THE DEFENSE OF ALLATOONA.

General Corse's anticipations of a "season of rest" and his plan for a "school of instruction" were not to be realized. The enemy was still alert and defiant. General Hood at once began a series of dashing assaults upon General Sherman's rear to break his communications north and cut off his supplies. General Corse was ordered to move to Rome with his command to garrison that post. As he passed through Atlanta General Sherman gave him verbal instructions to be ready at all times to strike in any direction the enemy might be discovered taking.

Rome is situated at the confluence of the Etowah and

Oostenaula rivers, which run parallel on either side of the city until their waters mingle and form the Coosa. It had been occupied since May by the Union forces. Here was a depot of supplies and ordnance for the Army of the Tennessee, also extensive hospitals for that army, containing during the month of October about 2,000 patients. The buildings occupied a commanding eminence to which was given the name of Cemetery Hill.

General Corse immediately provided for the security of the post. He strengthened the fortifications and drilled the troops for rapid work. Citizens were excluded from the lines. Markets, where they might bring vegetables, fruits and meats for sale to the officers and soldiers, were established near the picket-lines. Spies and scouts were sent out to watch the enemy's movements, and reconnaissances were made with the cavalry. On the first of October Hood sent a force to operate on the railroad north of Marietta. The critical state of affairs and the course of events appear in the following extracts from the correspondence of commanders:

CORSE TO GENERAL SHERMAN.

ROME, GEORGIA, Oct. 1, 1864, 10 p. m.

I have two or three spies in to-day. They all seemed puzzled as to Hood's movements.

Oct. 2, 1864.

There are one or two regiments of Texas Cavalry in and about Burnt Hickory and Dallas that commit the mischief done our communications. If you will send, permit me to suggest, about 1,000 cavalry to Dallas, via Villa Rica, I will with a less number drive them down, and the two commands can kill or capture the greater portion of them. If this meets your approval please let me know at once. I propose burning Cedartown, Van Wert and Buchanan, for atrocities committed by gangs of thieves having their rendezvous at those places.

SHERMAN TO CORSE, ROME.

IN THE FIELD, ATLANTA, GA., Oct. 3, 1864.

Hood is meditating some plan on a large scale. Wait a little before burning those towns, till we see what he is going to attempt.

GEN. SHERMAN TO COMMANDING OFFICER, ALLATOONA.

IN THE FIELD, ATLANTA, Oct. 3, 1864.

Hood has some infantry and cavalry about Powder Springs. I am watching him close. He might deceive us and slip up to Acworth and Allatoona. I want the utmost vigilance there. If he goes for Allatoona I want him delayed only long enough for me to reach his rear. His cavalry can only run across the road and bother us, but his infantry would try to capture stores, without which Hood cannot stay where he is. If he moves up toward Allatoona I will surely come in force.

GENERAL SHERMAN TO GENERAL SLOCUM, 20TH CORPS,
ATLANTA.

IN THE FIELD, SMYRNA CAMP-GROUND, Oct. 4, 1864.

I have reason to believe Wheeler is on our road above Resaca. Hood's main army is between me and Allatoona. I shall attack the latter in force, but advise you to work night and day in perfecting those entrenchments, and to economise provisions; but if I live, you may count on me coming to your rescue.

GEN. VANDEVER TO COMMANDING OFFICER, ALLATOONA.

KENESAW MOUNTAIN, Oct. 4, 6:30 p. m.

General Sherman says: "Hold fort. We are coming."

GENERAL SHERMAN TO GENERAL W. L. ELLIOTT, CHIEF OF
CAVALRY, MARIETTA AND DALLAS ROAD.

SMYRNA CAMP-GROUND, Oct. 4, 1864, 11 p. m.

Don't risk the safety of your cavalry until I get up with my whole force, but make bold reconnaissance. My chief object is to prevent the enemy making an attack on Allatoona to-morrow.

Meanwhile a division of the enemy under Major-Gen. Samuel G. French, of Lieutenant-General A. P. Stewart's corps, had struck the railroad on the 3d of October at Big Shanty, nine miles above Marietta, and at Acworth on the 4th, capturing the garrison, destroying the track and the telegraph, and was now under orders to march upon Allatoona, to fill up the deep cut there with logs, brush, rails and dirt, and capture the garrison and the supplies which were stored at the depot, if possible.

At the same time General Sherman was moving his whole force north, except the 20th corps left for the defense of Atlanta. From the hill-top near Vining's Station he signaled to Kenesaw Mountain the message for the commanding officer at Allatoona, reported above, and also a message for General Corse at Rome to hurry to the relief of Allatoona. Though General Sherman's communication to Allatoona was only by signals from mountain tops over the heads of the enemy, yet from Allatoona to Rome communication by railroad and telegraph was not broken.

Immediately on receipt of General Sherman's message, General Corse prepared to move his whole command, but there was only one locomotive at his disposal. With this he made up a train of twenty cars, and at 8:30 p. m. started from Rome with a portion of one brigade, and reached Allatoona, a distance of 35 miles, at 1 a. m. October 5th. Disembarking, and unloading the ammunition, the train started back to bring the balance of the brigade and as many more troops as possible. Heavy rains, however, damaged the track, and an accident delayed the return of the train until more troops were no longer needed.

At once General Corse rode over the ground with the post commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel J. E. Tourtelotte of the 4th Minnesota. The garrison consisted of 890 men from the 4th Minnesota, 93d Illinois, 18th Wisconsin, and 12th Wisconsin battery with six guns. The re-inforcements brought by General Corse consisted of 1,054 men from the 39th Iowa, 7th, 12th, 50th and 57th Illinois.

Allatoona is at the point where the railroad from Chattanooga emerges from the mountains and crosses a high ridge in a deep cut of 65 feet. Fortifications were erected here at the time of General Sherman's advance in June. Each redoubt overlooked the storehouses near the station and each could aid the other defensively by catching in flank the attacking force of the other.

Ad. Gen. & Dir. 15th A. C.
Allatoona Oct 5th - 1864
8 am.

To Officer Commanding
Independent Forces.

I have the honor of acknowledging
right of your communication demanding the surrender
of my force to avoid the useless effusion of
blood & respectfully reply that we are prepared
for the useless effusion of blood whenever it
is agreeable to you - Very respectfully - Ho. McComb.

Comd. & Dir. 15th Corps - U. S. A

At daylight General Corse disposed his troops ready for the enemy, who had been pushing the picket-lines warmly soon after his arrival. The forces were withdrawn from the town to the ridge on either side of the cut. General Corse says in his report of October 7th and 27th to General Sherman:

About 6 a. m. the troops were in the following position: The 7th Illinois and 39th Iowa in line of battle facing west, on a spur that covers the redoubt immediately on the hill over the cut; one battalion of 93d Illinois in reserve, the other in line of skirmishers moving along the ridge in a westerly direction feeling for the enemy, who was endeavoring to push a force around our right flank; the 4th Minnesota, 50th and 12th Illinois were in the works on the hill east of the cut; the balance of the command were on skirmish and outpost duty.

About 7 a. m. the enemy opened artillery fire upon us from Acworth road, to which we responded. Under a brisk cannonade, with sharp skirmishing on our south front and on our west flank the enemy pushed a brigade of infantry around north of us, cut the railroad and telegraph, severing our communication with Cartersville and Rome. At 8:30 a. m. a flag of truce appeared from the north on the Cartersville road, bearing the following summons:

AROUND ALLATOONA, Oct. 5, 1864.

COMMANDING OFFICER U. S. FORCES, ALLATOONA:

Sir: I have placed the forces under my command in such position that you are surrounded, and to avoid a needless effusion of blood I call on you to surrender your forces at once and unconditionally. Five minutes will be allowed you to decide. Should you accede to this, you will be treated in the most honorable manner as prisoners of war.

I have the honor to be very respectfully yours,

S. G. FRENCH,

Major-General Commanding C. S. Forces.

To which I made the following reply:

HEADQUARTERS FOURTH DIVISION, FIFTEENTH ARMY CORPS,

ALLATOONA, GA., Oct. 5, 1864, 8:00 a. m.

TO OFFICER COMMANDING CONFEDERATE FORCES:

Your communication demanding surrender of my command I acknowledge receipt of, and would respectfully reply that we are prepared for the "needless effusion of blood" whenever it is agreeable to you.

Very respectfully,

JOHN M. CORSE,

Commanding 4th Division, 15th Corps, U. S. A.

I then hastened to my different commanders, informing them of the object of the flag and my answer, and the importance and necessity of their preparing for hard fighting. I directed Colonel Rowett to hold the spur on which the 39th Iowa and 7th Illinois were formed, sent Colonel Tourtelotte over to the east hill with orders to hold it to the last, sending to me for reinforcements if needed. Taking two companies of the 93d Illinois down a spur parallel with the railroad and along the brink of the cut, so disposed them as to hold the north side as long as possible. Three companies of the 93d which had been driven in from the west end of the ridge were distributed in the ditch south of the redoubt, with instructions to keep the town well covered by their fire and watch the depot where were stored over a million rations. The remaining battalion, under Major Fisher, lay between the redoubt and Rowett's line, to re-enforce where most needed.

I had hardly issued these orders when the storm broke in all its fury on the 39th Iowa and 7th Illinois. Young's brigade of Texans gained the west end of the ridge and moved with great impetuosity along its crest until they struck Rowett's command, where they received a severe shock, but undaunted they came again and again. Rowett, reinforced by the 93d Illinois and aided by the gallant Redfield, encouraged me to hope that we were all safe here, when I observed a brigade of the enemy under command of General Sears moving from the north, its left extending across the railroad. I rushed to the two companies of the 93d Illinois, which were on the brink of the cut running north from the redoubt and parallel with the railroad, they having been reinforced by the retreating pickets, and urged them to hold on to the spur, but it was of no avail. The enemy's line of battle swept us back like so much chaff and struck the 39th Iowa in flank, threatening to engulf our little band without further ado. Fortunately for us Colonel Tourtelotte's fire caught Sears in the flank, and broke him so badly as to enable me to get a staff officer over the cut, with orders to bring the 50th Illinois over to re-enforce Rowett, who had lost very heavily. However, before the regiment could arrive, Sears and Young both rallied and made their assault in front and on the flank with so much vigor and in such force as to break Rowett's line, and had not the 39th Iowa fought with the desperation it did, I never would have been able to have brought a man back into the redoubt. As it was, their hand-to-hand struggle and stubborn stand broke the enemy to that extent that he must stop to reform before undertaking the assault on the fort. Under cover of the blows they gave the enemy, the 7th and 93d Illinois, and what remained of the 39th Iowa, fell back into the fort. The fighting up to this time (about 11 a. m.) was of a most extraordinary character. Attacked from the north, from the west, and from the south, these three regiments held Young's and a portion of Sears' and Cockrell's brigades at bay for nearly two hours and a half. The gallant Colonel Redfield of the 39th Iowa fell shot in four places, and the extraordinary valor of the men and officers

of this regiment and of the 7th Illinois saved to us Allatoona. So completely disorganized were the enemy that no regular assault could be made on the fort till I had the trenches all filled and the parapets lined with men. The 12th and 50th Illinois arriving from the east hill enabled us to occupy every foot of trench, and keep up a line of fire that would render our little fort impregnable as long as our ammunition lasted.

We received fire from the north, south and west face of the redoubt, completely enfilading our ditches, and rendering it almost impracticable for a man to expose his person above the parapet. The broken pieces of the enemy enabled them to fill every hollow, and take advantage of the rough ground surrounding the fort, filling every hole and trench, seeking shelter behind every stump and log that lay within musket-range of the fort. An effort was made to carry our works by assault, but the battery (12th Wisconsin) was so ably managed and so gallantly fought as to render it impossible for a column to live within 100 yards of the works. Officers labored constantly to stimulate the men to exertion, and most all that were killed or wounded in the fort met their fate while trying to get the men to expose themselves above the parapet, nobly setting the example. The enemy kept up a constant and intense fire, gradually closing around us and rapidly filling our little fort with the dead and dying.

About 1 p. m. I was wounded by a rifle ball* which rendered me insensible for some thirty or forty minutes, but managed to rally on hearing some person or persons cry, "Cease firing," which conveyed to me the impression that they were trying to surrender the fort. Again I urged my staff, the few officers left unhurt, and the men around me, to renewed exertion, assuring them that Sherman would soon be there with reinforcements. The gallant fellows struggled to keep their heads above the ditch and parapet in the face of the murderous fire the enemy now concentrated upon us. The artillery was silent for want of ammunition, when a brave fellow, whose name I regret to have forgotten, volunteered to cross the cut which was under fire of the enemy, and go to the fort on the east hill and procure ammunition. Having executed his mission successfully he returned in a short time with an arm-load of canister and case shot.

About 2 p. m. the enemy were observed massing a force behind a small house and the ridge on which the house was located, distant northwest from the fort about 150 yards. The dead and wounded were moved aside, so as to enable us to move a piece of artillery to an embrasure commanding the house and ridge. A few shots from the gun threw the enemy's column into great confusion, which being observed by our men, caused them to rush to the parapet and open such a heavy and continuous musketry fire that it was impossible for the enemy to

*It grazed the left side of his face and cut the top of his ear. He was upon his horse at the time.

rally.* From this time until near 4 p. m. we had the advantage of the enemy, and maintained it with such success that they were driven from every position, and finally fled in great confusion, leaving their dead and wounded and our little garrison in possession of the field.

The hill east of the cut was gallantly and successfully defended by Col. Tourtelotte with that portion of the third Division, 15th Army Corps, that fell back from the town early in the morning. Not only did they repulse the assaults made upon them, but rendered me valuable aid in protecting my north front from the repeated attacks by Sears' brigade. Colonel Tourtelotte and his garrison are deserving of the highest praise, and I take special pleasure in recommending that gallant officer for promotion. Though wounded in the early part of the action he remained with the men until the close.

Colonel Rowett, 7th Illinois, commanding 3d Brigade, 4th Division, manifested such zeal, intrepidity and skill as to induce us all to feel that to his personal efforts we owed in an eminent degree the safety of the command. Twice wounded, he clung tenaciously to his post, and fully earned the promotion I so cheerfully recommend may be awarded him.

The gallant dead whose loss conveys grief to so many households have left an imperishable memory, and the names of Redfield, Blodgett and Ayers must prove as immortal as the cause for which they sacrificed their lives. I saw so many individual instances of heroism that I regret I cannot do them justice and render the tribute due each particular one. I can only express in general terms the highest satisfaction and pride I entertain in having been with them and amongst them on that occasion. My loss is 6 officers, 136 men killed; 22 officers, 330 men wounded; 6 officers, 206 men missing; total, 706.

We buried 231 rebel dead, and captured 411 prisoners, 4 stand of colors, and about 800 stand of arms. Amongst the prisoners brought in was Brigadier-General Wm. H. Young.

We looked anxiously all day for the arrival of my troops from Rome or reinforcements from you. With a brigade of fresh troops I

*While the defenders of the southwest ridge were too weak to repel another assault, Corse came upon Sergeant Croxton, who had an arm shot away, but was collecting cartridges. The general was siezed with an inspiration and joined the sergeant in gathering ammunition. They broke the cartridges, putting the powder in a blanket, the minie balls in a cup. Collecting enough for his purpose, Corse ordered a sergeant to help him heave a dismounted gun upon a point of the redoubt which commanded the ridge. Dead bodies were in the way; to make room for his gun Corse piled them in heaps. Getting the gun in place, powder and balls were rammed home, the piece pointed, and lanyard in hand the sergeant awaited the order. A little later a solid mass of Confederates formed, and with yells rushed toward the fort. Their impetus would have broken through all opposition and carried them up and into the fort. At that moment Corse gave the order and the gun was fired. The Confederates were mowed down as if they had been grass. They disappeared before the blast. It was the last assault.—An Eye Witness, Boston Herald, May 2, 1895

could have captured French's entire division. We saved all the stores. To my personal staff, Captain M. R. Flint, 1st Alabama Cavalry, and Lieutenant A. P. Vaughn, 52d Illinois Infantry, I tender my heartiest thanks and congratulations for their remarkable bravery and efficient services during the entire engagement; also to Lieutenant W. Ludlow, chief engineer, 20th Army Corps, who, sent to Rome to superintend the works there, arrived as we were leaving and volunteered as an aide for the expedition. He rendered with the other gentlemen mentioned valuable services and manifested a personal courage and zeal deserving high praise.

In coming to Allatoona on the night of October 4th General Corse came from the north. Two hours after his arrival the enemy under General French approached Allatoona from the south. General French was a graduate from the U. S. Military Academy in 1843, had distinguished himself at Monterey and Buena Vista in the Mexican war, and at the outbreak of the rebellion was living on a cotton plantation in Mississippi. His troops consisted of the 4th, 35th, 36th, 39th, 46th, and a battalion of 7th Mississippi Infantry under Brigadier-General Claudius W. Sears; the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th Missouri Infantry, and 1st and 3d Missouri Cavalry, under General Francis M. Cockrell, and Ector's brigade of 9th, 10th Texas Infantry, 14th, 32d Texas Cavalry dismounted, 29th and 30th North Carolina Infantry, under General Young. According to the returns of "Hood's Army," Sept. 20, 1864, the division numbered 2,962 effectives.

In his report of Oct. 8 and Nov. 5, 1864, General French gives the following particulars of the movements of his troops:

I left Big Shanty about 3:30 p. m. (Oct. 4) and marched to Acworth, a distance of six miles, arriving before sunset. There I was detained awaiting the arrival of rations. Captain Taylor, of Pinson's cavalry, was directed to send fifteen men under a trusty officer to strike the railroad near the Etowah bridge, and take up rails and hide them, so as to prevent trains from reaching Allatoona with reinforcements, as well as prevent any trains that might be there from escaping. From an eminence near Acworth the enemy could be seen communicating messages by night signals from Allatoona with the station on Kenesaw.

As I knew nothing of the road it was important to procure a guide, and at last a boy was found who knew the roads and had seen the position of the fortifications at Allatoona. About 11 p. m. the march was resumed. The night was dark, the roads bad. After crossing Allatoona Creek the 4th Mississippi was left near the block-house with instructions to capture the garrison and destroy the bridge over the creek. Continuing the march the division arrived near the cut before Allatoona about 3 a. m. Nothing could be seen but one or two twinkling lights on the opposite heights, and nothing was heard except the occasional interchange of shots between our advanced guards and the pickets of the garrison in the valley. All was darkness. I had no knowledge of the place, and it was important to attack at the break of day.

Taking the guide and lights I placed the artillery in position on the hills, with the 39th North Carolina and 32d Texas as a supporting force, and proceeded to gain the heights or ridge crowned by the works. Without roads or paths the head of the line reached the railroad, crossed it, and began ascending and descending the high, steep, and densely-timbered spurs of the mountains, and after about an hour's march it was found we were not on the main ridge. The guide made a second effort to gain the ridge and failed, so dark was it in the woods. I therefore determined to rest where we were, and await daylight. With dawn the march was resumed, and finally by 7:30 o'clock the head of the column was on the ridge and about 600 yards west of the fortifications, and between those occupied and an abandoned redoubt on our left. Here the fortifications for the first time were seen, and instead of two redoubts there were disclosed three redoubts on the west of the railroad cut, and a star fort on the east, with outer works, and the approaches defended to a great distance by abatis and nearer the works by stockades and other obstructions.

Dispositions for the assault were now made by sending General Sears' brigade to the north side of the works, General Cockrell's brigade to rest with center on ridge, while General Young with the four Texas regiments was formed in rear of General Cockrell. So rugged and abrupt were the hills that the troops could not be got into position until about 9 a. m. when I sent in a summons to surrender. No reply being sent me, the order for the assault was given by directing the advance of Cockrell's brigade. Emerging from the woods and passing over a long distance of abatis formed of felled timber, and under a severe fire of musketry and artillery, nobly did it press forward, followed by the gallant Texans. The enemy's outer line and one redoubt soon fell. Resting to gather strength and survey the work before them, again they rushed forward in column; in murderous hand-to-hand conflict, that left the ditches filled with the dead, they became masters of the second redoubt. The third and main redoubt, now filled by those driven from the captured works on the west side of the railroad, was further crowded by those driven out of the fort on the east side by the

attack made by General Sears. They had to cross the deep cut through which our artillery poured a steady and deadly fire. At 12:30 p. m. General Sears sent word to Major-General French as follows: "Our men are fighting bravely. Will get up a grand charge as soon as the men rest a little. We will take this work, if possible. Men are greatly fatigued. We are in enemy's works, but have not the fort yet. The yells of your men do us great good."

The Federal forces were now confined to one redoubt, and we occupied the ditch, and almost silenced their fire, and were preparing for the final attack.

Pending the process of these events I received a note from General Frank C. Armstrong informing me that the enemy had moved up above Kenesaw and encamped there last night. Here, then, was General Sherman's army close behind me, which changed the whole condition of affairs. Ammunition had to be carried from the wagons, a mile distant, at the base of the hills, and it would take two hours to get it up and distribute it before the final assault. My men had marched all day on the 3d, worked all night of the 3d destroying the railroad, had worked and marched all day on the 4th, marched to Allatoona on the night of the 4th, had fought up to the afternoon of the 5th; and could they pass the third day and night without rest or sleep, if we remained to assault the remaining work? I did not doubt that the enemy would endeavor to get in my rear to intercept my return. Under these circumstances, after deliberately surveying matters, I determined to withdraw my forces. Before withdrawing I ordered that the stores be burned at the depot. Parties were sent, but all efforts failed. The enemy's fire, concentrated to protect their stores, was heavy and incessant all the time.

History will record the battle of Allatoona as one of the most sanguinary conflicts of the war; and, when it is remembered that the enemy fought within their strong redoubts, a meed of praise is due to the heroic valor of our troops for their desperate deeds of daring in overcoming so many of the foe. I cannot do justice to their gallantry. No one faltered, and all withdrew from the place with the regret that General Sherman's movements, closing up behind us, forbid our remaining to force a surrender of the last work. The cavalry sent to cut the railroad near the Etowah bridge failed to accomplish it.

After leaving out the three regiments which formed no part of the assaulting force, I had a little over 2,000 men. My entire loss in killed, wounded, and missing was 799 (another "list" makes the number 872).—Vol. 39, Part 1, pp. 813-820.

Lieutenant John Q. Adams, who was in command of the detachment of the Signal Corps operating at the time at Allatoona, says:

A message was received by me during the day, Oct. 4, that the

enemy were marching in force upon Allatoona, also dispatches ordering the movements of troops to this place, and to hold out to the last. On the 5th, as soon as I could see Kenesaw, the atmosphere being smoky and hazy, I sent them a message stating the arrival of reinforcements. "We hold out. General Corse here." This was after I had moved over to the fort with my flag, about 10 a. m. The message was of some length and was flagged under a sharp fire with remarkable coolness and accuracy by J. W. McKenzie and Frank A. West.

The fight lasted about eight hours from the time it became general. With telescope I discovered the enemy withdrawing their artillery, and the musketry had in a measure subsided. I sent a message to General Sherman that we were all right, and General Corse was wounded. While sending this the fire was not so severe as when I sent the former one, but sharp shooters were still firing on us, and it was far from being safe. This message was flagged from the top of the fort.

When I moved to the fort I took three men with me to flag; the balance (nine men) I instructed to see to their revolvers and get into the rifle-pits; also, if they saw a man wounded not to let his musket remain idle. After the fight I found that each of the men had muskets, and had fired each from 30 to 90 rounds of cartridges from the rifle-pits.

In a communication to the Secretary of War, Oct. 27, 1864, General Sherman said:

In several instances the Signal Corps has transmitted orders, and brought me information of the greatest importance that could not have reached me in any other way. I will instance one most remarkable case. When the enemy had cut our wires and made a lodgment on our railroad about Big Shanty, the signal officers on Vining's Hill, Kenesaw and Allatoona, sent my orders to General Corse, at Rome, whereby he was enabled to reach Allatoona just in time to defend it. Had it not been for this corps on that occasion, we should have lost the garrison at Allatoona and a most valuable depository of provisions there, which was worth to us and the country more than the aggregate expense of the whole Signal Corps for one year.

General Sherman reached Kenesaw Mountain about 10 a. m. of the 5th. From the signal station he saw the fires of the burning railroad and the smoke of battle, and could hear faint reverberations of the cannon. During the morning the signal officers had failed of an answer to his call for Allatoona, but while Sherman was standing by, at 10:35 a. m., a glimpse was caught of the "tell-tale flag," through an embrasure at Allatoona, with the message: "We hold out," and the letters "C. R. S. E. H. E. R." It was Sherman's first assurance that Corse

had received his orders, and was himself upon the ground. With painful suspense he watched the indications of the battle, and was dreadfully impatient at the slow progress of the relieving column. At 1:35 p. m. he noted "heavy firing, indicating an assault and repulse; occasional shots, but too smoky to see signals. About 2 p. m. the smoke of battle grew less, and ceased about 4 p. m."

In his report General Sherman says that the defense of Allatoona was "admirably conducted, and General Corse's description of it so graphic that it left nothing for him to add." Recalling these scenes in after years, General Hood wrote: "General Corse won my admiration by his gallant resistance, and not without reason the Federal commander complimented this officer through a general order for his handsome conduct in the defense of Allatoona."—*Advance and Retreat, New Orleans, 1880. (Battles and Leaders in the Civil War, iv. 425.)*

The following signal dispatches, additional to those referred to, passed between Allatoona and Kenesaw Mountain:

ALLATOONA, Oct. 5.

Where is General Sherman?

KENESAW MOUNTAIN, Oct. 5.

Near you. Tell Allatoona, hold on. General Sherman says he is working hard for you.

KENESAW MOUNTAIN, Oct. 6.

How is Corse? What news?

DAYTON, Aide-de-Camp.

ALLATOONA, Oct. 6, 2. p. m.

CAPTAIN L. M. DAYTON, Aide-de-Camp:

I am short a cheek bone and one ear, but am able to whip all hell yet. My losses are very heavy. A force moving from Stilesborough on Kingston gives me some anxiety. Tell me where Sherman is.

JOHN M. CORSE,
Brigadier-General.

KENESAW MOUNTAIN, Oct. 6, 3 p. m.

GENERAL CORSE:

Am reconnoitering toward Burnt Hickory and Lost Mountain. Are you badly wounded? If all is right at Allatoona I want you back at Rome.

SHERMAN.

IN THE FIELD, KENESAW, Oct. 6.

GENERAL CORSE, Allatoona:

Am just in. Am very sorry at your wound, but all is right with you. If possible, keep the enemy off your lines, and let me know at once what force you have, and what is at Kingston and Rome; also signal some account of your fight. Hood has retreated to Dallas.

W. T. SHERMAN.

KENESAW, Oct. 6, 9:30 p. m.

GENERAL CORSE, Allatoona:

Let the Rome force return at once to Rome and protect the road. I will cover Allatoona.

W. T. SHERMAN.

On the 6th the troops at Allatoona were occupied in strengthening their position, and gathering the rebel dead and wounded, and the arms that were strewn over the field. On the 7th General Corse moved his command to Cartersville, and on the 8th to Kingston and Rome.

KENESAW MOUNTAIN, Oct. 7, 12:15 a. m.

CORSE:

I send brigade up to you in the morning.

SHERMAN.

By this brigade General Sherman forwarded the following letter:

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
IN THE FIELD, KENESAW, Oct. 6, 1864.

GENERAL CORSE, Commanding, Allatoona.

DEAR GENERAL: This evening I got a signal from you giving me the first real intelligence of the safety of Allatoona and of your command. At some future time I will add my appreciation of your services, but now I want to prevent any more mischief to our roads. Allatoona is now safe on this front. Leave enough to cover the bridge to the rear as against a cavalry dash, and send all you can spare back to Rome to assure the safety of that place. I doubt if any force of Hood will cross

the Etowah, but still it may. I will to-morrow continue to demonstrate against him and make him keep his people together. Unless your wound is too severe, exercise a general command, for your head is worth more than a dozen of any I have to spare. I have sent these orders by signal, but fear they may reach you mutilated. If possible get a message up to Chattanooga for them to work this way whilst we work the road back. We have abundance of food, but little forage.

Yours truly,

W. T. SHERMAN,
Major-General Commanding.

The following is a continuation of signal dispatches:

ALLATOONA, Oct. 7, 1864, 8:40 a. m.

GENERAL SHERMAN:

I have just sent my wounded to Rome. Shall I move my command back to Rome when your brigade arrives?

CORSE.

KENESAW MOUNTAIN, Oct. 7, 9 a. m.

CORSE:

Yes, move to Rome when the brigade arrives.

SHERMAN.

ALLATOONA, Oct. 7, 11 a. m.

GENERAL SHERMAN:

The brigade from 23d corps is here. How long shall it remain?

CORSE.

KENESAW MOUNTAIN, Oct. 7, 11:30 a. m.

GENERAL CORSE:

Brigade will stay until further orders.

SHERMAN.

KENESAW MOUNTAIN, Oct. 7.

ALLATOONA:

Send back courier with full account of all matters of interest and as to road above.

SHERMAN.

ALLATOONA, Oct. 8.

GENERAL SHERMAN:

I sent a staff officer to you this morning with intelligence.

CORSE.

KENESAW MOUNTAIN, Oct. 7, 5 p. m.

CORSE:

Lieutenant Ludlow is here, all O. K.

EWING.

In the informal report sent on the 7th, General Corse said that the bearer "will give you the minute details of the affair. The pain occasioned by the severe wound on my head prevents me from doing so." General Sherman replied:

IN THE FIELD, KENESAW, Oct. 7, 1864.

GENERAL CORSE, Allatoona:

I received your report. I have so high an appreciation of your services and those of your command, as also that of Colonel Tourtelotte and Garrison, that I shall make the defense of Allatoona the subject of a general order. I will move my army one step north to-morrow, and want you to exercise a general care over the operations from Allatoona as far as Kingston. I will so place my command that in one day's work they will replace all the iron burnt between Allatoona and Kenesaw, and leave the laying of the ties to the construction party. We have 2,700,000 rations in Atlanta and can afford to await repairs. I will be much obliged to you if you can manage to send to Generals Thomas and Webster notice that Atlanta is safe in our possession, so that General Slocum can hold it against Hood's whole army.

I almost share the pain of your wound with you, but you know for quick work I cannot get along without you, and ask you, spite of pain, to keep your head clear and leave others to do your bidding. Your presence alone saved to us Allatoona the day before yesterday, but this does not detract from the merit of others. Rome is of no value at all, save as a flank. Destroy its bridges and factories on the slightest provocation, and cover the vital points of our road.

SPECIAL FIELD ORDER.

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE FIELD, KENESAW MOUNTAIN, Oct. 7, 1864.

The general commanding avails himself of the opportunity, in the handsome defense made of Allatoona, to illustrate the most important principle in war, that fortified posts should be defended to the last, regardless of the relative numbers of the party attacking and attacked.

Allatoona was garrisoned by three regiments commanded by Colonel Tourtelotte, and reinforced by a detachment from a division at Rome under command of Brigadier-General J. M. Corse on the morning of the 5th, and a few hours after was attacked by French's division of Stewart's corps, two other divisions being near at hand and in

support. General French demanded a surrender to "avoid a useless effusion of blood," and gave but five minutes for an answer. General Corse's answer was emphatic and strong: that he and his command were ready for the "useless effusion of blood" as soon as it was agreeable to General French. This answer was followed by an attack which was prolonged for five hours, resulting in the complete repulse of the enemy, who left his dead on the ground, amounting to more than 200, and 400 prisoners well and wounded. The "effusion of blood" was not "useless," as the position was and is very important to our present and future operations.

The thanks of this army are due, and hereby accorded to General Corse, Colonel Tourtelotte, officers and men, for their determined and gallant defense of Allatoona, and it is made an example to illustrate the importance of preparing in time, and meeting the danger when present, boldly, manfully, and well. This army, though unseen to the garrison, was co-operating by moving toward the road by which the enemy could alone escape, but unfortunately was delayed by the rain and mud; but this fact hastened the retreat of the enemy. Commanders and garrisons of the posts along our railroad are hereby instructed that they must hold their posts to the last minute, sure that the time gained is valuable and necessary to their commands at the front.

CORSE TO GENERAL SHERMAN.

HEADQUARTERS 4TH DIVISION, 15TH A. C.,
IN THE FIELD, Oct. 7, 1864.

The railroad to Chattanooga is all right except the bridges across the Oostenaula and Etowah, the latter having become shaky since 12 m. to-day from an unusual rise and consequent drift against its bents. The bridge across the Oostenaula ought to be done to-day, and that over the Etowah I had a construction party sent to, and will push it in hopes of finishing before daylight. I will go in an ambulance with my command to Cartersville, ready to strike toward Rome, Kingston or the Etowah bridge, as the case may be. My train of wounded is cut off on this side of the Etowah, and I will leave it here to-night. We hear nothing of the enemy.

CARTERSVILLE, Oct. 8, 1864, 12 m.

Finding that the brigade from the 23d corps was to remain at Allatoona, I at once moved my command to this place, being *en route* for Rome. The wounded, about 300, I had loaded on cars at Allatoona and pushed up toward Kingston, but found the drift had so damaged the bridge across the Etowah as to preclude their crossing until the necessary repairs could be made. The constructing force was sent for yesterday, but has not yet arrived; it will be impossible therefore to

get my wounded to Rome to-day. I have carried across the river seven car loads of wounded, and will send them to Rome, hoping to get them there and a train back in time to take the rest before morning. I am a little anxious for two reasons: first, they suffered from exposure last night and need care; second, I want the cars emptied, to move troops rapidly in case of any emergency. The rebel wounded, about 250, I left at Allatoona. The sound prisoners I have sent to Kingston with the division. I will go to Kingston this afternoon, via railroad. There is a great deficiency in the railroad construction department between Resaca and Allatoona, which occasions all the delays. Tackle and instruments we can't find here are necessary to repair the bridges. I will stay at Kingston to-night with my force, and if nothing further is developed by to-morrow noon will move thence to Rome ready for further movements. I would suggest the propriety of sending a force to guard those 8,000 cattle down near the army. I understand you ordered them to Allatoona. They cannot be protected at Allatoona if that place is again attacked as it was on the 5th. You probably forget that the Army of the Tennessee has 1,400 sick men at Rome, and it cannot be burned or abandoned very easily. As they have ample accommodation for more, I was induced to send my wounded there, which will increase the number of helpless to about 1,700 or 1,800.

While I would protect them as long as possible, I could not afford to sacrifice my command or your communications for their sake, and in the extreme event would leave supplies and surgeons sufficient to care for them and abandon the place. You must not think that the responsibility of their care will deter me from moving to more important points even without your orders. I, however, respectfully ask you to let me know by bearer your views as regards their protection, and duty towards them. I will be ready to strike wherever you want me at the instant, and will, I assure you, not hesitate to smash any column I find trying to cross the Etowah. I have more or less pain in my head, but with intermittent rests manage to get along very well.

CORSE TO MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS, NASHVILLE.

CARTERSVILLE, Oct. 8, 1864.

General Sherman desires I send you word that he is all right at Kenesaw, and repairing road north. He earnestly urges the importance of pushing work on road toward him. His ration question, he says, is all right; the forage question, he desires to have you know, can be improved with your assistance. Hood's efforts are so far a failure.

Brigadier-General T. E. G. Ransom, commanding the 17th Army Corps, congratulated General Corse as follows:

General
Field Orders
No. 18.

Headquarters Department and
Army of the Tennessee,
Near Kennesaw Mountain
October 9th 1864.

Whilst uniting in the high commendation awarded
by the General-in-chief, the Army of the Tennessee
would tender through me its most hearty appre-
ciation and thanks to Brig. Gen. J. M. Corse
for his promptitude, energy, and eminent success
in the defense of Allatoona-Pass against a
force so largely superior to his own, and our
warmest congratulations are extended to him, to
Colonel Joustellotte, and the rest of our comrades
in-arms who fought at Allatoona, for the
glorious manner in which they retarded
the useless effusion of blood.

O. O. Howard
Major-General.

Fac simile of Gen. O. O. Howard's congratulatory order on Gen. Corse's
gallant defense of Allatoona. See page 135.

We all feel grateful to God for your brilliant victory, and are proud of our old comrade and his noble division. You have the congratulations and sympathy of the 17th Army Corps.

General Ransom died only three weeks after sending these congratulations. He was "an officer of the highest order of merit, as also a man of pure and elevated character. Hoping the attack of disease which caused his death was but temporary, he did not cease day or night to exert himself to the utmost in his country's service."—O. O. Howard.

Major-General Howard, commanding the Army of the Tennessee, issued the following

GENERAL ORDER.

NEAR KENESAW MOUNTAIN, Oct. 9, 1864.

Whilst uniting in the high commendation awarded by the general-in-chief, the Army of the Tennessee would tender through me its most hearty appreciation and thanks to Brigadier-General J. M. Corse for his promptitude, energy and eminent success in the defense of Allatoona Pass against a force so largely superior to his own, and our warmest congratulations are extended to him, to Colonel Tourtelotte, and the rest of our comrades-in-arms who fought at Allatoona, for the glorious manner in which they vetoed "the useless effusion of blood."

O. O. HOWARD,

Major-General.

Reaching Rome about 9 p. m. of Oct. 8th, General Corse found the bridges at that place swept away in the recent freshet, and that the force left there had withdrawn into the garrison, supposing Hood to be approaching. He at once directed a small outpost to be thrown across the Etowah that night in boats to Cemetery Hill, which was the key to the situation, and ordered the chief of the pioneer corps to build a pontoon bridge at that point. So prompt and energetic were the pioneer corps that trees standing in the streets of Rome at midnight of the 8th furnished balk and chess for the bridge over which infantry, cavalry, and artillery, that arrived just as the bridge was finished, marched at noon of the 9th.

CORSE TO GENERAL SHERMAN.

ROME, Ga., Oct. 9, 1864.

I have just finished a new pontoon bridge over the Etowah, and have sent a cavalry force to reconnoiter toward Cedartown. I have my flanks and front well patrolled, and can give you more information to-morrow.—7:30 p. m.—The only indication of an enemy since my arrival here being the appearance of a cavalry force at Reynold's Ford, I am ready to fly there in case they should attempt a crossing. I promise to keep you advised of anything transpiring west of Kingston.

The 10th of October was a day of conflicting rumors. At one time it was reported that Hood's entire army was moving on Rome, and General Sherman directed General Corse to get his men into the strongest forts and "hold Rome to the death." Every ax, shovel and pick, was brought into requisition. Men worked all night on the defenses. General Sherman telegraphed: "Fight your men well behind parapets, and risk as few lives as possible. In case Hood attacks, I want you to burn down every house in Rome that interferes with your range of fire." Reporting later the same day what he learned of the enemy's movements, General Corse said: "Their destination is Huntsville, &c. They are to attack Rome at daylight, squelch me, and get the stores, then continue the journey. I have had men and women through their camps to-day; they have various reports. The object of the trip is recruits from Tennessee. They number 10,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry. I will hold them as long as men can stand and guns will shoot. They have pushed their forces against my pickets to-night and are quite close. I will look to you for help, and keep you advised." Later the same day General Sherman telegraphed: "Hood would have attacked you before this if he intended to, for he must know I am near you. Watch his movements close; I think he will only throw a force toward Rome to cover his movements over toward the Tennessee or back to Georgia." The next day, Oct. 11th, Hood's army had disappeared, but in what direction was in doubt.

GENERAL SHERMAN TO CORSE.

IN THE FIELD, KINGSTON, Oct. 11, 1864, 2:20 p. m.

I think you had better lay down now and take a good long sleep. Give some staff officer general instructions as to scouts, and let him communicate to me direct. You have done all a man could, and my judgment of you has been fully vindicated.

CORSE TO GENERAL SHERMAN.

ROME, GA., Oct. 11, 1864, 4 p. m.

I am profoundly grateful for your sympathy and proud of your confidence; would willingly obey your order, but sleep is out of the question. Nature will assert rights at the proper time, I have no doubt. A squadron of cavalry I sent out this morning attacked the picket on Cave Spring road, about seven miles from here; drove them in until they ran into a line of battle. I just examined a prisoner they brought in from the Second Mississippi Cavalry. He says the men were told that they were *en route* for Tennessee and Kentucky. He knows that the main body of Hood's army is across the Coosa. (They had crossed at a point about eleven miles below Rome.)

GENERAL SHERMAN TO CORSE.

IN THE FIELD, KINGSTON, Oct. 11, 4:45 p. m.

I have just received your telegram. I order you to rest. Don't get your mind so nervous as to fail sleep. General Elliott will be at Rome to direct the cavalry, and that will relieve your mind. A good long sleep, plenty of fresh water to your wound, and you will be worth twice as much to-morrow. I appreciate the intensity of your zeal, and will never forget it.

CORSE TO GENERAL SHERMAN.

ROME, GA., Oct. 11, 1864, 11:40 p. m.

A scout has just arrived who was 14 miles out on Summerville road. He reports Martin's division as camping last night at Farmer's Bridge, over the Armuchee River; could hear of no other troops, but the citizens say Hardee crossed the Coosa at Coosaville, and that the movement on this place was merely a feint to cover the other movements.

On the 12th of October General Sherman arrived at Rome, and his army encamped within three miles. The next day General Corse moved with his division in fighting trim across the Etowah to develop the character and

strength of the enemy. In his absence the convalescents from the hospitals marched under arms through the streets of Rome, in order to give the citizens the impression that the force holding the post was not materially weakened. Learning that Hood had gone north with great rapidity, General Sherman ordered other troops in pursuit, and directed General Corse to return to Rome. Here he was employed for a month in work upon the fortifications, in reconnaissances, watching and checking the movements of the enemy, in building bridges, and in looking after army supplies, for which Rome was the depot. The activity of the division was incessant and of great service to the whole army.

CORSE TO GENERAL SHERMAN.

ROME, GA., Oct. 22, 1864.

All quiet along the railroad. The communication with Chattanooga will be opened positively, I am informed, by Monday. I have ten days' rations for my command and about 500,000 for your force. I think I can get the sick and wounded off Monday or Tuesday on through trains. There are about 1,200 here now; when they are gone I am ready to clean the place, and move with ten days' rations. Should you require the place to be abandoned, please give instructions as to disposition of things left here.

GENERAL SHERMAN TO CORSE.

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

IN THE FIELD, GAYLETSVILLE, ALABAMA, Oct. 22, 1864.

I want all the preparations continued that I have heretofore marked out, in a quiet way, not to attract too much attention, but it will be some time before I can uncover Tennessee. I must give General George H. Thomas full time to prepare his new lines. Continue to notify all the post commanders where we are, and that absentees fit for honest duty can find us via Rome. Keep me fully posted, and use my name freely in orders sent to the rear to accomplish my purpose and plans.

In a letter to General Halleck, Oct. 24, 1864, General Sherman included Brigadier-General J. M. Corse among division commanders who "should be promoted to the rank of Major-General, men of marked courage, capacity, and merit, who are qualified for separate commands."

On the 29th of October General Corse informed his brigade commanders that they were soon to take the field for a long, arduous and successful campaign, and called them to the greatest energy in fitting up their commands. Baggage, clothing, camp and garrison equipage, not absolutely required in the campaign, were to be shipped to the rear, in charge of those who were not able to endure a march. The sick and wounded were sent north from the hospitals. On the 10th of November the defenses of Rome were destroyed and the forts dismantled. Large pieces of ordnance for which no transportation could be procured were burst or spiked. For the same reason much valuable public property and officers' baggage had to be abandoned. The pontoons had been hauled out of the river and piled up to dry for burning. The machinery in foundries, mills, tanneries, and workshops was broken up so as to be unfit for use. At 10 o'clock at night the property destined for destruction was in flames. Guards and patrols prevented disorder, pillage, or firing of private residences, and no private residence was burned, nor a family disturbed.

At daylight, the next morning, Nov. 11th, General Corse moved with his command to Kingston, and on the following day reached Cartersville and moved near Allatoona. On this day, Nov. 12th, the telegraph wire was severed, and all communications with the north ceased. General Corse crossed the Chattahoochee at Turner's Ferry, and reached the vicinity of Atlanta on the evening of the 14th. His command now numbered 3,710 effective men.

4—THE MARCH TO SAVANNAH.

On the "March to the Sea" the four corps of General Sherman's army, numbering 62,204 men, followed different routes, covering a tract of country 50 or 60 miles in

width southeasterly from Atlanta. General Corse's position was in the Right Wing, Major-General O. O. Howard commanding, and in the 15th Corps. Major-General Peter J. Osterhaus commanding.

On the morning of Nov. 15th General Corse's division marched into Atlanta, as the rest of the 15th Corps were marching out. The troops drew rations and clothing, loaded twenty days' supplies on the wagon trains, and headed south the same evening. Their route lay through Rough and Ready, McDonough, and near Jackson, where they bivouacked Nov. 18th. On the 20th they crossed the Ocmulgee River at Seven Islands, in rear of the corps. From this point to Gordon the roads were almost impassable by incessant rains. The command was also incumbered by a pontoon train, by 300 wagons belonging to the cavalry division, and by a drove of 3,000 cattle. But they struggled through the mud and swamps, and at Gordon were relieved of the additional trains. The Georgia Central railroad was struck on the 22d, and destroyed for six miles, the ties burnt, the rails bent, twisted and broken. One evening a negro was brought to General Sherman who had been that day to Tenille Station. To the inquiry if he had seen any Yankees there, he said: "Yes—first, there come along some cavalrymen, and they burnt the depot; then come along some infantry men, and they tore up the track, and burnt it: and just before he left they had sot fire to the well." The next morning, Nov. 27th, General Sherman rode to Tenille Station, and found General Corse's division engaged in destroying the railroad, and saw the well which the negro had seen "sot fire to." It was a square pit, about 28 feet deep, boarded up, with wooden steps leading to the bottom, wherein was a copper pump to lift water to a tank above. The soldiers had broken up the pump, heaved in the steps and lining, and "sot fire to" the mass of lumber in the bottom of the well, which confirmed the negro's description.

Up to this time the troops subsisted mainly upon the country, drawing but little from rations in the army-wagons. Foraging parties of 50 men to a regiment under an officer scoured the plantations and collected food of every description from barns and granaries and smoke-houses. But now the march was through pine barrens, and fresh supplies were scant.

On the 2d of December the Ogeechee River was reached, and the division marched parallel with it for several days, crossing and recrossing at intervals. At Jenks' Ferry, on the 7th, the enemy resisted the crossing, but were forced back by the 2d and 7th Iowa. Brigadier-General Elliott W. Rice, commanding 1st Brigade, says in his report:

The country for about three-quarters of a mile was nearly waist deep with water in the swamps and lagoons, through which the troops waded with a good will, driving the enemy into a small rail-work which they had hastily constructed. I endeavored to turn their position, and gain the rear of their defenses by throwing a portion of the 2d Iowa to their left, under cover of a thick woods in that direction, but the troops in front could not be held back. They dashed right over the rail-works, capturing 20 prisoners, killing 2, and wounding four men. The balance of the rebel force rushed to the railroad, and taking the cars moved off in the direction of Savannah. In this skirmish the 2d Iowa lost 2 men killed and 2 wounded, and the 7th Iowa 2 men wounded.

The following day, Dec. 8th, the Ogeechee and Savannah Canal was reached, and the roads leading into the city were found obstructed by felled timber, and covered by earth-works with artillery. For the first time in the march shovels were sent to the front, and earth-works thrown up. The command entrenched on the north bank of the canal. A reconnaissance developed the enemy in force with artillery at the junction of the Dillon's Bridge road with the King's Bridge and Savannah road.

On the 9th General Corse moved out with two brigades, Adams' and Rice's, and Brunner's battery, to obtain possession of the Cross Roads, and try to open communication with the rest of the corps. The dense

undergrowth made movements in line exceedingly difficult, but the advance soon developed the artillery of the enemy. It was impossible to see through the dense woods, and the enemy's artillery swept the road so as to render it untenable, compelling the battery to play on their works from a field behind a thick forest and to fire altogether by the sound of their guns. "At this time," says General Corse, "information was brought that a column of the enemy was moving on my right, and I pushed Rice with two regiments toward the King's Bridge road, and ordered Adams to push on with vigor. Increased volleys of musketry and a sudden cessation of the enemy's artillery, with the significant yelling of our men, indicated that the assault was in progress, and before I could reach the center, or Rice could make the road, our troops were in the enemy's works with quite a squad of prisoners, and one piece of artillery as a trophy. The enemy were pursued for four miles, and the 7th Illinois Mounted Infantry struck for the Gulf railroad, arriving in time to tear up a rail and capture a locomotive and eighteen cars, with about 40 prisoners. The brigade left at the canal was then brought up with the supply and ordnance trains, and the division went into camp with a good line of defense, near the main branch of the Little Ogeechee, about eleven miles from Savannah." Here General Corse was in close communication with the other divisions of the 15th Corps, and the Right Wing and the Left Wing of General Sherman's army closed in simultaneously upon the Confederate works which covered the approaches to the city between the Ogeechee and Savannah rivers.

On the 10th General Corse found the enemy in his front apparently in heavy force, but intervening swamps and rice fields made approaches extremely difficult. The Confederates gathered on parapets and unfurled their banners defiantly. By means of the canal and the Little Ogeechee river they were able to flood the country.

There were heavy rains also which converted the roads through the marshy soil into a sea of mud and quagmire, and corduroy tracks had to be constructed, and bridges that the enemy had destroyed were rebuilt, for the movement of troops and of supplies. The enemy's guns were of larger caliber than our light field pieces and gave some annoyance. A staff officer of General Sherman's relates this incident of the situation:

It was bruited about one day that two barrels of old Monongahela had fallen into General Corse's possession from a neighboring plantation, and scores of officers came from all sides in wagons and ambulances, or on horseback, with medical certificates that they required a stimulant. The tide of thirsty visitors was a hindrance to the general's work and, though no less hospitable than gallant, he found a way to stop it. His headquarters were upon a causeway among magnificent live oak trees. Here and there through openings in the ever-green foliage the pale canvass of the white tents was revealing our position to the enemy, a few hundred yards away, and the rebel guns had a habit at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of opening fire until sundown. Perhaps not unmindful of this, General Corse gave out word one morning that official duties would prevent his entertaining visitors until afternoon of the following day. And the sun had hardly crossed the meridian when his friends, officers of all grades from the single-barred lieutenant to the double-starred major-general, began to arrive. They gathered on the parade ground, some stretched upon blankets, others upon boxes and camp-chairs, enjoying the sunshine, the balmy air and the whisky. It was a jovial party of soldiers who had seen the bright and dark side of life, who had endured the pain of wounds and the hardships of campaigning. "Here's your health, General!" cried a staff officer who had known his host when they fought side by side, "and may you never get a closer call than that Allatoona bullet across the cheek."

The host answered with a nod, and fifteen or twenty bronzed and bearded faces were uplifted, and as many pairs of eyes gazed into the sky through a yellow stained tumbler. At this moment a sharp muffled sound, "Boom! boom! boom!" came thumming over the marshes, and the air was filled with a shriek and thir-r-r-r, that seemed exultant to break in upon the social joy. The first of the iron messengers smashed into Adjutant Carper's tent and through his desk, scattering his papers; the second ricocheted into the trees beyond; the third rolled along toward the whisky barrel. The disgust and consternation of the visitors was expressed in grotesque attitudes. For a moment transfixed they changed position as the big cannon across the marshes again found voice; several sought their horses, calling loudly for their orderlies;

others sought their presence of mind which had taken wings with Leo Carper's papers; but the greater number placed the protecting trunks of the huge oaks between them and the offending guns. At last several found breath: "What is this, Corse? A nice tea-party you have invited us to!" Meanwhile the unperturbed host had taken out his watch—"Precisely on time, 3 o'clock! Pardon me, gentlemen, that I did not notify you that I expected strangers at this hour. The people over the way invariably send their compliments at this hour, and," he spoke more deliberately as he pointed at the cannon ball, "these fellows continue to come until sundown."

The words had hardly passed the general's lips when the files of officers behind the trees broke up. "Won't you take another drink, gentlemen?" asked the courteous Corse, and then addressing his complimentary friend of a moment before—"Say, Captain, I would like to respond to your toast." But there was a fast mounting of restive horses, and in half a minute all evidence of the jovial party was a cloud of dust down the long avenue of oaks as the galloping steeds disappeared.—*Harper's Magazine*, xxxii, 368-9.

From day to day General Corse pushed forward his line and came closer to the rebel works. On the night of the 19th he obtained permission to attempt a lodgment on the other side of the Little Ogeechee, and sent over Lieutenant Pittman, 81st Ohio, with ten men who volunteered for the purpose. The movement was hazardous, but it was accomplished without loss or awakening suspicion of the enemy. Having demonstrated the practicability of crossing a column, General Corse wanted to put a force over during the night, and the next day move the division over and assault the enemy. But General Sherman had ordered that while all possible preparation should be made, there should be no attack in his absence.

Meanwhile, on the 13th General Hazen, of the 2d division, 15th Corps, had captured Ft. McAllister, and Sherman had gone to the fleet, had obtained heavy ordnance for bombarding the city, and was arranging to invest "Union Causeway" upon the other side of Savannah river, which offered the only line of retreat for the enemy. Under these circumstances, to save his troops, General Hardee evacuated Savannah on the night of the

20th. A few days before, Beauregard had sent word from Charleston to General Hardee: "Whenever you shall have to select between the safety of your forces and that of Savannah, sacrifice the latter."

Upon the morning of December 21st the Union forces marched into Savannah, and General Corse in accordance with orders went into position on the east side of the city, his left resting on the river, his right occupying Ft. Brown on Shell Road.

On returning from the fleet and Port Royal, General Sherman found the city in possession of his troops. He was disappointed at the escape of Hardee, but content that so much was gained without the loss of life which would have attended an assault, and happy that he could present Savannah as a "Christmas Gift" to President Lincoln. On Christmas day a garrison of 80 men from Corse's division was ordered to Fort Thunderbolt, one of the forts by which the Confederates had long held our navy at bay.

The length of the march from Rome to Savannah was 368 miles. The pioneer corps of Corse's division built thirty bridges on the march, and corduroyed nearly seven miles of road over marshes and swamps.

At the close of his official report General Corse said: "The march was in some respects an arduous one, but proved on the whole pleasant and beneficial to the command. The health of the men was never better, nor were they ever in better spirits than when they took possession of Savannah. The list of casualties was exceedingly small."

An association has been formed at Sioux City to collect funds and erect a monument to the memory of Sergeant Charles Floyd, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, who died and was buried there August 20, 1804. Hon. C. R. Marks is the secretary.

MAJOR WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

BY EX-GOVERNOR CYRUS C. CARPENTER.

The story of the pioneer, prominent in laying the foundation of a community, is always interesting to his successors. Major William Williams, however, possessed qualities which made him an interesting personality apart from the fact that he was a chief actor and factor in the early settlement of Northwestern Iowa. Among the immigrants to Iowa, between the years 1849 and 1856, a large number came from Western Pennsylvania; and especially from the western slope of the Allegheny Mountains. The writer well remembers how, in the early history of Fort Dodge, he, with others, often counted the large percentage of its pioneer population hailing from Western Pennsylvania. Among these was Major Williams. He was born at Huntingdon, December 6th, 1796, and died at Fort Dodge, Iowa, February 26th, 1874. In the seventy-eight years of busy life intervening between these two dates, were crowded scenes and events worthy of perpetuation in the annals of his adopted State. His early education was limited to the acquirements common to the public schools of Pennsylvania. His father had died whilst he was yet a mere boy, and as he was the oldest, the care and direction of the younger children devolved in large measure upon him. This led him to devote himself to business pursuits whilst a mere youth. He was for a time a merchant. Then a manufacturer of salt on the Kiskiminitas river. His later years in Pennsylvania, however, were employed in banking. He was connected with the Exchange Bank of Pittsburg, and was cashier of the branch at Hollidaysburg. He was generous and open



MAJOR WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
Commander of the Spirit Lake Expedition, 1857.

handed in his nature; so that many years of arduous toil failed to yield him large accumulations. He had married a Miss Judith Lloyd McConnell in 1830, who died in 1842. Of the five children who came to them, two are still living—James B. Williams of Fort Dodge, and Mary, the wife of Hon. John F. Duncombe. He was again married in 1844 to Jeanette J. Quinian, and of their three children but one—Wm. H., is now living. In March, 1849, he came to Iowa, and for a time lived at Muscatine. In his early life he had developed a taste for military drill and study. He had been an officer in the militia of Pennsylvania. He therefore naturally kept himself informed respecting the movements of the United States Army. So, in 1849, when the order was made for the establishment of a Military Post on the borders of the then uninhabited region now known as Northwestern Iowa, he sought and obtained the appointment as sutler for the post. When the battalion marched through the State from Fort Snelling, Minnesota, to the point on the Des Moines river designated by General Mason, commanding the department, as the place at which a Military Post was to be established, he joined and accompanied them from the Iowa river in the southeast corner of Tama county, whither they had first gone to assist in the removal of the lingering remnants of the Sac and Fox tribes of Indians to their reservation in the Indian Territory.

Major Williams says in a narrative of events which he has left among his papers: "We arrived at the point designated on the 23d of August, 1850. The officers and men of the detachment had served through the Mexican war, and many of them in the Seminole and Florida wars, and from what they had heard of the country they were to be stationed in, they expected to find a region similar to Florida, covered with lakes, ponds, swamps, and destitute of timber; but they were agreeably disappointed. All were highly pleased with the location. The

fine groves of timber, above and below, the pure springs of water and rippling streams, together with the appearance of coal, gypsum and other minerals, the building stone, and enchanting scenery, caused all to pronounce it the most beautiful part of Iowa they had ever seen. When the plans for building quarters, and the arrangement of the buildings were under consideration, it was determined to build convenient as possible to the fine springs of water, and where they would be sheltered from the north-west winds by the timber. It was the opinion of all the officers at that time, that owing to the beauty of the location, and the resources of the country, at no distant day a town of some importance would be built on the site."

During the three years that the troops remained at Fort Dodge they were employed in building the houses which were occupied by the officers and soldiers as quarters, and in fencing, breaking and cultivating a large field near the quarters, and also in scouting and exploring the country north, west and east of the post.

Major Williams has left a narrative of the events at the Fort during these years which is full, graphic and interesting. But, as by a treaty with the Sioux Indians made in 1851, the government purchased all the territory in Minnesota from Lake Pepin to the mouth of Rock River on the St. Peters or Minnesota river, also all the lands within the state of Iowa belonging to the Sioux, which embraced the lands lying west of the Des Moines river and north of Fort Dodge in Iowa, it was regarded by the War Department as no longer necessary to maintain a military post at Fort Dodge. So, on the confirmation of this treaty, Captain Dana of the 6th Regiment of United States Infantry, was ordered to select a site for a permanent post on the north line of the new purchase. The site selected was at the junction of the Rock with the St. Peters or Minnesota river. This has since been known as Fort Ridgely.

In July, 1853, Major Woods, commanding the detachment at this place, received orders to abandon Fort Dodge and move to Fort Ridgely, to assist in building quarters for the officers and soldiers at the new post. On the departure of the troops, Major Williams and his son, James B., with two or three discharged soldiers, were all the people left at Fort Dodge. After the removal to Fort Ridgely a discharged soldier named Joseph Sweet was sent back under pay of the officers to take charge of the buildings. This led Major Williams to the conclusion that it was the purpose of the officers to enter the lands on which the improvements were located.

When the fort was located, in accordance with the uniform custom of the War Department, a reservation was made covering all the improvements and adjoining lands. It extended four miles south and four north, and two miles east and west of the river, making a reservation eight miles long and four miles wide. It has always been the policy of the government to make reservations covering the improvements of military posts, and when they are no longer needed for military purposes to sell them to the highest bidders. But an unexpected complication had arisen at Fort Dodge. When the land came to be surveyed it was found that the improvements made by the government were on section nineteen, an odd section, which under the decision of the Secretary of the Interior was river land, and belonged to the State of Iowa. Here were improvements which had cost the government \$80,000 that were about to be abandoned, as they were on land held to be within the Des Moines River Grant. The Major was awake to these legal complications and determined if possible to enter the lands himself. Accordingly, upon the return of Sweet to assume charge of the buildings he went to Ottumwa, where the office of the State for selling river lands was located, and bought all of section nineteen on the east side of the river, and then went to Des Moines.

where the government land office was located, and entered several hundred acres of the adjoining lands on even sections.

He now began to lay his plans for the location of a town on the original site of the military post. In March, 1854, he had completed the survey of the original town of Fort Dodge. From this time forward during the remainder of his life he devoted himself almost exclusively to the care of his lands in and about Fort Dodge, and to building up and advertising the town. He early secured the extension of a mail route from Homer—then the county seat of Webster county—to Fort Dodge. With the establishment of a postoffice at Fort Dodge he was himself appointed the first postmaster. In 1855, by act of Congress, the United States Land Department in Iowa was reorganized—two new districts were provided for—and new land offices established at Fort Dodge and Sioux City. Major Williams was active and prominent in securing this legislation.

After the departure of the United States troops from Fort Dodge, parties of Indians frequently came back to their former hunting grounds, and in some instances had committed depredations upon families of the scattered settlers who had begun to make claims and improvements along the Des Moines river. A party of surveyors in charge of a Mr. Marsh, who had the contract for surveying the correction line across the state, were set upon and robbed within three miles of Fort Dodge. A pioneer by the name of Henry Lott, who had originally made a claim near the mouth of the Boone Fork, had been robbed during his absence from home, and one of his children who had fled from his cabin in fright, whilst the Indians were ransacking the premises, had perished from cold and exposure. Afterwards Lott, who had moved further north and made a claim at the mouth of a creek in the present Humboldt county, now known as Lott's creek, in

turn attacked and killed an Indian named Sidominadota and his entire family, who were camping and hunting in the vicinity. These events had so alarmed many of the settlers that they flocked into Fort Dodge for protection. Major Williams represented the facts to Governor Hempstead and was authorized by him to organize a force, if necessary, to protect the frontier. During the winter of 1854-5, parties of Indians frequently visited Fort Dodge, camping in the immediate neighborhood, and hunting and trapping along the Des Moines river and the Lizard Fork. The leader of the principal band of these Indians was Inkpaduta. And whilst their attitude was frequently reported as threatening to settlers remote from neighbors, yet the winter passed away without any depredations in the vicinity of Fort Dodge.

The summer of 1855 witnessed an influx of land-hunters, claim seekers and explorers, which brought Northwestern Iowa into general notice. People began to move up the east and west branches of the Des Moines river and lay the foundation of future homes. Several families settled at the groves along the Lizard Fork. Others crossed the prairie from the head waters of the Lizard to the Little Sioux river and made pre-emptions at and above the present site of Sioux Rapids. The majority, however, made claims upon which they put some little improvements, and left them for the winter, proposing to come and occupy them permanently the following summer.

Whilst the winter of 1854-5 had been mild and open, that of 1855-6 was noted for its severity, its heavy snows and for the intensity of the cold. The spring, however, brought renewed cheer and hope to the scattered settlers in Northwestern Iowa, and the prairies during the summer of 1856 were thronged with adventurous immigrants in search of claims and pre-emptions. Every grove along the Des Moines river and its borders resounded to the axe of the hardy claimant, felling the trees for his cabin. The

little Sioux was explored from its mouth to its source, and the pre-emptor was found at almost every grove which afforded sufficient timber with which to erect a cabin and furnish fuel.

During this summer several families settled at the Oko-boji and Spirit lakes. The most of these settlers reached the lakes in the months of July and August, giving them barely time to erect their cabins and cut the hay for the few cattle they had brought with them, before the winter of 1856-7 set in with a fury, steadiness and severity, which make it a land-mark in the experience of every person who after more than thirty-five years shivers at the mention of it. The prairie between the groves where the scattered pioneers had built their cabins, was a bleak, unbroken desolation. The wild winds swept across the crusted snow-banks with cruel and pitiless ferocity. Day after day were constant repetitions one of the other.

The snows fell and drifted until the prairies were impassable to men or teams, except in comparatively thickly settled neighborhoods, where the roads could be kept open by constant use. The scattered settlers along the Little Sioux river through the counties of Cherokee, Buena Vista and Clay, and those at the lakes in Dickinson county, were almost as thoroughly cut off from intercourse with the outside world as though they had been cast away on an island of the sea. During the month of February, the Indians known as Inkpaduta's band, appeared on the Little Sioux river in the northeast corner of Woodbury county—ostensibly to hunt, but in reality to beg, steal and rob. They passed up the Little Sioux to the lakes, robbing and maltreating the settlers, and in several instances shamefully abusing women, and threatening destruction to entire families along the route. They reached the lakes in the early days of March. And finally on the 8th of March their hostile purposes culminated in the massacre of more than one half the people at this settlement, and

between the 8th and 13th their bloody work continued. Of the more than forty men, women and children not one escaped alive, except a girl of 13 years, Miss Abbie Gardner, and three women, Mrs. Marble, Mrs. Noble and Mrs. Thatcher, who were carried into captivity.

In the fall of 1856 three men, from Newton, Jasper county, Messrs. O. C. Howe, B. F. Parmenter and R. U. Wheelock, had visited the lakes and made claims, with the purpose of returning and improving them the following season. Early in March they had started with oxen and wagon to return to the lakes. After great hardships they arrived within a few miles of their destination, when their team had become so completely exhausted that they left their wagon and pushed on to the lakes, reaching them late in the evening. But instead of finding the settlers, with whom they had become acquainted the fall before, ready to receive them, on arriving at the cabin occupied by the family of Joel Howe, they were horrified to find the ground strewn with dead bodies and the interior of the house a desolation. The next morning they visited the claim of a family named Mattock, about a mile and a half distant, found the cabin burned and the entire family murdered. This convinced them that everybody in the settlement had probably shared the same fate, and they started immediately for Fort Dodge. Upon their arrival at Fort Dodge a meeting was called and responded to by almost every able-bodied man in the town. It was resolved to raise a command and march immediately to the lakes in order to rescue any of the settlers who might have escaped the massacre, and if possible overtake and punish the Indians.

Major Williams had informed Gov. Grimes as early as 1855 of his fears that the wandering bands of Indians which frequently made incursions into the settlements might commit depredations upon the lives and property of the settlers. And the Governor had renewed the commission orig

inally granted by Gov. Hempstead, authorizing him to organize and arm settlers to repel the Indians upon any indication, on their part, of hostile purposes. He was therefore looked upon as the natural leader of the expedition. Two companies, comprising about thirty-five men each, were organized at Fort Dodge. And a third company was organized at Webster City, whither runners had been sent to inform the people of that town of the massacre and of the proposed relief expedition.

The news of the massacre reached Fort Dodge on the 21st of March, and Webster City on the 22d. On the 23d the company from Webster City marched to Fort Dodge. On the 24th the battalion of three companies, under the command of Major Williams, left Fort Dodge for the scene of the massacre.

It is not proposed at this time to go into details respecting the campaign. Suffice it to say, that in all the stories of pioneer hardships and heroism, this campaign has had but few parallels in history. As has been said, the winter had been one of the severest known in Iowa. The snow was unusually deep. On the prairie level it was at least two feet in depth. And in the ravines and depressions was frequently from eight to ten feet deep.

The battalion moved in light marching order. Three wagons drawn by oxen, and three or four horses constituted the transportation of the entire command. Most of the men were without proper clothing for such a campaign, whilst their scanty rations were very limited in variety. Thus equipped, however, the command was to march one hundred miles over a trackless, snow-covered prairie. At times, to get the wagons, cattle and horses through the deep snow-drifts, the entire command would form in two single files, as far apart as the tracks of an ordinary wagon, and march and counter march until they had beaten two tracks over which the teams could be moved. When the snow was so deep and light that it would not

pack by marching and counter-marching across a drift, a long rope would be attached to a wagon and from fifty to one hundred men would haul it through in spite of resisting piles of snow which would accumulate in its front. And not infrequently the cattle would be pulled across a snow-drift by the main strength of the battalion. Each day's experience was but the repetition of its predecessor, except that the second day after leaving Medium Lake, in Palo Alto county, the command met and cared for the refugees from Springfield, Minnesota, whom the Indians attacked after the massacre of the settlers at the lakes.

The few settlers at Springfield having heard a rumor of the massacre at the lakes, had, with the exception of one or two families, assembled in the largest log house in the settlement where they made a desperate resistance. And although two of the men and one of the women had been wounded, and nearly all those who had not reached the house had been killed, the Indians finally retired from the attack. As soon as satisfied the Indians had left, the people in the house, under cover of darkness, took from a stable, which had been saved from fire and plunder by its nearness to the besieged house, a yoke of good oxen, and hurriedly hitching them to a sled, upon which the wounded and a few provisions had been loaded, fled southward. For four nights and three days they had pushed forward, when nearly exhausted by exposure and want of food, they were met by the expedition. And when the wounded had been cared for, they were furnished food from the scanty supply of the command and sent on their way southward.

The impression now prevailed in the battalion that the Indians would be overtaken, and the next day the men pushed forward with renewed determination, arriving at night at Granger's Point, near the Minnesota line. Here they learned that Captain Bee, in command of a company of regular soldiers from Fort Ridgely, in Minnesota, had

been at the lakes, and having scouted from thence to Springfield, found that the Indians had left with their captives and booty.

As the provisions of the battalion were now nearly exhausted, and as it was conceded that any further attempt to overtake the Indians would be fruitless, Major Williams determined to send a small detachment to the lakes, some fifteen miles west, to bury the dead, supplying this detachment with all the provisions that could be spared, whilst the main command were to return to the source of supply at Fort Dodge.

The return march was even more terrible than the movement toward the lakes. The main body of the command, on the third day after starting upon the return, waded through melting snow and sloughs filled with water and slush, beneath a drenching rain, until 4 o'clock in the afternoon. When thoroughly wet and exhausted they arrived at Cylinder Creek. Here they found the water out of the banks, covering the entire bottom, making a stream nearly half a mile wide. The water was at least three feet deep over the entire bottom and the main channel, some hundred feet in width, was from twelve to twenty feet deep. They spent perhaps an hour in trying various experiments, and looking up and down the stream in the hope of finding a way, or a place to cross. The day had been mild, but the wind now veered into the north, the rain turned to snow, and the mercury fell several degrees below zero. Not a man in the command had a dry thread on his body, but in the face of this pitiless storm they improvised a shelter out of a wagon cover and a single tent, which broke the wind from the north, east and west. The men then huddled together under this shelter, and remained without food from 4 o'clock Saturday afternoon until Monday morning. In the mean time the creek had frozen over so that the whole command with wagons and animals crossed on the ice



Joseph Buckner

But appalling as was the suffering of the main command it did not equal that of the detachment which had gone to the lakes to bury the dead. The same day that the main body of the battalion arrived at Cylinder creek, this detachment had started across the prairie between the lakes and the Des Moines. They were delayed and wearied during the day in finding crossings over the swollen streams and through the overflowing sloughs. Night found them on the prairie in this terrible blizzard. The stronger and more resolute kept their feet all night, and prevented their comrades from perishing by constantly rallying them and preventing them from giving way to sleep. The next morning after incredible hardships they reached the timber on the Des Moines river. Two of their number, however, had lost their bearings in the blinding storm and perished on the prairie. It was ever after a source of grief to Major Williams that the final results of the expedition had been clouded by the sad death of these two young men. One, Captain J. C. Johnson, was commanding officer of the Webster City company. He was a man of noble bearing and with bright promise of future success and usefulness. The other, Wm. E. Burkholder, was an intelligent and manly young man, just elected treasurer of Webster county, and possessed of qualities of head and heart which gave him a strong hold upon the good will of his comrades. These two lives were sacrificed in the noble endeavor to aid in protecting the helpless settlers upon the frontier. Such is the story of a campaign, made by the young men who composed this volunteer battalion.

And when one considers that, from first to last, the command was as orderly, as ready to perform the most trying and dangerous duties as any organized force of regular soldiers could have been, it is not only a tribute to the men, but to the officers who commanded them, and especially to Major Williams, chief in command. He

could not appeal to a court-martial to enforce discipline. He had no guard house to give effect to his orders. His authority was simply the moral supremacy of a manly and energetic character, and throughout the campaign he retained the respect and confidence of the entire battalion. He was over sixty years old. He had a horse, and yet he probably did not ride one half the time. For hours he would pull through the deep snow-drifts on foot while a weary and foot-sore boy would ride his horse. He never lost his good nature, and in the face of the most trying situations bore a hopeful front. He would march all day, uncomplainingly through the snow, and at night accept the same fare as the other members of the command. He would pull on his boots in the morning—shrunken and hardened from the melting snow of the day previous—and start forward on the new day, fresh, smiling, cheerful and resolute. No young man, with any pride, could see all this without catching the inspiration which constitutes the hero.

In all the years of his after life he kept informed of the whereabouts of the men who comprised the battalion, and never tired of repeating incidents of the march, and telling stories illustrating the peculiarities of various members of the expedition. Such was Major Williams as a leader of men.

When Fort Dodge was finally organized as a third class city he was elected the first mayor. His pride in Fort Dodge, and anxiety for its growth and prosperity, were enthusiastic and unceasing, and his efforts in behalf of its improvements were constant and untiring.

The writer has given so far as he has been able to procure them, the principal facts in the life of Major Williams. But this story would be incomplete if he did not record some of his social characteristics. He loved cheerful companionship, being himself a good story teller. He was especially entertaining in relation to men whom

he had known, and events in which he himself had been an actor. And yet he never told a story offensive to good taste.

He was a mimic. His power of impersonation was inimitable. He was fond of the society of young men. He loved to spend an evening in the offices of some of the young men, and with peculiar drollery impersonate the characteristics of some of the young fellows not present. It is not likely that any young man in Fort Dodge escaped, on some occasion, being made the subject of his power of mimicry, not even Duncombe, his prospective son-in-law. And yet there was never any malice in his impersonations. They were simply an overflowing love of fun. The writer can never forget his impersonations of Major Armistead, one of the regular army officers at the post, who was killed at Gettysburg, commanding a division in the rebel army. His alternations in reading prayers in presence of the soldiers, in the absence of a chaplain, and the next minute swearing at some offender until it would fairly startle even an old soldier, afforded a peculiar subject for the Major's power of mimicry.

He and his entire family were musical. In the early days at Fort Dodge, the home of Major Williams was the only house in which there was a piano. It was a pleasant home. There was a sprightly and accomplished young lady in the family (now Mrs. Duncombe) and every member of the family could perform on some musical instrument. The coterie of young men then in Fort Dodge all lived at the hotel, and to occasionally spend an evening in this home, was one of the experiences that kept the boys from relapsing into heathenism. Mrs. Williams would play the piano. The Major, with his violin, would stand by her side and enter into the spirit of the occasion with the zest of a boy. Up to the day of his death he did not "hang up the fiddle and the bow," nor did the hand that drew the bow forget its cunning.

Major Williams was a Democrat, and a partisan. The writer was a Republican, and something of a partisan. In the fierce contentions and antagonisms of the earnest politics which immediately preceded the civil war, it required a philosophic temperament in men who widely and radically differed, to pass through the fiery ordeal without questioning personal motives. But it affords the writer pleasure to record this judgment of Major Williams: He was a man of sincere purposes, of patriotic impulses, of generous intuitions, and he was never happier than when performing the kindly offices of neighbor and friend.

NOTE.—Granville Berkley, pioneer lawyer of Webster City, and also of the older town of Homer, the first county seat of Webster county, secured the skull of Sidominadota, (mentioned in Governor Carpenter's article), and kept it several years in his office. This skull, when I saw it in 1857, showed many fractures, as though the head had been beaten with a heavy club, and portions of the integuments were still adhering to it. Mr. Berkley stated that he kept this ghastly relic because the murdered Indian had been his friend.—EDITOR OF THE ANNALS.

WASHINGTON'S NOTION ABOUT THE SENATE.

Sir John McDonald, the first Prime Minister of Canada, was fond of relating this story to illustrate the need of an Upper House:

"Of what use is the Senate?" asked Jefferson as he stood before the fire with a cup of tea in his hand, pouring the tea into a saucer.

"You have answered your own question," replied Washington.

"What do you mean?"

"Why do you pour that tea into the saucer?"

"To cool it."

"Even so," said Washington, "the Senate is the saucer into which we pour legislation to cool."—*Philadelphia Record*.



HON. CHARLES MASON.
First Chief Justice of Iowa Territory.

THE YEWELL PORTRAIT OF CHARLES MASON.

Mrs. Mary J. Remey, wife of Captain Geo. C. Remey, of the United States Navy, in May last, sent to the Historical Department of Iowa, a fine oil portrait, from the easel of G. H. Yewell, N. A., of her illustrious father, the late Honorable Charles Mason, with the request that it be presented in her name by Ex-Chief Justice George G. Wright, to the Supreme Court of this State, for permanent keeping in its chambers. The 22d day of May, at 2 p. m., was indicated by Chief Justice Josiah Given as the time for the reception of the portrait. A large audience had assembled, when, upon the formal opening of the court, Judge Wright spoke as follows:

MAY IT PLEASE THE COURT: November 26th, 1838—May 22d, 1895—almost fifty-seven years. On the first date Charles Mason, chief justice, with his associates, Joseph Williams and Thomas S. Wilson, commenced the first term of this court at Burlington. The only business transacted was an order for a writ of error to Muscatine county, and the first case decided, and one of world-wide importance, was in 1839, being *Montgomery vs. Ralph* (a person of color) in which, the chief justice preparing the opinion, it was held that a slave under the laws of another state, brought by his master to Iowa, while under the protection of our laws must be permitted to go free. The Territory then had a population of about 25,000, with, say, a dozen organized counties, and I doubt if a court-house in any. Now, ninety-nine organized counties, a population of at least 2,000,000, and more business transacted in this court every term than in all the eight years of our territorial life.

And yet, no true friend of the state or its jurisprudence will despise the day of small things, or those figuring therein. For to do no more, think of the new chief justice, among the youngest ever called to a place so high, dignified and important, in this or any other Territory or

state, and look at his surroundings and the difficult nature of the work before him. Without libraries, without a court-room worthy the name, without home precedents, with few if any around him with greater experience, a stranger to our laws and institutions, such as we had; a new people gathered from all parts of this and the old world, all untried in policies and inexperienced in legislation or judicial action—foundations to be laid, strong, or weak and perishable; called to so steer the judicial ship as to insure the best interests of the new land; and contemplate the advancement and progress which followed; the prudence, integrity and ability of himself and associates; and then our state, among the happiest, best and most prosperous in the strong and growing forty-four. How well their work was done I need not stop to inquire; content as I am to say that in no other Territory, if in any state, either from 1838 to 1846, or before or since, was there safer judicial action, more unquestioned integrity among the incumbents, or apparently a higher or better appreciation of the great and momentous work imposed. And in this connection, but glance at the opinions announced for the eight years and you will see how great the proportion prepared by the young chief justice, and few, if any, of them after the lapse of fifty years, have been reversed.

Once more time passes and on the 25th of February, 1882—more than thirty years since—this same chief justice “stepped from the topmost round of the ladder of earth to his home in the skies,” and to-day, by the generosity and love of his devoted daughter and her worthy husband—the latter among the most honored of our able naval officers—we welcome to this beautiful capitol, and, if possible, this more beautiful room, his portrait, which is to remain for all time a speaking and impressive reminder of one who labored so faithfully in laying the foundations upon which it is for you, as it has been for your predeces-

sors, and will be for your successors, to so build as to bring no reproach to that bench which he honored, that profession which he loved, or the people whose highest interests he always sought to promote.

But what of his life? Briefly: Descended from Major John Mason, who distinguished himself in the famous Pequot (1637) war—he was born in Onondaga county, New York, October 24, 1804,—in 1825 entered the West Point Military Academy, where he graduated in 1829, first in his class, spending two years there as an instructor—then entered upon the study of law—in 1832 removing to Newburg in the state of his birth—thence to New York City in 1834; while there a frequent and valued contributor to its leading paper and for a time its sole editor—first visited the West in 1836—was married in 1837 at Galena, Illinois, to Miss Angelica Gear (who died in 1873)—settled at once in Burlington—in 1838 was made chief justice, holding that position until the State was admitted into the Union in 1847—after that by appointment of Governor Hempstead, the attorney for our state in the settlement, by the Supreme Court of the United States, of our Southern boundary—then a commissioner to prepare (with Hempstead and Woodward) the code of 1851—in 1853 made commissioner of patents which place he held until 1857—then a member of our State board of education, provided for under the new constitution, and judge of Des Moines county—dying February 25, 1882, at his home in Burlington, near and in which place he had so long resided. Though from 1857 he was out of public life he was by no means inactive, but on the contrary prominent as a writer and author upon topics scientific and otherwise, connected with every movement looking to the advancement of his city—a leader in State and Nation in the struggles of the party of his choice for success, and retained in much important litigation, not in Iowa alone, but in other States, east as well as west, so that almost to the time of his

death he was a busy man, his latter years if not so prominent as an official, none the less useful and helpful, nor the less admired by his family and friends.

Thus you will see in brief how active his life, what a prominent part this young man—settling in this new land before it had a separate existence—bore in shaping its policies and giving us our proud name. For a little more than forty years, when health permitted, he was a marked figure every day in some line, judicial, political, literary, scientific or business, and faithful to every trust, high or low, with a heart as tender as it was big, and a mind incisive, aggressive and ever on the side of truth and justice. Few if any men in Iowa made a more lasting impression in so many ways, by so many avenues, upon our early history; and few will be longer remembered by those who knew him or who will in after years consult our records, judicial or otherwise. I knew him well from April, 1841, when I was admitted to practice at a term then being held by him at Fairfield. If asked to state some of his characteristics I would say first, that he was a simple-hearted, honest and just man. He never toyed with wrong or bad habits. With an inflexible will he marched courageously to his conclusions, utterly indifferent to so-called technicalities, or as to who might be pleased or offended. Passionately fond of investigating every avenue of science, religion, and the whole field of advanced thought, and what he esteemed for the well being of his fellows, his mind was nevertheless a judicial one. He was a reticent man, not given to much talking, with a mind as pure as an infant's, and I doubt if he ever indulged in an impure thought. As I have stated elsewhere, he was a little awkward, and yet, owing undoubtedly to his military education, always manly and dignified in manner. Of his aggressive nature you will find abundant evidence in the report of the commissioners accompanying the code of 1851. In these you have absolute

demonstration that he was never a laggard, but ready to innovate upon established laws, and to strike into new paths however much he might be resisted by others. You will find, to say no more, that accepting the, to him, one great thought that women possess the same inherent rights that men do, he, on his own responsibility, recommended the most comprehensive legislation touching the rights of the wife to separate property, and the protection of that right, recommendations which even at this day after a lapse of more than forty years would strike the moss-covered legislator with alarm and be accepted with hesitation by even some of the most advanced thinkers on this subject. I know, too, that he was prepared for suffrage for women on the same terms as for man; that side by side with David D. Field he took the most radical ground in favor of codification in all branches of the law, and in many ways advocated reforms which would even now be regarded as unwarranted innovations. It may well be doubted if he had an equal in his disposition to investigate and develop new thoughts upon every subject, political, judicial, scientific and social.

I only add in this connection, that unerring in his judicial instincts, he was apt, as already intimated, to strike with the greatest directness to the marrow, the very heart of the matter before him. A friend to humanity—of liberty in its broadest sense—of right in all its strength and beauty—of justice in its most exalted form—he was hence so equipped that in his hands the law was gradually unfolded in its perfect symmetry and so magnified as to command the respect of all classes and conditions of men.

And finally, before I perform the formal but pleasant duty of delivering this conspicuously perfect work into your hands, I remark that though the great body of those around the chief justice and associated with him in developing this new land (for the new territory was not a creation but a growth), men, as already suggested, alike inex-

perienced, and though they differed from him as from each other as to methods in legislation and otherwise, they were nevertheless grand and noble men, whose lives I shall never cease to admire, their memories to revere. For to say no more, I admire them because I look over our constitutions and statutes and there find the impress of their minds—I turn the leaves of journals, the tomes innumerable found in the inferior, intermediate and appellate courts of the State—examine our vast alcoves and receptacles, containing public records, and there see the results of their labors, the evidences of their industry. I look around and see our common schools, our higher institutions of learning, our churches, public buildings of every description, and find in them noble monuments of their liberality, their public spirit, their aid in the educational, religious and moral upbuilding of the State—I inquire for the master spirits who pioneered us through the early days and struggles of a frontier life and find these men, the compeers of the first presiding officer of this court, with him ever in the van, ready to do and doing their whole duty. I think also of the more than 80,000 men loyal to their State, who defiled from our hearthstones in defense of their country and their bright record in military annals, and rejoice that Hugh T. Reid, Samuel R. Curtis, M. M. Crocker, Samuel A. Rice, and scores of others whose names I cannot take time to mention, who, while honoring their profession, were the synonyms of all that was true, patriotic, brave, devoted, honorable and deserving. And I look to the proud position Iowa occupies to-day in the sisterhood of States, our freedom from debt, the wisdom of our laws, the high character of our judicial and other officials, our advancement and progress, our love for and devotion to the Union, and rejoice that while not disparaging others, I can justly attribute much of all this to the untiring energy, active co-operation and public zeal of the early bar, (and among them, not by any means the

least, the two grand men, W. H. Seevers' and James F. Wilson, whose lives I am glad to know are to be suitably commemorated in your presence this afternoon,) largely influenced, if not led by the noble man whose portrait is soon to be placed in your keeping. So, as I repeat these things, because of such a record, I do honor the memories of these men, love to think of the "old guard," and recognize most gladly their helpful influence in giving us a State so prosperous, influential and truly great.

For the portrait about to be unveiled we are largely indebted to the active efforts of Mr. Charles Aldrich, whose years of labor in the work committed to his hands are only equalled by his love for the State and the success of his department.

It comes to us from the hands of his daughter, a native of Iowa, as devoted to its good name as was her father. Then, as we shall look at the face and think of the artist from whose studio it comes we shall be led to say, that often "truth is stranger than fiction." A poor and friendless boy in Iowa City, more than half a century since, exhibiting, however, in his humble way undoubted genius as an artist, attracted the attention of Judge Mason, and being unable to obtain an education without aid, this good man (ever the friend of the poor and worthy) voluntarily and generously sent this boy, George H. Yewell, to New York City, then to France, Italy and Germany, paying all his expenses, and in time I need not say, for his fame is national and world-wide, he fully justified the judgment of his patron, and now in the maturity of his years and the ripeness of his genius gives to the daughter and State a work which, as you will see, almost speaks for the original, and as I believe, as some one else has said, embodies not the brains alone but the loving heart of this ever-grateful boy, who, in the fullness of his fame, owes so much to his noble patron and friend.

Here, at the touch of Captain I. W. Griffith of Des Moines, the American flag, with which the portrait was draped, fell to the floor. Captain Griffith was a soldier in the Mexican war, losing his right arm at the battle of Churubusco. He also served as bailiff in Judge Mason's court. Judge Wright concluded his remarks as follows:

And now deputed thereto by Mrs. Mary J. Remey, the daughter, and the husband, George C. Remey, I deliver this admirable portrait into your care, as the property of the people of this State. These children regret exceedingly their inability to be present—she writing: "The presentation of his (my father's) portrait to the State of Iowa, has long been a cherished wish of mine. * * * It will give me great pleasure to know that my tribute to his revered memory has been given to and accepted by the State to which he was so greatly attached. * * * Nothing would give us greater pleasure than to be present." In their behalf let me ask you to keep it sacredly as you value his memory, as you honor that profession and tribunal which he so honored, and thus in some small degree assist in preserving for future generations and keeping constantly before them the name and fame of one who took so large a share in giving us a State and institutions of which we are all so justly proud.

General George W. Jones, of Dubuque, spoke briefly but eloquently of Judge Mason's early life in Iowa Territory, of his appointment as Chief Justice, of his high culture and many noble qualities, but his remarks were not reduced to writing or reported, and we are therefore unable to present them here.

In accepting the portrait on behalf of the State and the Supreme Court, Justice L. G. Klune said:

GENTLEMEN OF THE BAR OF IOWA: The occasion of the unveiling and presentation to the State, through this Court, of a portrait of the first chief justice is one of historic importance. As the gift of the daughter of the late Chief Justice Mason, it is a fitting and tender tribute to one whose mature years were largely spent in its service, and whose history has become the proud legacy of this commonwealth and its people. Additional interest surrounds

I, Charles Mason, do solemnly
swear that I will support the con-
stitution of the United States, and well
and faithfully execute the trust com-
mitted to me, as Chief Justice of
the Supreme Court of the Territory
of Iowa.

Charles Mason

Sworn to & Subscribed
before me this 23^d
of July A.D. 1838,
Thos. Bloomer
Sec of the Territory
of Iowa.

Fac simile of Judge Mason's oath of office. The original is in possession of
the Historical Department of Iowa.

these ceremonies when we remember that the artist in painting this portrait was performing a labor of love to one who had befriended him, and made his future success and fame possible by tendering him substantial aid and encouragement at the beginning of his professional career.

As we look upon the portrayal of the features of Judge Mason, as we contemplate his work and worth, as we remember his services as a jurist and in other capacities, for the Territory and State of his adoption, we shall more fully appreciate them, and be the better able to give a just judgment as to their effect upon our State and its jurisprudence.

It is not my purpose to speak of Chief Justice Mason's private life, of his social qualities, of his family relations: these have been fully considered by those who enjoyed a personal acquaintance with him. It is of his public and official character that I shall briefly speak.

Before, however, proceeding to discharge this duty it is due to Judge Mason that his position during the war of the rebellion should forever and authoritatively be set at rest. His loyalty during that trying period was once publicly questioned, but without cause, and thus has a great injustice been done to this exemplary official and loyal citizen.

In November, 1886, there appeared, from a correspondent, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, of Burlington, a reference to Judge Mason, in which it was said that but for his love of Jefferson Davis he would have entered the Union army. This article, coming to the notice of Ex-Senator Harlan, he addressed a letter to the editor, the original of which is now before me, and which may be seen in the Iowa Historical Department, wherein he says: "Soon after the commencement of the war of the rebellion Judge Mason tendered his services to the Secretary of War, in any position in which it might be thought he could be useful. I personally know that this tender was

made. The Judge's letter making it was addressed to me at Washington, and no doubt the letter itself is on the files of the War Department. * * * It impressed me at the time as singularly modest, coming from a man of his recognized eminence, and as patriotic as modest."

Senator Harlan's letter is lengthy and closes with a request that proper correction be made. In a letter of date December 19, 1894, Senator Harlan says he is not sure that this letter was published, and that "it is due the family that the facts should be known to the public." There can, in view of Senator Harlan's testimony, be no doubt that Judge Mason was a thoroughly loyal citizen of the republic.

Chief Justice Mason was an excellent example of judicial honor and integrity. Those who knew him personally unite in attesting that his was an honest life in every detail and respect.

Of him it may well be said:

"To his life has flowed
From its mysterious urn a sacred stream,
In whose calm depth the beautiful and pure
Alone are mirrored."

When the Territory of Iowa was organized Judge Mason was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and served from 1838 until after the formation of the State government in 1847, resigning in June of the latter year. During these eight years or over the business of the court was small. Two hundred and twenty-eight cases only came before it, of these 221 are found reported in Morris, four in 1st Greene, and three in the Territorial report which are not to be found in Morris. It will be observed that the number of opinions written in over eight years was but a trifle in excess of those now written for a single term of this court. So rapid has been the growth in population, so multiplied and diversified the industries and necessities of our people, that litigation in a half century has so increased that during the present year this court will dispose of more than 550 cases.

Nevertheless, in the years of the service of Chief Justice Mason on the bench the foundations of jurisprudence in Iowa were laid. Questions of great importance were heard and determined, precedents were established which have been followed ever since. The work then of the court was exceedingly important in that it gave form and direction to all future adjudication. It was indeed fortunate at this juncture, that the Territory of Iowa had the benefit of a man at the head of its highest judicial tribunal possessing the legal learning, the literary accomplishments, and the broad general culture of Chief Justice Mason.

A slight idea of the character of the litigation before the court in these years, may be better appreciated if we refer briefly to some of the cases.

Judge Mason's love of liberty is shown in the first case which came before the court, which involved the liberty of one Ralph, a colored man, where it was held that if a slave with his master's consent became a resident of a free State he could not be regarded thereafter as a fugitive slave, nor could the master, under such circumstances exercise any rights of ownership over him. In that opinion the learned Chief Justice said: "But, when he (the master) applies to our tribunals for the purpose of controlling, as property, that which our laws have declared shall not be property, it is incumbent on them to refuse their co-operation. When, in seeking to accomplish his object, he illegally restrains a human being of his liberty, it is proper that the laws, which should extend equal protection to men of all colors and conditions, should exert their remedial interposition."

In *Gordon & Washburn vs. Higley, Morris* 19, it was held that a trial court might put in form a verdict of a jury—a doctrine ever since followed.

In *Powell vs. U. S., Morris* 24, it was held that an arraignment of the defendant, in a criminal case, was necessary.

In *Bell vs. Pierson*, Morris 29, it was held that by appearance and pleading the defendant waived all defects in the process and in its service.

In *Ballard vs. Ridgely & Billon*, Morris 37, it was held that when a rule or decision relating to the remedy has been changed by statute, the new rule is applicable only to cases subsequently tried.

In *Maltby & Bolls vs. Cooper*, Morris 80, the doctrine was first announced that the statute of limitations may be made to take effect on an antecedent contract.

When we consider the meager libraries of those days, the lack of precedents upon which to base legal judgments, we may to some extent appreciate the difficulties surrounding the judges and the profession in the proper discharge of their several duties, and we can the better understand the meed of praise due to such judicial pioneers as Chief Justice Mason, who, largely without legal guide or compass were compelled to adjudicate questions which were important and intricate, and upon a proper solution of which to a great degree depended the future rights of persons and property, in what was within a half century to become a commonwealth of over two millions of people. Surely, one might well shrink from the performance such a task. But the broad culture and legal learning of Chief Justice Mason were equal to the faithful and proper performance of every duty, judicial or otherwise. His official life was marked with a steadfast adherence to duty, a clear conception of the right, a profound knowledge of legal principles and the ability to apply the law with unerring accuracy to the facts.

Greater if possible than his labors on the bench was the value of the service he rendered the State after his retirement, as a member of the commission which formulated the Code of Iowa in 1851. In this work he was the leader, and it may be doubted if a better or a more concise code of laws had up to that time been compiled in any State.

Time admonishes me that these remarks must close. This court, on behalf of the State he loved so well, and served with such signal fidelity and ability, accepts the portrait of its first Chief Justice. It shall adorn the walls of this temple of justice, and may the strong and kindly features portrayed in this picture be an incentive to us, and those who may follow us, to emulate his virtues, to adorn the bench as did he, and to leave to posterity a life without spot or blemish, so that at its close it may be said of us as we can now truthfully say of him:

“His life was gentle and the elements
So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world—This was a man.”

It is ordered that these proceedings be made of record.

To study history is to study literature. The biography of a nation embraces all its works. No trifle is to be neglected. A mouldering medal is a letter of twenty centuries. Antiquities, which have been beautifully called history defaced, composed its fullest commentary. In these wrecks of many storms, which time washes to shore, the scholar looks patiently for treasures. The painting round a vase, the scribble on a wall, the wrath of a demagogue, the drollery of a farce, the point of an epigram, each possesses its own interest and value. A fossil court of law is dug out of an orator; and the Pompeii of Greece is discovered in the Comedies of Aristophanes.—*R. A. Willmott.*

What is public history but a register of the successes and disappointments, the vices, the follies, and the quarrels, of those who engage in contention for power?—*Archdeacon Paley.*

A true delineation of the smallest man is capable of interesting the greatest man.—*Carlyle.*

INDIAN TRIBES IN IOWA BEFORE 1846.

BY DR. J. L. PICKARD.

The Territory first known as Iowa embraced all that is within its present limits and a large part of Minnesota—the St. Peters River being its northernmost limit. If, as it is claimed by some, Iowa means “Beautiful Land,” the fact must have suggested the name. A broad expanse of billowy land, washed upon either side by navigable rivers, its crests a feeding ground for immense herds of buffalo and deer, its hollows the nestling place of lakelets filled with choicest fish—the lakelets strung like pearls upon silvery cords over which canoes could glide, lakelets and streams set in a rich framework of trees and shrubbery, a covert for the more timid wild animals and a nesting place for wild fowl—such an expanse was indeed an ideal hunting ground for the Red Man.

Paleontologists tell us that as the “ice age,” which for time unknown held this territory in its grasp, yielded its sway, close upon its glacial border there lived a race of low-statured, low-browed men—similar to, perhaps identical with, the Esquimaux of the far north. A race superior to them followed them in their northward movement, and left in mounds and in the relics deposited therein evidences, in some degree, of civilization equal to that of the Aztec race. Such mounds are found in the northern and eastern parts of Iowa, though less numerous than in portions of the Mississippi Valley farther eastward.

The “Mound Builders” were not permitted to retain occupancy of their rich possessions, after the eyes of wilder



J. L. Pickard 1893

and more energetic tribes had rested upon them. Savage hordes from the great Algonquin family poured in by the way of the river St. Lawrence and the great lakes. A still more savage horde of Dacotahs (Nadesioux, Sioux) crossing the Rocky Mountains poured down the tributaries of the Missouri and the Missouri valley. Both streams were checked as they met upon the Upper Mississippi and turned southward. The Algonquins moving west rapidly, flanked the Sioux and crossed the Mississippi covering the territory south of a line extending from the mouth of the Little Iowa river to the mouth of the Calumet (Big Sioux) river.

That the Mound Builders did not surrender their lands without attempted defense is shown by a line of ruined fortifications, a notable instance of which is seen in Aztalan (Aztecland?) Wisconsin.

The Dacotahs occupied that portion of Iowa territory now known as Minnesota and Northern Iowa. The Algonquins held possession of the remaining part of Iowa and of Northern Missouri.

At first rivals for the possession of the fair hunting grounds, the Dacotahs and the Algonquins at a later time became bitter foes.

It is useless to inquire when the change of occupancy occurred, or when the bitter enmity of the two hordes who had dispossessed the Mound Builders had its origin. It may have been centuries before the earliest records obtainable.

Icelandic records prove that Norsemen, fleeing from the tyranny of Harald, in the latter part of the ninth century, landed upon Iceland—that in the tenth century their descendants touched Greenland—that in the first years of the eleventh century a movement southward as far as Cape Cod was made—and that all along the Atlantic coast tribes of the Algonquin family were found.

Then comes a period of nearly five centuries of un-

broken silence. The Norsemen had *found* America, but it was left for Columbus to *discover* the Western Continent.

During the last years of the fifteenth century and the first years of the sixteenth century *discoveries* were abundant.

No part of the continent discovered was without inhabitants. The Red Men were in undisputed possession until the white men claimed title by discovery. Traffic with the Indians was so profitable that French traders pushed their way up the St. Lawrence—English traders moved inward from the Atlantic sea board—Spanish traders entered the trading grounds from the south and the west.

The trade consisted largely in furs and in fish—articles of greatest value in the colder regions. Hence most is known of the Algonquin Indians of the northeast, and of the Dacotahs of the northwest. To the tribes of these great families found upon Iowa soil we will now confine ourselves.

Of the Algonquin family the tribes known to Iowa history are Sauks, Foxes, Illinois, Pottawattamies, Ottoways and Chippeways.

Of the Dacotah family—Sissetons, Iowas, Winnebagoes, Osages, Ottoes, Missouris and Omahas.

ILLINOIS.

The first Indians seen by white men on Iowa soil, so far as records go, were Illinois. Marquette and Joliet descending the Mississippi river in 1673 saw, about sixty leagues below the mouth of the Wisconsin river, human footprints in the mud upon the bank. Following these tracks six miles back from the river, they found a band of Illinois, at a point probably west of Montrose in Lee county, on the Des Moines river.

After the failure of Pontiac's conspiracy, organized in the interests of France during the French and Indian war, he was assassinated by an Illinois in 1769. His followers, chief among them Sauks and Foxes, waged a war of extermination against the Illinois and after 1803 the tribe was virtually extinct.

DACOTAHS, (NADESSIUX, SIOUX.)

Father Hennepin was held a prisoner by Dacotahs for five months in 1680 and formed the acquaintance of De Luth.

IOWAS, (AIOUEZ.)

In 1700 Le Sueur reports seeing some of this tribe accompanied by Winnebagoes in the Blue Earth region, now Southern Minnesota. They had a tradition that long before the coming of the French they had left the Sioux family and were residing upon Lake Pepin—that while there the Winnebagoes, the Omahas and the Missouris, seceded and organized distinct bands; the Winnebagoes remaining near them, the Omahas and Missouris going southward and occupying western and southern Iowa, extending also into Missouri and Nebraska.

A band of Iowas passed southeastward and was found near Peoria in 1775, but the main body came down the Rock river with the Winnebagoes and then passed down the Mississippi river to the mouth of the Des Moines river, stopping for a time in what is now Davis, Wapello and Van Buren counties, they moved across to the Missouri river, up that river to Mandan Village, then returning down the Missouri river they crossed southwestern Iowa and northern Missouri to the mouth of Salt river, then passed up the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers and had headquarters in Mahaska county.

SAUKS AND FOXES.

These tribes, closely related, moved westward before the French (to whom they were then inimical), were pressed southward by the Ottaways and Chippeways who were in alliance with the French, and by the Sioux who were bitter enemies to all the Algonquin tribes; and about 1734 they crossed the Mississippi somewhere between Prairie du Chien and Dubuque. They then held territory upon both sides of the Mississippi, the Sauks being largely upon the eastern side, the Foxes calling themselves Musquakies, holding the lands about the lead mines of Dubuque, part of which they sold to Julian Dubuque in 1788. The Sauks crossed the Mississippi and established villages at the head of the Des Moines Rapids in Iowa and near the mouth of the Upper Iowa river. So Lieut. Pike (U. S. A.) reports in 1805. He also reports villages of Foxes twelve miles west of Dubuque, near the mouth of Turkey river, and six miles above Rock Rapids on the Iowa side.

MANDANS.

By tradition they were driven out to sea from the coast of Wales and were landed within the Gulf of Mexico and passed up the Mississippi river and the Missouri river among the Sioux. They showed a higher degree of civilization than the Sioux by the structure of their huts and by the permanence of their abodes.

Having thus far touched briefly upon all that can be gathered from tradition and from reports of travelers previous to the acquisition of Louisiana Territory from France, we are able to tread upon firmer ground in following the course of treaties made between the United States and the Indian tribes upon Iowa soil.

For convenience of treatment three distinct periods of treaty-making are noted:

1. From the Revolution to the War of 1812.
2. From the War of 1812 to the Black Hawk War.
3. From the Black Hawk War to 1846.

Each of these periods will be followed in considering,
1st, The Algonquin Indians.

2d, The Dacotah or Sioux Indians.

The Iowas and the Winnebagoes, originally of the Sioux family, are found in such close alliance with the Algonquin family that they may be considered as virtually belonging to the latter.

FIRST PERIOD, 1778-1812.

The first movement westward is seen in a treaty Jan. 21, 1785, by which Ottaways and Chippeways agree to their eastern limit—as a line nearly due south from the mouth of the Cuyahoga river in Ohio.

Jan. 9, 1789. Pottawattamies and Sauks accept the same boundary.

August 3, 1795, Ottaways, Chippeways and Pottawattamies, join other tribes (with whom they had made common cause in western Ohio and had been defeated by General Anthony Wayne) in a treaty of confirmation of the eastern boundary previously fixed, of cession of several small reservations, and of grant of right of way to the United States either by land or water through their lands for the purpose of connection of the various military posts at Detroit, Fort Wayne, and as far west as the Mississippi river at the mouth of the Illinois river.

By treaty of Nov. 3, 1804, ratified Jan. 25, 1805, the Sauks and Foxes cede to the United States their lands east of the Mississippi river, retaining the privilege of residence until these lands should be sold to settlers. When thus sold the Indians are to remove west of the river, joining those of their tribes already upon Iowa soil.

Peculiar features of this treaty need brief explanation, since portions of the allied tribes under Black Hawk

always denied its validity, and made it a part of the causes leading to the Black Hawk War. It was the custom of the tribes, either by vote to instruct their delegates in advance of their action, or to confirm by subsequent vote any actions had outside of their instructions. The delegates sent to St. Louis at the time of this treaty had definite instructions as to their duty, among which cession of lands was not included. The Black Hawk followers refuse to confirm this unwarranted surrender of their lands, but in 1815 and again in 1816 consent to a confirmation of the treaty. During this period no treaties are made with the Sioux.

SECOND PERIOD, 1812-1832.

During the war with Great Britain, nearly all the tribes of the Algonquin family and of the Sioux family joined with Great Britain.

Part of the Sauks separate themselves from the allied tribes of Sauks and Foxes out of friendliness to the United States and remove to the Missouri River. By treaty of September 13, 1815, they agree to remain apart from the Sauks of Rock River, if paid their share of annuities promised by the treaty of 1804.

During the war the Sauks and Foxes appear to have dissolved their alliance, since the Foxes make a separate treaty of peace September 14, 1815, affirming their loyalty and confirming the treaty of 1804.

The Sauks of Rock River refuse to surrender their fealty to Great Britain after the treaty of Ghent, until May 13, 1816, whereby they make peace with the United States, confirm the treaty of 1804 and surrender stolen property.

The Sauks and Foxes reunited enter into a treaty August 4, 1824, whereby they cede to the United States the lands given the loyal Sauks, also all lands in northern

Missouri, except the "Half Breed Tract" in southeastern Iowa between the Mississippi River and the Des Moines River, then in Missouri.

August 19, 1825, a general council is called at Prairie Du Chien, at which appear representatives of Sioux, Sauks and Foxes, Winnebagoes, Ioways, Ottaways, Chippeways, Pottawattamies and Menominies. Its purpose was to bring about a cessation of internecine wars carried on by rival claimants for the same territory.

The treaty made fixes a boundary line between the warring Sioux and Chippeways, also a line separating the Sioux from the Sauks and Foxes and Ioways. The latter line especially concerns the Iowa Indians. Beginning at the mouth of the upper Iowa river, it crosses the fork of the Red Cedar river in Black Hawk County, thence proceeds to the upper fork of the Des Moines river in Humboldt County, thence to the lower fork of the Big Sioux river in Plymouth County, thence down the Big Sioux to the Missouri river in Woodbury County. (The line from the fork of the Des Moines westward is made dependent upon the consent of the Yankton tribe of the Sioux, which consent is given in 1830). The Sauks and Foxes, chief claimants of the territory south of the above line, consent to the joint occupancy with them by the Ioways until such time as a proper division can be made. This division seems never to have been effected, but the Ioways gradually move westward, and near the close of this period they are found in south-western Iowa and upon the west side of the Missouri river. The Ottoes, a Sioux tribe, are granted the right to remain upon the south of the dividing line.

In 1828 President Adams proclaims lands east of the Mississippi river open to settlement, and orders the Sauks and Foxes to remove west of the river, according to treaty of 1804.

After five years experience of the futility of the attempt to separate hostile tribes by an imaginary line, and after a succession of troubles especially between the Winnebagoes and adjoining tribes, a treaty is made July 15, 1830, between the United States and the parties to the treaty of August 19, 1825, whereby the Sauks and Foxes and Ioways cede to the United States all lands south of the line of 1825 and west of a line drawn from the fork of the Des Moines river, extending largely along the ridge separating the valley of the Des Moines from the valley of the Missouri to the northern line of Missouri, with the understanding that tribes residing thereon should not be disturbed, and with the further understanding that other tribes might be located thereon at the pleasure of the United States. The Sioux cede to the United States a strip of land twenty miles wide, extending upon the north of the line of 1825 from the Mississippi river to the Des Moines river. The Sauks and Foxes and Ioways cede a like strip upon the south side of the said line between the same terminal points. This strip of land, forty miles in width, is designated as "Neutral Ground." In the early years of this period many treaties of peace and friendship are made with all the tribes occupying Iowa territory.

In 1819 the hitherto peaceful relations subsisting between the Sauks and Foxes and Ioways are rudely broken by the treacherous murder of a young Ioway by a Sauk, while hunting together. May 1, 1823, hostilities culminate in a battle near Iowaville, which resulted in the utter defeat of the Ioways, and they gradually move westward, tarrying for a time in Mahaska and neighboring counties. Before the close of the period the Sauks and Foxes had removed to the west side of the Mississippi; Black Hawk, however, had never been reconciled to the removal and returns in 1832 to cultivate the lands upon Rock River.

THIRD PERIOD, 1832-1846.

After the planting Black Hawk starts upon a visit to his friends, the Winnebagoes. His surly mood had aroused the white settlers of Illinois, who organize a force against him, and in a brief campaign known as "The Black Hawk War," defeat his band and take their chief a prisoner through the treachery of his Winnebago allies. Public and private reasons Black Hawk urges for his course, which a calm judgment may in part approve. At the close of the war the Sauks and Foxes by treaty of September 21, 1832, cede to the United States a strip of territory beginning at a point upon the southern boundary of the "neutral territory," fifty miles from the Mississippi river, thence proceeding at about an average distance of forty miles from the river to a point on the northern boundary of Missouri fifty miles from the Mississippi river, thence in direct line to the river, thence by the river to the boundary of the "neutral territory," thence to the point of beginning, reserving a tract of four hundred square miles about "Keokuk Village," to be laid out in as nearly equal portions as possible upon either side of the Iowa river, also a section of land for Antoine Le Claire opposite Rock Island. September 27, 1836, Sauks and Foxes cede all the lands then held in north-western Missouri. Upon the next day they surrender the "Keokuk Village" reservation, and agree to allow to the Ioways their just share of the moneys received under the treaty of September 21, 1832.

October 31, 1837, a tract of land containing about 1,250,000 acres is ceded, lying between the land ceded September 21, 1832, and a straight line connecting the northwest and the southwest points of the cession of 1832. This line is just west of the western boundary of Johnson county. By treaty of October 11, 1842, the Sauks and Foxes cede all their lands in Iowa, reserving the right to hunt for three years upon lands west of a line

running north and south within eight miles of the junction of the White Breast Fork with the Des Moines River, not far from Fort Dodge.

October 19, 1838, the Ioways cede all their lands in Iowa. At this time they outnumbered the Sauks and Foxes and were in a good degree civilized.

September 15, 1832, the Winnebagoes cede lands in Wisconsin and Illinois and are granted a portion of the "neutral territory," containing 1,600 square miles. November 1, 1837, they surrender the eastern half of their lands in "neutral territory." In 1846 they accept lands upon the St. Peter's River in Minnesota and remove thither. The Pottawattamies come into Western Iowa between the years 1832 and 1835, and with the allied Ottaways and Chippeways, are given 5,000,000 acres in southwestern Iowa. In 1837 they accept lands west of the Missouri River and remove before 1846.

October 21, 1837, the Yankton Sioux, who were not a party to the treaty establishing the line of separation of August 19, 1825, surrender their claims to lands south of that line. When Iowa was admitted to the Union the main bodies of Indians had removed to the west of the Missouri river, except the Sioux, who had not ceded any lands north of the line of separation of 1825, and the Winnebagoes who went north into Minnesota. A few roving bands of Sioux remain in northwestern Iowa, but they are not in good standing with their tribes. A small band of Foxes, or Musquakies as they call themselves, remain in Tama county and are granted lands by the legislature of 1856.

None of the various cessions sketched above were made without consideration. Cash in hand, annuities in money or merchandise, as preferred, investments bearing usually five per cent. annual interest, merchandise, blacksmith service, tools for cultivation of the land, domestic animals, teaching service, assumption of debts to

traders, gifts to half-breeds, and various other gifts to the tribes, expenses of removal, are in part or in whole considerations named. Trading posts were also established.

Frequent instances of the Indian remembrance of their white and half-breed friends appear in the reservations made from their cessions, as in "Half Breed Tract," in Lee county,* Keokuk Village reservation in Wapello county, Le Claire reservation in Scott county, and the burial place of General Street near Agency City.

In the midst of treachery so commonly attributed to the Indian he still lives up to a code of honor. One instance may suffice. When the Ioway was treacherously murdered by a Sauk, Black Hawk found the criminal and was about to surrender him to the Ioways for punishment. Finding him too ill to go, a brother who offered himself as a substitute was accepted. In sight of the Ioway village Black Hawk dared go no farther, but the victim went on alone and surrendered himself. The Ioways were so struck with the magnanimity of the young brave, who was ready for the death which his brother had earned, that they released him and sent him back to his brother with a present of a pony.

* Made in honor of an army surgeon who had surrendered his commission rather than abandon his Indian wife.

"I entertain an high idea of the utility of periodical publications: insomuch that I could heartily desire copies of the Museum and Magazines, as well as common Gazettes, might be spread through every city, town and village in America. I consider such easy vehicles of knowledge more happily calculated than any other to preserve the liberty, stimulate the industry, and meliorate the morals of an enlightened and free people."—Washington to Matthew Carey, June 25, 1788.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL REMLEY ON THE DESTRUCTION OF IOWA LAKES.

STATE OF IOWA, OFFICE OF ATTORNEY-GENERAL,
IOWA CITY, IOWA, JUNE 22, 1895. *Hon. Frank D. Jackson, Governor of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa:* Dear Sir:—
Your favor of the 19th, inst. at hand in regard to a petition of citizens of Green county in which you are asked to request the commissioner of the land office of the United States that he certify to the State of Iowa the swamp lands therein described, which application is based upon the provisions of the swamp land grant of September 28, 1850; it being also stated in your communication that, "in the surveys made by the Federal Government, the tracts in question were set apart and designated as meandered lakes, and that since such survey said tract has been recognized as a meandered lake, and is so marked on the Federal maps and charts of the State." The affidavits of a number of citizens who live adjacent, accompany the petition, in which it appears that, except in the wettest of seasons, the bed of the tract is covered with a vegetable mould, and sandy black loam and muck to an average depth of about three feet. The affiants further testify that for a great many years there has been very little water covering said bed except in the spring, when it is filled by melted snow and occasionally by heavy rains. They also state, that "Search has been made for natural springs, but they have failed to find any."

You ask my opinion as to the advisability of complying with the request of the petitioners, and also that I convey to you my opinion as to the position to be maintained by the State in the event that said property is certified to as State land by the commissioner of the General Land Office.

The question presented is of great interest to the State, involving as it does, the right to the lake beds of the natural lakes of Iowa. To properly present my view, it is necessary to recall the history of legislation by which the United States became entitled to the public land.

Originally the Federal Government had no public land of any character. During the Revolutionary War, some of the states refused to ratify the articles of confederation proposed by Congress until provision was made for the cession of unoccupied lands to the Federal Government. The Maryland legislature, by resolution adopted September 5, 1778, declared that it would not accede to the Confederation, unless there "was secured to the United States a right in common, in and to all lands lying to the westward of the frontiers," and "extending to the Mississippi or the South Sea in such manner that said lands be *sold net, or otherwise disposed of for the common benefit* of all the states, and the money arising from the sale of these lands may be deemed and taken as a part of the money belonging to the United States, etc." The charters given to the Colonies, in many instances, made the western boundary very indefinite. The Virginia charter contained a grant of land, "from sea to sea, west and northwest." Under this, the Colony of Virginia, claimed all the territory lying northwest of the Ohio river, certainly, and had an indefinite claim to that extending beyond, even to the Pacific Ocean. In September, 1780, Congress, considering the remonstrances of Maryland, and an act of the Legislature of New York on the same subject, passed a resolution, "earnestly recommending to the several states who have claims to western country, to pass such laws and to give their delegates in Congress such powers as may effectually remove the only obstacle to a final ratification of the Articles of Confederation."

On January 22, 1781, the General Assembly of Virginia resolved, "that upon the ratification of the Articles

of the Federal Union, this commonwealth will yield to the Congress of the United States, the right, title and claim that said commonwealth hath to the lands northwest of the Ohio river, upon the following conditions." One condition was that new states should be formed, and that states so formed should be distinctly republican states, and be admitted to the Federal Union, "*having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other states.*" Another condition was that all the lands within the territory conveyed, "shall be considered as a common fund for the benefit of the United American States—according to their respective proportions in the general charge and expenditures, and shall be faithfully and *bona fide* disposed of and for that purpose and for no other use or purpose whatsoever." Hening's Statutes at Large (Va.) Vol. 10, page 564. These conditions were expressly approved by resolution of Congress, September 13, 1783.

In December, 1783, an act was passed by the General Assembly of Virginia, authorizing the delegates in Congress to execute a deed of conveyance to the United States of the territory upon the terms and conditions expressed in the resolution above referred to. Hening's Statutes at Large, Vol. II, page 328. In March, 1784, Thomas Jefferson, S. Hardy, Arthur Lee and James Monroe, the delegates of Virginia in Congress, executed the deed of cession, and it refers to and makes a part of such deed, the acts of the General Assembly of Virginia referred to and granted the territory, "to, and for the use and purposes and on the conditions of the said recited Acts." The State of Georgia, on substantially the same conditions, ceded lands to the Government of the United States; likewise New York. The treaty by which Louisiana was purchased from the French Republic has been construed to embrace substantially the same provisions.

This leads to an examination as to what rights the Federal Government acquired in and to the land thus

ceded. The Federal Government was given municipal jurisdiction until new states should be formed which should be sovereign states. It also held the title to the lands which should be sold and disposed of for the benefit of the states. The Federal Government became thereby, the trustee of municipal jurisdiction, also the owner of the land in trust. When a new state was formed and admitted to the Union, the trust imposed by the deed of cession in regard to the municipal jurisdiction, was fully executed, and new states became vested with all the rights and authority of sovereignty. When what was recognized as lands, *i. e.*, as distinguished from bodies of water or rivers, which in all time have been considered as public property, were sold and disposed of, and the proceeds turned into the treasury of the United States, that trust was likewise executed.

In Pollard's lessee *vs.* Hagen, 3 Howard, 219, the Supreme Court of the United States announced the views herein expressed and decided that the United States holds public lands within the new states, "by force of the deed of cession, and the Statutes connected with them, and not by any municipal sovereignty which it may be supposed they possessed."

The State, as a sovereign, is the owner of the shores of navigable waters below high water mark, and the soil under them. The conclusion of the Supreme Court in the case referred to is, that "the shores of navigable waters and the soil under them were not granted by the Constitution to the United States, but were reserved to the States respectively." It also held, "The new States have the same rights, sovereignty and jurisdiction over this subject, as the original state."

In Martin *vs.* Waddle, 16 Peters, it was said, "when the Revolution took place, the people of each State became themselves sovereign, and in that character, hold the

right to all their navigable waters and the soil under them for their common use, subject only to the rights since surrendered by the Constitution."

I might say that the subject of litigation in the Polard case was reclaimed land in Mobile Bay, one party claiming under the grant from the State and the adverse party claiming under a grant from the government of the United States. The title granted by the state was upheld.

Our own Supreme Court has held that the State has complete and absolute property from high water mark to the middle of the channel of the Mississippi river, and holds it for public uses, subject to the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the several States and with foreign nations. *McManus vs. Carmichael*, 3 Iowa, 1. *Haight vs. City of Keokuk*, 4 Iowa, 299.

These decisions have been followed by a number of cases since. The decisions of the Iowa court are expressly approved by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Barney vs. Keokuk*, 94 U. S., 324. It is also held that inland waters, *i.e.* waters lying wholly within the State, which have no connection with navigable waters leading to other States, are wholly within the control of the government of this State. *Veazie et al. vs. Moor*, 14 Howard, 563.

When the government of the United States surveys the land and its agents or surveyors meander the lakes and return the plats which are approved by the proper department of government and disposes of all the land with reference to the plats, its interest in the land or soil ends. The lands are sold with reference to the lakes. The purchasers as part of the people in the State, acquire a right to use the lake in common with other people of the sovereign State. When the lands are thus disposed of the trust reposed in the United States is fully executed. The government retains no property or interest in the waters of the State, except such as may be public highways for inter-state commerce. No municipal sovereignty being re-

tained by the United States, the soil under the bed of the lake up to high water mark becomes the property of the State as the sovereign for the use of the public. When, under the change of circumstances, a lake becomes dry. I can conceive of no principle by which the State would lose its right and title to the lake and the property therein revert to the United States. In no instance that I have been able to discover has such a claim been made by the general government.

In the case of *Hardin vs. Jordan*, 140 U. S. Rep. 371, decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in May, 1891, this subject was again reviewed, and the principles herein expressed are reaffirmed by the highest court. It is said by the court, "Such title, being in the State, the lands are subject to State regulation and control, but on the condition, however, of not interfering with the regulations which may be made by congress with regard to public navigation and commerce. The State may even dispose of the usufruct of such lands, as is frequently done by leasing oyster beds in them and granting fisheries in particular localities, also by the reclamation of submerged flats and the erection of wharves, etc. Sometimes large areas so reclaimed are occupied by cities and are put to other public and private uses, such control and ownership therein being supreme." In this case, the court recognizing the authority of the State over and its right in the soil under the rivers, determines the right of individual claims according to the laws of the State. It also holds that a grant of land extends only to high water mark and any rights of riparian owners below high water mark depend upon the laws of the State. That being a case from Illinois, the right of a riparian owner was determined by the law recognized by the Supreme Court of Illinois which differs from the Supreme Court of Iowa. *Noyes vs. Collins*, 61. N. W. Rep. 250.

The question of the ownership of the State in lands, formed after the survey and sale of government land, is not wholly a new one in Iowa. In 1882 the legislature authorized the sale of an island newly formed in the Mississippi river near the Iowa shore. Chapt. 143, Acts of the 19 G. A. What difference is there in principle between land formed by the action of the water forming an island and land formed by the subsidence of the water?

My conclusion from the cases referred to and many others, is that the title to the land below high water mark of the lakes of Iowa, is in the State.

The question arises whether this title passed under the swamp land act referred to. I think not. The lakes which were meandered and platted as lakes, were not treated as land to be sold or disposed of, but were recognized as lakes. After the formation of the State government the title to the lakes and soil under them, and shores to high water mark, was vested in the State. The land which passed under the grant which is called the swamp land act, is such as was then recognized as swamp land. Land that was not swamp land at the time of the grant would not pass with the grant. To so pass, the land must be within what is termed the "call of the deed" or act. The fact that the land which was dry land at the time of the act afterward became swampy would not bring it within the purview of the grant; so, if what was recognized as water or lakes, afterward became dry land, that fact would not make it pass with the grant. To illustrate, it would hardly be claimed that the land occupied by Spirit Lake, the largest of our lakes, is swamp land. If fifty years from now, by a subsidence of the water, it should become swampy, that fact would not make it pass by an act of Congress enacted one hundred years before the subsidence of the water. The grant is one *in praesenti*, passing title to the lands therein described from its date. *Wright vs. Roseberry*, 121 U. S. Rep. 488.

Hence I cannot agree with the idea that the lakes of Iowa pass to the State by virtue of the swamp land act, but am well satisfied they belonged to the State from and after the formation of the State government by virtue of its right as sovereign. There may be instances of lakes along the rivers which were practically overflow lands, and there may be exceptions to the rule, but I think that the rule is as above stated.

This being the case, I am of the opinion that it would not be advisable for the Governor to comply with the request of the petitioners from Greene county. If the position is correct, it would not be his duty to do any act tending to disparage the title of property belonging to this State, and any act which he might do, unless it is under the authority of the statute, would be null and of no effect. So would any patent issued by the commissioner of the general land office of the United States.

Replying to the latter part of your communication, I would say that in my judgment, the policy of the State should be to maintain all the lakes of Iowa in their original extent and beauty as far as it is possible to do so. To convert the many beautiful lakes of Iowa into fields for cultivation, appears to me to be utilitarianism run mad. The State has more than poetic interest in such lakes. From the report of the Secretary of State, Land Office Department, 1893, it appears that there were approximately 61,248 acres of land covered by lakes in Iowa as shown by the plats. Frequent inquiry comes to my office as to how a title can be procured to one or more of these lakes, or lake beds. Some even have inquired as to the means of acquiring title to part of the Des Moines river bed. If by any means the lakes of Iowa can be preserved, it should by all means be done. Private interests will, undoubtedly, in many cases, seek to drain them, and I understand that some few have been already drained. I cannot think this is good policy, or for the best interests of the State.

If the duty of protecting the lakes from spoliation, building dams when needed to retain the water, and their general oversight were committed to some officer of the State, or Commissioner, much might be done to preserve these sheets of water of Iowa in their pristine beauty. The matter is, in my opinion, of sufficient public interest to have the attention of the legislature called to it.

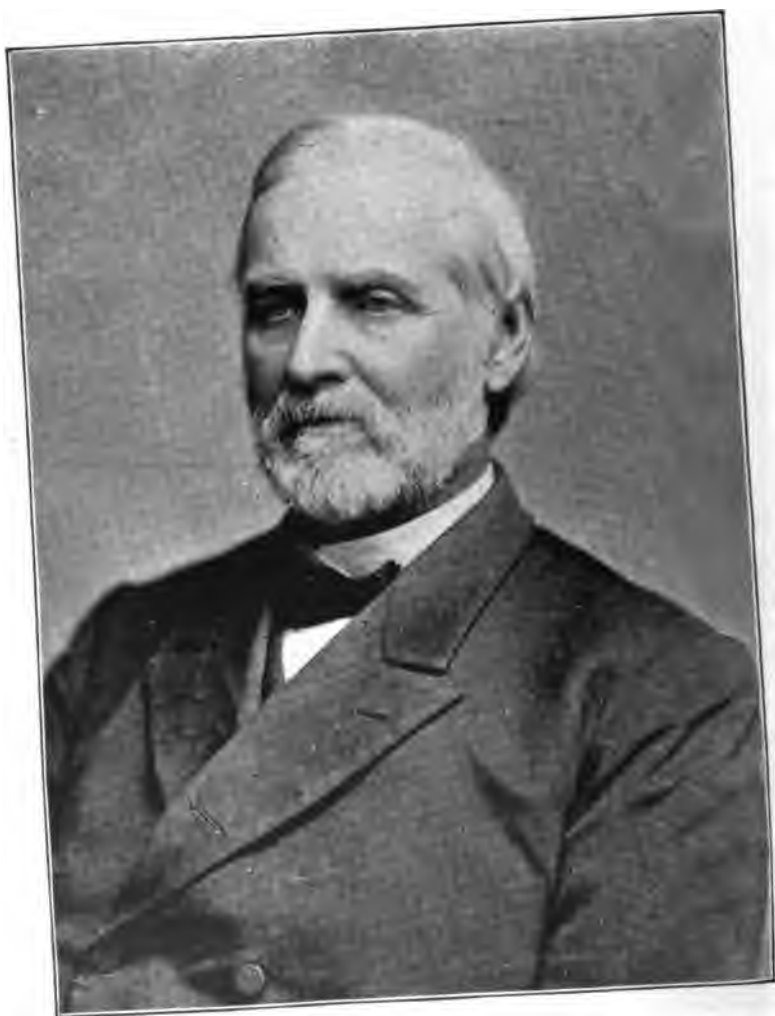
If, by reason of circumstances, it is impossible to preserve a lake, the legislature could make such provision for the disposal of the lake-bed as its wisdom would determine to be for the public interest.

Yours respectfully,

MILTON REMLEY, Attorney General.

The Des Moines *Daily Capital* calls the State Library "a vast literary storehouse;" and then dwells in detail upon the magnificent collection of periodical literature to be found there. According to the showing made by *The Capital* the Library is more than a credit to the State; it is a crowning honor. Every city in Iowa, and every town with a population exceeding 1,000, ought to have a free public library as creditable to its locality as the collection at Des Moines is to the State. Rightly conducted and freely patronized, the public library is the poor man's university, and one in which age and youth can find the best instructors at all times.—*Davenport Democrat*, July 7, 1895.

Caroline Louise Dodge, daughter of N. P. Dodge of Council Bluffs, has won the degree of LL. B. in the law department of the University of the City of New York, graduating last week with such high honors that she was selected as one of the best twelve to compete for a prize in an oral examination before three of the prominent attorneys of New York City. Miss Dodge is the first Council Bluffs girl to be admitted to the bar.—*Omaha Bee*, June 23, 1895.



Yours Truly/
Wm Casady

THE NAMING OF IOWA COUNTIES.*

BY HON. P. M. CASADY.

In 1834 the territory west of the Mississippi river was attached to Michigan Territory. In the acts of the Territorial Legislature we find the following:

AN ACT to lay off and organize Counties west of the Mississippi river.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan, That all that district of country which was attached to the Territory of Michigan, by the act of Congress, entitled "An act to attach the territory of the United States west of the Mississippi river, and north of the the State of Missouri to the territory of Michigan," approved June 28, 1834, and to which the Indian title has been extinguished, which is situated to the north of a line to be drawn due west from the lower end of Rock Island to the Missouri river, shall constitute a county, and be called Dubuque. The said county shall constitute a township, which shall be called Julien. The seat of justice shall be established at the village of Dubuque until the same shall be changed by the judges of the county court of said county.

SEC. 2. All that part of the district aforesaid, which was attached as aforesaid to the territory of Michigan, and which is situated south of said line to be drawn west from the lower end of Rock Island, shall constitute a county, and be called Des Moines. The said county shall constitute a township, and be called Flint Hill. The seat of justice of said county shall be in such place therein, as shall be designated by the judges of the county court of said county.

Approved September 6, 1834.

The act included five other sections referring to local matters, as elections, courts, etc. The territory included in the boundaries of the county of Dubuque contained all of the northern half of the present State of Iowa, all of the State of Minnesota west of the Mississippi river, and all the territory of the States of Dakota east of the

* This is an abstract of an interesting paper read before the Pioneer Law-makers' Association of Iowa, Feb. 15, 1894.—ED. ANNALS.

Missouri river, being the largest territory ever included in the boundaries of one county. The county of Des Moines included all the territory of the south half of the present State of Iowa, now numbering forty-four counties. The members of the Territorial legislature of Michigan, in session in the city of Detroit, I presume, did not think it would be necessary to name and define the boundaries of any other counties west of the Mississippi river for many years to come, as at that time it was supposed and generally believed that "the Great American Desert" included the greater part of the country and would not and could not be successfully cultivated during the present century.

At the first session of the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature, held at the town of Belmont, the large territory of Des Moines county was divided into six counties as follows, to-wit: Lee, Van Buren, Henry, Louisa, Musquitine and Cook. The act was approved December 7, 1836.

The next session of the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature was held at Burlington in 1837. The county of Cook became extinct, and the following counties were created and taken from the original county of Dubuque, to wit: Scott, Clinton, Jackson, Clayton and Delaware.

What called my attention to the necessity of having a number of new counties named and boundaries defined, was an agent offering maps for sale showing the boundaries of the fifty counties named and organized, and all the balance of the State *an entire blank*—the territory lying in the west and northwest portions of the State not being laid off in counties.

December 10, 1850, being the eighth day of the General Assembly which commenced at Iowa City on the 2nd day of December, 1850, the Senate Journal states that Mr. Casady gave notice that he would, on to-morrow or some future day, introduce a bill for an act defining the boundaries of twenty-five new counties.

On the 11th day of December the Journal states that Mr. Casady, in pursuance of notice, introduced Senate File No. 5, a bill for an act to establish new counties and define their boundaries, which was read a first and second time, and on his motion referred to the Committee on New Counties.

The Committee on New Counties consisted of Messrs. Hendershott, Cook, Alger, Lewis and Casady. On December 16, Mr. Hendershott, chairman of the Committee on New Counties, to whom was referred Senate File No. 5, reported a substitute therefor. On the same day Senate File No. 5 was read a second time. Mr. Espy moved to lay the bill on the table, which motion did not prevail.

On motion of Mr. Casady, the Senate resolved itself into committee of the whole for the consideration of the bill, Mr. Leffingwell in the chair. After some time spent therein, the committee rose and by their chairman reported the same back to the Senate with one amendment, asking leave to sit again on Saturday next at two o'clock P. M., which was granted.

On the 21st of December the bill was read a third time, passed, and the title agreed to. Prior to the passage of the bill, Mr. Morton, "with the unanimous consent of the Senate," moved to strike out the name of "Mason" in the first section and insert the word "Union," which was carried.

On January 2d, 1851, the bill was returned from the House with sundry amendments. The Senate disagreed to the amendments made to the bill by the House. The House refused to recede from its amendments and asked a conference thereon, Messrs. Summers, Allender and Crawford having been appointed managers to conduct said conference on the part of the House. The president appointed Messrs. Casady, Everson and Lowe, a committee to manage the conference on the disagreeing

votes of the two houses on "Senate File No. 5, a bill for an act to establish new counties and define their boundaries."

The committee was called together as soon as practicable. Messrs. Everson and Lowe, two of the managers on the part of the Senate, refused to attend, stating they had given the matter but little attention and that they could not aid in the conference. The managers attending on the part of the House were Messrs. Summers, Allender and Crawford. The report of the conference committee was promptly agreed to except as to the name of Buncombe. The managers on the part of the House said the members were opposed to the name; but after the statement that it was suggested in honor of Colonel Buncombe, a soldier of the Revolutionary War, and that North Carolina had named one county Buncombe, the only one in the United States; that the county was the most elevated one in that state; that it would be appropriate to name the northern part of Iowa Buncombe, being the most elevated part of Iowa, the managers yielded, the report was agreed to, written out and submitted to the different houses and adopted January 6, 1851.

The reason of the change of the name of "Mason" in the first section of the bill, which name had been placed there in honor of Charles Mason, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory, and at that time the principal Code Commissioner, was that it would be considered an injustice to other men occupying prominent positions in the State about the age of Mason—such as Governor Hempstead, Senators A. C. Dodge and George W. Jones, James W. Grimes, Henry W. Starr and others. The name of "Union" being suggested by Senator Morton from Henry county, met with approval. Judge Mason was deservedly popular, but for the reason stated the name was dropped.

The county of Floyd was named in honor of William

Floyd, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, a delegate from New York, and the first name mentioned in the delegation from that State. In the original bill the name "Floyd" was suggested in honor of Sergeant Floyd, who was a member of the Lewis and Clarke expedition and had died in camp and was buried on the east bank of the Missouri river south of Sioux City. At his grave a cedar post in form of a cross was erected. The remains and cross were removed after the settlement was made at Sioux City, in order to keep them from falling into the river. At the time, the river emptying into the Missouri river at Sioux City was named Floyd river, to commemorate the sad death of Sergeant Floyd. The proposed county had the same boundaries of the present county of Woodbury. The house amended the bill by striking out Floyd and inserting Waukaw. The name was retained to please the members who wanted a few Indian names.

The reason for reference to the committee of the whole Senate was to give members an opportunity to suggest names. When the committee was ready for business I remarked to the chairman that I had a list of Indian names, some of which might meet the approval of senators. A number were read, but none seemed to meet the views of those who desired Indian names. The committee, after spending a short time, and after suggesting an immaterial amendment, rose and asked leave to sit again.

The county of Wright was named in honor of Joseph A. Wright, then Governor of the State of Indiana, one of the most popular men in the State at that time. He had served as Governor seven years, a longer time than any other man. The last time he was elected, I believe he ran about twenty thousand ahead of his party. Two members of the committee on new counties were former residents of the State of Indiana, to-wit: Senator Freeman Alger and myself, and all were of the same political faith

as Governor Wright, except Senator John P. Cook. While the bill was pending before the Senate, Senator W. E. Leffingwell moved to strike out the name of Wright, stating that the name had been suggested in honor of Senator George G. Wright, who was still a young man and that we did not know what he might yet be guilty of! One Senator suggested that it was named for Silas Wright of New York; a member of the committee stated that the county was named for Gov. Joseph A. Wright of Indiana. Mr. Leffingwell then remarked that he would withdraw his motion, that he understood the county would not be settled for fifty years!

Senator Leffingwell was regarded as the leader on the Democratic side, and Senator Wright was the actual leader of the Whig side and so recognized by all.

It was determined by Dr. Clark (then a resident of Andrew, Jackson county), Andrew J. Stevens (a citizen of Fort Des Moines), and myself, to recommend that three names should be given of three colonels who fell at the battle of Buena Vista. The names selected were as follows, to-wit: John J. Hardin, of Illinois; Archibald Yell, of Arkansas, and Henry Clay, Jr., of Kentucky, the talented son of Henry Clay. Three battlefields should be commemorated by the names of counties—Cerro Gordo, Buena Vista and Palo Alto. Three names we deemed proper to give to the Irish patriots, Mitchell, O'Brien and Emmet. We also asked that the following names should be honored: Major Frederick Mills, who was a leading lawyer of the city of Burlington, member of the law firm of Mills & Stockton, before he was commissioned. He fell at the battle of Churubusco, near the City of Mexico. It is said that the spirited animal he was riding got the advantage of him, ran with him, leaped the ditch and into the ranks of the Mexican army where he was killed. Captain Edwin Guthrie, an early pioneer of the Territory of Iowa, was a resident of Fort Madison before his appoint-

ment as captain of the only company enlisted in Iowa Territory for service in the war. He was a Whig in politics, had served as warden of the penitentiary, and had been frequently spoken of as a suitable man to represent Lee county in the legislature. He died from wounds received in Mexico, before the close of the war. Our worthy and genial member of this Association, Captain I. W. Griffith, of Des Moines, a member of Captain Guthrie's company in the battalion commanded by Major Mills, was in the battle of Churubusco, where he lost his right arm. General William O. Butler, a distinguished citizen of Kentucky, who was a major-general of volunteers in the war with Mexico, and in 1848 a candidate for Vice-President on the Democratic ticket. William J. Worth, a major-general who distinguished himself in that war. He died at San Antonio in 1849 while in command of the United States Army in the Department of the Southwest. These recommendations were all adopted.

The territorial legislative assemblies having failed to honor the distinguished names of Adams and Harrison, statesmen, and Franklin the statesman and philosopher, all so illustrious, and so largely identified with the history of the Nation, it was deemed most fitting that a county should be named for each, and this was accordingly done. Buncombe retained its name until after the battle of Wilson's Creek in Missouri. In this battle the First Iowa Volunteers were engaged and it was the first in which Iowa troops were under fire. Brigadier-General Nathaniel Lyon was in command, and was killed. Lieutenant-Colonel Merritt of the First Iowa distinguished himself in this battle, taking command of the Union forces after the fall of General Lyon. The General Assembly, wishing to honor General Lyon, looked over the counties for the purpose of seeing what one might be changed, and still having some prejudice against the name of Buncombe, decided that Lyon should take the place of that name in the list of counties.

Audubon county was named in honor of the illustrious ornithologist, John James Audubon, who died in New York City, January 27, 1851, a few days after the passage of the bill. Audubon visited the Republic of Texas in 1837 and called on the president, General Sam Houston. He found the capitol building without a roof, the president's house consisting of two rooms made of logs. The cabinet treated him very civilly, inviting him to a grog-shop where he and they drank together; afterwards he drank with the president. The capital was then at the village of Houston, a very uninviting place.

Bremer, named in honor of Frederika Bremer, the Swedish traveler and author, was the second county named in honor of a woman; Louisa was the first, named at the session at Belmont, in 1836, in honor of Louisa Massey, a lady of Dubuque, who a short time before the passage of the act creating the county had shot a ruffian who had threatened the life of her brother. She was a heroine, and among the early pioneers heroes and heroines were highly respected and honored whenever an opportunity was presented. The name Bremer was suggested by Honorable A. K. Eaton, then a member for Delaware and other counties, now a resident of Osage, Mitchell county. Mr. Eaton at the last meeting of our Society delivered an interesting address on "Recollections of the Third General Assembly," particularly the part the house took in that session. I am of the opinion that the societies managed and controlled by women should give the early Pioneer Law-makers some recognition and credit for honoring two of their number in such a manner.

Kossuth county was named in honor of the Hungarian patriot and leader, who was then making a tour of the United States. When he visited St. Louis, our distinguished townsman, Honorable John A. Kasson, then a resident of that city, made the welcoming speech to him on behalf of the city.



Thos. Drummond

CAPTAIN THOMAS DRUMMOND.

BY CHARLES ALDRICH.

[This paper was read before the Pioneer Law-makers Association in Des Moines, February 15, 1894.]

The first time I ever saw an Iowa Legislature in session was in the month of February, 1858. I was then living in Webster City, Hamilton county, where I had started *The Freeman* newspaper the previous summer. That winter was an open one, there being little snow. A fellow townsman, Hon. Walter C. Wilson, a member of the preceding Legislature—the last which met in Iowa City—drove across the country in a light open wagon, carrying Mr. George Smith, another early settler and myself. The most of the way coming down, we traveled over the prairie, four or five miles east of the road, which followed the sinuosities of the timber belt the greater part of the way. The usual autumnal fires had swept over the prairies and the ground was bare and quite smooth. Mr. Wilson was a thorough pioneer and able to pick his way regardless of the wagon road. We reached the capital without other incident than narrowly escaping a ducking through the ice, in Squaw Fork, a deep prairie creek in the south part of Hamilton county.

At that time the only legislative body I had ever seen in session was the United States Senate, a week or two after the inauguration of President Frank Pierce. I need not say that this was an interesting experience to a pioneer editor as far from shore as Webster City was at that time.

The old Capitol—now such an interesting ruin—had not long been built, and stood in the midst of thick woods. James W. Grimes, the Ex-Governor, had been elected United States Senator but a few days before. Elijah Sells, one of the ablest men who ever filled that office, was Secretary of State. Oran Faville, of Mitchell county, a most courtly and dignified gentleman, was Lieutenant Governor. Stephen B. Shelledy, of Jasper county, was Speaker of the House. Of a few of the members of the House I have always retained very distinct impressions. Our member was Cyrus C. Carpenter, a gentleman who was heard from in other useful capacities in subsequent years. He was a young man of apparently not more than twenty-five.

George W. McCrary, of Lee, had appeared in public life for the first time. He was a young man of about twenty-two. He was smooth-faced and almost boyish in appearance, but wearing an air of seriousness and dignity that would have been most becoming in a gray-haired judge. I heard him speak briefly on some pending bill, and I recall the fact that he commanded the attention of the House.

I remember Dennis Mahony of Dubuque, quite an old man, afflicted with some nervous disorder which caused his head to shake, giving his eyes a very curious and unsteady appearance. But when he spoke, deprecatingly of certain trivial and undignified proceedings then on foot, everybody listened attentively, and the House accepted his advice.

Old Zimri Streeter of Black Hawk, was one of the characters of that House, as he was of the next one. He was a wit and a wag, with all his rude speech and lack of culture. Mahony besought a member to withdraw a resolution which had been introduced in a mere spirit of badinage. "Old Black Hawk" rose and said: "Let it be withdrawn, it has sarved its purpus." The House in-

dulged in a hearty laugh, and the resolution was speedily laid aside, the House coming down to the serious work in hand.

Belknap of Lee, was also a member, not older, perhaps, than Carpenter. Something above the medium height, red-cheeked, fair-haired, with flowing beard, he was one of those men who would attract attention in any assemblage—one you would probably turn to look back at if you passed him on the street. How he and McCreary climbed the ladder of fame in after years are matters of national history.

M. M. Trumbull, later "the hero of the Hatchie," where he won his brigadier's star, was another member who made his mark that winter, though he, too, was one of the youngest members.

Another well-remembered representative was James F. Wilson. I interviewed him in the hope of securing his support of a bill which I had brought along in my pocket, providing for the publication of the laws in two newspapers in each county. He was a slender, smoothly-shaven, neatly-dressed young man, with not much color in his face, having a half-clerical sort of look. He had won a foremost place in the Iowa Constitutional Convention of the year before, as I heard frequently mentioned. I found him somewhat conservative in expression, though inclined to know all the whys and wherefores relating to the measure.

B. F. Gue, one of the members from Scott, full-bearded, red-cheeked, fine-looking, on the hither side of 30, was a man of mark in that body.

"Ed Wright of Cedar," was as noted then for the thoroughness with which he transacted business as at any subsequent period of his life. He was the best informed man in the House on parliamentary law, and whenever that body got into a tangle, he had the address, coolness and knowledge, so necessary to straighten out the kinks.

But next to our own representative, the man of whom my memory is clearest, was Thomas Drummond of Benton county. He was then editing *The Eagle*, which was one of the best known county-seat papers in the State. Tom, as everybody called him, could not have been older than twenty-five, and he may have lacked even a year or two of that. He was of slender build, rather above the medium height; his hair was as black as a raven's wing; his complexion rather dark, and his eyes like jet; he had a bright, laughing eye, but it flashed like fire when provoked to anger. I have often heard it said that he claimed descent from Pocahontas, though I never heard him allude to the matter. I remember, however, that he was occasionally mentioned by editors with whom he had tilts, as "Mr. Pocahontas." I met him at the Scott House, a favorite boarding-place with the members. I believe it stood on the ground now occupied by the gas works. It was kept by Alexander Scott, who donated to the State a portion of the ground upon which our beautiful capitol now stands. Tom freely used what General Fitz Henry Warren afterwards called the "energetic idiom"—in fact, he "swore like a trooper." When I was first introduced to him he gave me a "piece of his mind," and with a degree of emphasis which I have never forgotten. The point was this: I had warmly supported Governor Grimes for United States Senator, believing—and I have never changed my mind on that point—that he was the greatest man in Iowa, and for that matter, in the Northwest. Tom had supported F. E. Bissell, of Dubuque, largely upon the ground that he was a *northern man*, while Grimes lived in Burlington, not far from Mt. Pleasant, the home of Senator Harlan. Tom deprecated the idea of giving all these offices to men living "down in the pocket." I did not care where the Senators lived—if they were the two ablest representative men in our State. I will not try to reproduce his language, but he gave me a "cussing" for not

"standing up" with him for a northern United States Senator. "But for you and two or three other newspaper men," said he, "we would have had a northern Senator." We both freed our minds on this topic of the day, neither convincing the other that he was wrong. I was under the distinct impression that I had "stood up." But I had a good time with Tom, and from that time until his death we were fast friends. I can scarcely account for this even now, for our habits were totally different. He was a wild youngster, indulging in sundry dissipations which I will not stop to particularize. But he was an impulsive, large-hearted, breezy, good fellow, whose eccentricities of behavior were always freely forgiven. Actions which would have irreparably ruined an average good character never affected him in the least. A cold bath in the morning banished all traces of a night's hilarities, and he came into the House in the morning in all the glory of high spirits, clear complexion, sparkling eyes and pearly teeth. Even the staid old Quaker members who only saw him on the floor, deemed him a model of all the proprieties. At the very worst, they only regarded him as a "little wild," but not more so than could be readily condoned in one whose other qualities made him so genial and companionable. He was a ready speaker and popular debater. Graceful in action, handsome in person, a born orator, thoroughly informed, as became a journalist, he was a man of mark, easily a leading member of the Legislature, as I believe he would have been of the Congress of the United States, had he been chosen to that theater of usefulness.

During this session he secured the passage of the bill for the location of the Blind Asylum at Vinton. He may be regarded as the founder of that institution, and it certainly never had a more vigilant supporter or so eloquent a defender.

At the next session—1860—Drummond came to the Senate. Unusual efforts were put forth to build the Insane Asylum at Mt. Pleasant, and it was determined by the Republican majority to suspend work for the present on the Blind Asylum, in fact, to “sit down upon Tom Drummond.” This awoke all the wrath that was in him. But his party counted its chickens before they were hatched. It had a majority of but three, including Tom Drummond. There were two members who would to-day be styled “mug-wumps.” They voted with their party when it suited them, but could not be counted on at all times. They favored the appropriation for the Blind Asylum and were opposed to the other institution, unless both should be treated alike. The Democrats stood solidly by Tom, and he was therefore able to bring things to a dead-lock. The speech he made against the proposed action of his party, and in favor of “my Blind Asylum,” as he called it, was one of the most powerful and scathing that ever woke the echoes of the old Capitol. Prominent Republicans—even Governor Kirkwood—besought Tom to give up the fight and not “block the wheels of Legislation.” But he was immovable and his friends sustained him. He boldly declared on the floor of the Senate that the Mt. Pleasant Asylum should not have a dollar, nor should any member have his per diem, unless the Blind Asylum was taken care of. He carried the day and won his point. The Senate came down from its high horse and gave him the appropriation he asked. The Blind Asylum went ahead, though the second story was unreasonably and awkwardly shortened in from the original plan, making the beautiful edifice that Tom Drummond’s foresight would have made of it, a deformity. But if it is a benefit to the city of Vinton to have that great charity within its limits, the citizens should place within its grounds an enduring monument to the memory of their first citizen in those pioneer times.

Drummond had in him all the elements of a soldier. Possibly "he was sudden and quick in quarrel." He certainly would have been had he believed himself imposed upon in any way.

"He bore anger as the flint bears fire,
Which much enforced, shows a hasty spark,
And straight is cold again."

But it was as a soldier that he was destined to crown his life of usefulness and end his days. As soon as the first indications of the great civil war became visible he told his friends that he was "going into it." In February, 1861, he organized a military company in Vinton—being the first man to enlist. He left for Washington the same month, some two weeks before the inauguration of President Lincoln. Very soon after reaching the Federal City he was offered a second lieutenancy in the United States regular cavalry. He was not long in reaching a captaincy, and at one time his lineal rank in the army was higher than that of Gen. Custer—and they were both in the same regiment. He was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth Iowa Cavalry, in which he served several months. Upon being mustered out of that regiment he returned to his own command only to be detailed for recruiting service, with headquarters at Cleveland, Ohio. He remained at that post, or in this duty, for over a year. But near the close of the struggle he was ordered into the field with his regiment, just in time to take his part in the battle of Five Forks, Virginia. In this engagement, when the fighting was really over, he was struck by a random shot and so severely wounded that he died during the following night. He was buried in the churchyard at Dinwiddie Court House, where his grave was seen by Cyrus C. Carpenter, afterward Governor of Iowa, who was a lieutenant-colonel and commissary of subsistence in Sherman's army which marched from Atlanta to the Sea. At the time of his death I was taking *The New York Tribune*, and

in reading the account of the battle of Five Forks, I saw the announcement that "Captain T. Drummond" had been mortally wounded and was dead. I marked and sent the paper to Honorable Frank W. Palmer, who was then publishing *The Des Moines Register*. In the issue of April 29, 1895, he printed the following paragraph:

"DEATH OF CAPTAIN DRUMMOND.—Yesterday we received a copy of a New York daily, sent to us by a friend, containing a list of the killed and wounded in Sheridan's command, during the five days' fighting preceding the fall of Richmond and surrender of Lee. The name of Captain Drummond, Fifth U. S. Cavalry, was among the officers reported as mortally wounded, and on the margin of the paper was written: '*That is our poor Tom.*' Our Iowa readers will remember Thomas Drummond, as editor of the Vinton *Eagle*, member of the House of Representatives from Benton county in the first General Assembly which convened in this city. He was subsequently elected Senator from that county and served during one session. When the war broke out, he was commissioned first Lieutenant in the Regular Army, and when the Fourth Iowa Cavalry was organized, he was commissioned as Lieutenant-Colonel. He served with the regiment several months, and was then transferred to the Fifth Regular Cavalry, in which he was promoted to the rank of Captain. This is the officer of whose death our friend now notifies us. We *hope* the information may not be well founded, but *fear* that it is. Captain Drummond had his faults—who has not? He was a devoted, self-sacrificing friend, an earnest, able advocate by tongue and pen of just principles, and a gallant defender of his country in the field. Peace to the memory of this brave Iowa soldier."

Thus perished "one of the bravest of the brave," freely giving his young life that our nation might live. He was one of the foremost of our rising Iowa politicians.

one of our most able and versatile editors, one of our clearest headed legislators. If he had glaring faults, he was also possessed of magnificent qualities of head and heart. Had he continued in civil life there can be no doubt that he would have attained higher recognition than that of State Senator. His nature was irrepressible, but his aims as a public man were praiseworthy in the highest degree. He contended for progress, improvement, education, substantial sympathy for the unfortunate classes—benevolence, charity, in their highest, noblest manifestation—sympathy for those most deeply afflicted.

I thank you for the opportunity you have given me, to place upon your records this humble tribute to my early friend. He was one whose memory should not be allowed to perish, but kept forever green in the Annals of Iowa.

In the history of men and nations, while we remain immersed in the study of personal incidents and details, as what such a statesman said or how many men were killed in such a battle, we may quite fail to understand what it was all about, and we shall be sure often to misjudge men's characters and estimate wrongly the importance of many events. For this reason we cannot clearly see the meaning of the history of our own times. The facts are too near us; we are down among them, like the man who could not see the forest because there were so many trees. But when we look back over a long interval of years, we can survey distant events and personages like points in a vast landscape, and begin to discern the meaning of it all. In this way we come to see that history is full of lessons for us.—*Prof. John Fiske.*

RECOLLECTIONS OF EARLY TERRITORIAL DAYS.

BY THE HON. ALFRED HEBARD.

The desire to possess land in the habitable parts of our globe has been a primal instinct with mankind ever since Adam was locked out of Eden. And why not? If, according to Scriptural record, man derives his being from the "dust of the earth," and his support from the earth while that being lasts, and finally returns to the earth when that being ends, it is natural that "mother earth" should be an object of no common interest. That instinct has grown with the progress of time till it has become largely a dominant passion, especially among those classes whom we denominate "rural," and who derive their support more directly from the cultivation of the soil. Unfortunately, multitudes have always thronged the larger cities of the world who never realize any such inspiring impulse. They can see no beauty in a native forest; no charm in a running stream; no value in a fertile field. Largely dependent, they add their numbers, but little or nothing of value to the welfare of the community. Of a very different type were the settlers who took possession of south-eastern Iowa previous to the first land sale. We were all "squatters," an inelegant phrase, perhaps, and with some suggestive of rude lawlessness, but there was nothing of the kind. Rightly understood, it had a commendable significance—nothing else than a reasonable assertion of an inalienable right. The wealth that lay buried in the fertile soil was attainable by effort that cost "the sweat of the brow;" the condition imposed upon Adam and his descendants by the

Creator himself. Had not the man who complies with that condition the first right? Adam was a "squatter"—the first one, of course. Governed by the same necessities that control men at the present day, he went forth on the plains of Shinar and staked out his claim, where he and his family subdued the earth with a success that called forth grateful offerings to God. They doubtless had a hard time, worked unlimited hours, and with rude implements. No straddle-row cultivators, or self-binding reapers, relieved the rigor of their labors. Our early "squatters" had more facilities it is true, but the earth was just as obstinate; the storm as severe; the exposure as trying; the necessities as demanding, as in Adam's time. There is no one who began pioneer life as far back as 1836 and a few years following, who cannot recall something besides pleasurable experiences in those early, formative days. And who can say that the men who struggled through those trials had not a primary right to legal title when Government was ready to convey the same, without paying tribute to outside parties whose only object was pecuniary speculation? There was, in fact, an irresistible determination on this point, based upon a conviction of what was right.

Before reciting the various methods adopted to secure the legal title to their lands, it is proper to state that our early settlers were possessed of commendable traits of character to a degree not always found in pioneer classes. Courageous and energetic, they were no land-grabbers—each for himself to the exclusion of all others. On the contrary, they recognized the right of good neighborhood, and were mutually helpful. Every movement in favor of education and moral improvement met with immediate favor. The budding twig of social and economic life was early bent in the right direction, to give value to the tree in the years of its aftergrowth. Our population was heterogeneous, of course, and all were not model char-

acters. Some few, like their great prototype, preferred "going to and fro in the earth, and walking up and down in it," not in love with the hoe and the plow. They busied themselves "jumping claims" and dispossessing others for slight irregularities. Our first settlers were a decidedly industrious community. They began in earnest, and at once, to develop the country and secure for themselves a livelihood and comfortable homes. They had no patience with troublesome men or troublesome questions, and a strong, latent undertone of sympathetic feeling developed a method of handling both. The rules and regulations adopted to govern our actions were denominated "Club Law." A misnomer, perhaps, but still suggestive of primitive remedies in cases of necessity.

Every man was allowed to file a claim of 160 acres—no more—on any unoccupied land. To hold his claim he must commence improvements and continue to enlarge the same within stated limited periods, by building, fencing or ploughing, in order to show his good faith. Boundaries might be adjusted, and claims sometimes enlarged by purchase. But large holdings were generally discouraged. Lands were eagerly sought. Claimants were ransacking every corner, to make judicious selections, and it would be unreasonable to suppose there would be no collisions, no disturbing questions. But the regulations of our "Club Law" early made provisions for their settlement. A committee of three—sometimes called Judges of Club Law—was appointed by common consent to take cognizance of such matters, and more especially questions relative to claim property. In cases of disputes or disagreement, this committee—on application—appointed a day and place of hearing, generally in the open air and on the land in question. The parties appeared. The plaintiff presented his case, introduced his witnesses, and said all he wished to say without let or hindrance, or interruption. When the plaintiff was

through the defendant had the same privilege. If the plaintiff had lied, the defendant was at liberty to outrank him with a bigger lie, if he could. The standing committee, or a jury especially appointed, then retired, weighed the case, and returned their verdict, which was *final*, and without appeal. A common interest enforced these decisions without trouble. No professional lawyers were allowed, and no expense incurred, except the time spent at the trial. Final settlement at the outset was important to all, so that mere disagreements or differences of opinion should not be permitted to grow into prolonged bitter quarrels. Our code was very simple, but effectual within its limit to a single class of questions. It required no legal lore. Hence, we waited on no legal statutory enactments, no judicial decisions, no legal precedents, but obeyed the instincts of common sense, common interest, and above all of an imperative necessity. For it was important that every jar of discord should be eliminated, so that on the day of sale a solid, harmonious front could be presented in defence of our rights. For we knew that *greed* would be there ready to swallow everything of value with an omnivorous grab, unless restrained by the fear of something more powerful than "moral suasion."

The first land sale at Burlington, I suppose, was characteristic of those held elsewhere, though I have no personal knowledge of any other. A few now remember, and more never knew, the incidents of this sale. I have thought it would not be amiss if I should from memory, leave a statement of the mode of procedure so effectual in securing the then paramount object of interest with all. As the time of the sale approached, anxiety became somewhat intense. The "bird was yet in the bush and not in the hand." Maps of townships advertised were prepared, distinct, and of large size. On each legal subdivision of the various sections the name of the man who held a recognized claim to it was distinctly written. One man.

was appointed to bid for each township, no one else to utter a word, but all were to attend as a kind of body-guard to see that everything went off right. On the day of sale, by the courtesy of the Register, (General A. C. Dodge), the township bidder was allowed to take his place, map in hand, by the side of the auctioneer. As the first tract was cried the bidder responded, "\$1.25," the government minimum. The auctioneer glanced at the crowd and quietly said, "sold!" The name of the purchaser was given from the map, and the clerks made the record. The same proceeding followed with each succeeding tract, until the township was finished, following sections in numerical order. Not a loud word had been spoken except by auctioneer and bidder. Had Goliath or Samson undertaken any interference by an over-bid, there would have been an experience that would have been a high price for life, if that even had been spared. This being distinctly understood, no one was rash enough to risk the consequences. No threats were made, but when these beautiful lands were passing from savage to civilized man, there was a latent purpose that every needy, industrious person, who complied with the rules, should have an opportunity for an allotment whereon to live and dwell, without intervention from any source, except the conditions the Creator had imposed and the rules and regulations of the Government. The sale passed off quietly according to program, and most of the more desirable lands were secured to actual cultivators in small quantities but sufficient for family needs. This first sale, important as it was, to those immediately interested, had also its influence in some degree toward that general division of the lands of our State among actual cultivators, which is her fortunate condition to-day. No man within her borders is virtually a king of a county as is the case elsewhere. There are no large cities, no over-grown estates, but thousands of independent, comfortable homes. Her resources.

are thus developed, her productions increased, and a *wealth of patriotism* abounds, caused by, and identified with, the multiplied thousands of individual landed interests. After the auction sale the next step needed no mutual protection. It was an individual operation, and concerned no one but the purchaser. It was simply to call at the office of the Receiver, (then filled by General Verplanck Van Antwerp), pay over the price of the purchase, and take his certificate and receipt. On this Government would in due time issue a patent conveying title. For the performance of this second act in the land drama, some were prepared and some were not. But parties were on hand with a plethora of specie—to loan, generally at a rate of about one hundred per cent. for a year—and many a man went home with a Title Bond of Doctor Barrett or some other party in his pocket in place of his certificate of purchase. The land was valuable, however, and his bargain was a good one even at some sacrifice, and many families in Des Moines and adjacent counties at this day holding them, are in a condition of financial independence.

Aside from the common entry, such was the mode of acquiring title to a large amount of land. But not all vast amounts have been conveyed by beneficiaries of the State, to whom large grants had been made at an early day for various purposes. These grants, though wisely intended, did not always meet expectations. The Des Moines River Grant, the most valuable of all, failed utterly of accomplishing its end. And the river, to-day, unchecked by slack-water dams, runs as freely as it did before the grant was made. Not so with the lands. They have been more or less tangled with vexation from beginning to end. Provisions for educational purposes, owing to an early lack of experience, perhaps, were not made available to their full extent. Hence, an additional burden to-day upon the Treasury of the State. The large amount of

aid to railroads no one regrets. They are as needful as the air we breathe or the soil we cultivate. But it is questionable whether they should ever have been allowed to tax the settler five to fifteen times the government price for his land. When a man binds himself to pay from one to two thousand dollars for an eighty acre lot, and then faces the unavoidable expense of improving and building—added to current family necessities—he has before him a very steep mountain to climb. No mistake about this, for experience has told us so. On account of the growth and prosperity of our State, some of us at times have been led to indulge in a little unseemly boasting—as though wisdom only had marked the doings of our early days. Although a pioneer of the pioneers, I am frank to say, that I think we have prospered fairly well in spite of some questionable, if not bad, management. But I am not disposed to criticise at this late day. I would rather charge all to early *inexperience*—only hinting to any one inclined to be a little loud in asserting personal merit, that modesty is a very shining jewel, capable of adorning any condition in life.

In the early days towns grew apace with the settlement of the country—juvenile Blackstones and embryo statesmen, as a class, preponderating. So much so in Burlington, that some were obliged to withdraw on account of a plethoric abundance. Among them the afterward distinguished J. C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky. The times rationally speaking, were intensely partisan. They were the days of Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, and Thomas H. Benton—all radical in their political views. The latter was called “Old Bullion,” on account of his violent speeches in favor of “Hard Money,” and against “Bank Rags.” Our settlers, however, were more interested in improving their claims than they were in national politics and would have lapsed into a state of partial neutrality if left to themselves. Not so with the aspirants

of our villages. Some were young, and some were not so young. They had been unsuccessful, and wished to try new fields. The older citizens of Keokuk can easily recall the name of one who in due season imported himself into that town as a leading point of influence, and was nearly successful in gaining a seat in the United States Senate. All these aspirants were earnest advocates of an early State government and were impatient of territorial days. Night mare visions of possibilities under a changed condition of things seemed to haunt the brain of not a few. As the time of statehood finally approached, public rumor affirmed that sixty different parties, "dark horses" and all, were willing to forego prospective fortunes in their various callings to serve the new State in the more honorable wing of the Capitol at Washington. Strange to say, State offices went comparatively begging. The office of Governor even had minor attractions. Why it was thrust upon the first incumbent I never could surmise. Governor Briggs was a kindly, inoffensive, certainly *unambitious* man. A boat on the Mississippi carried its name on the wheel-house, "Gov. Briggs," a former somewhat distinguished chief magistrate of Massachusetts. It may have suggested the man for us, and a better man by far than any tricky, scheming politician. I recall no incident connected with his administration except one, worthy of record, for which we are all alike responsible. After the First General Assembly was organized at Iowa City, a new condition of things confronted us. Heretofore, in territorial times, Uncle Sam had paid our bills, besides three dollars a day for services. Now we had asserted our independence and were trying to walk alone—a difficult job with a barren treasury. We were in the condition of the man on a sinking ship who asked his fellow if "he could pray?" assuring him that "something must be done, and that very *quick*." So, waiving all other business, we sent for the Hon. W. F. Coolbaugh of Burling-

ton, to act as our agent, in borrowing seventy-five thousand dollars to set the wheels of Government in motion and keep them so for a session at least. Mr. Coolbaugh acted promptly and successfully. A debt is always embarrassing, and a lien upon future resources. In this case it was unavoidable. Our first obstacle being removed, we were now at liberty to apply ourselves to our new line of duty, which was little else than borrowing the laws of older States and shaping their various features to our new condition. In closing this little sketch, I wish to add that Governor Briggs though untrained by official experience, served his term creditably and in a manner entirely consistent with his honest character. Of our Statehood I defer any remark further than this single reference to the initial step of her existence.

The monument of General Corse, which Burlington will erect in the new park, it is hoped, will mark the beginning of a new era during which the environs of the city are to be embellished and spiritualized. * * * The Corse statue may be taken to be initiative of the real work of embellishment Burlington has now taken in hand, and to urge on with activity and good taste. This work will be, too, of wide scope, embracing art, learning and comfort in all their forms. The community will set its determination to have libraries, art galleries, public statues and fountains, a chain of parks quite around the town site, and easy means of communication from each to each. These progressions are all now as immediate and pressing as prairie-breaking and territory organizing were to the generation that last passed.—*Evening Post, Burlington, Iowa, June 29, 1895.*

THE QUARREL BETWEEN GOVERNOR LUCAS AND SECRETARY CONWAY.

CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA, JUNE 1, 1895.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I am in receipt of your favor of the 30th ult., and as I leave this evening for Marshalltown to attend the session of the Grand Lodge (52d) I write you at once.

You ask the following questions:

(1) What do you (I) know about William B. Conway? (2) When was he appointed Secretary of the Territory of Iowa? (3) Why did he call himself "Acting Governor?" (4) When did he die? (5) Is there any portrait of him extant?

In reply I would say (1) that I know something about the late William B. Conway, the first Secretary of the Territory of Iowa.

Prior to his appointment he was editing a small political paper in the city of Pittsburg, which supported General Jackson during his candidacy for the Presidency. It was a rabid, violent, partisan paper, quite in accord with many of the personal traits of the editor.

(2) By reason of the earnestness of his advocacy of the election of Gen. Jackson, and of his successor Martin Van Buren, he was appointed, by the latter, Secretary of the Territory of Iowa in June, 1838, a few days after the approval of the act separating Iowa from Wisconsin and creating it into an independent territorial district—the act to take effect July 4th following, from which period we date our territorial existence.

Mr. Conway had never held a political office and had had no experience in public affairs, but was an enthusiast

of his own kind, and immediately left Pittsburg for the new territory, landing at Davenport in the month of July. He was an Irishman and a member of the Catholic church, and very naturally made the acquaintance of the Honorable Antoine Le Claire, one of the founders of the city of Davenport, and also of Colonel Davenport, then residing on the island of Rock Island. They made him believe that Davenport was the greatest town in the territory and the coming city of the west, and that it was the only proper place for the capital of the new territory. The organic act provided that the *Governor* should "designate the temporary capital of the territory to continue as such until the legislature should establish the territorial capital." The organic act also provided that the Governor should "divide the territory into three judicial districts" and assign one of the three judges, appointed at the same time with Conway, to each of said districts. It also provided that he, the Governor, should issue a proclamation "ordering an election of members for the territorial legislature, and designate the time of its convening."

The Honorable Robert Lucas, (twice Governor of the State of Ohio and President of the National Convention which nominated Martin Van Buren for the presidency) appointed Governor of the new territory, had not yet arrived.

(3) Mr. Conway's new friends persuaded him into the belief that he was "Acting Governor" of the territory. The organic act provided that "in the *absence* or *death* of the Governor, the Secretary of the Territory should act as Governor."

In this belief Wm. B. Conway, Secretary of the Territory, issued his three proclamations, naming Davenport as the Territorial Capital, ordering an election of members of the legislature, and districting the territory for the judges.

A few weeks later Governor Lucas, who had been de-

tained by reason of low water in the Ohio, arrived at Burlington and was confronted with these proclamations. He became very indignant, declaring that "all the acts of the Secretary, as 'Acting Governor' were null and void, inasmuch as *no vacancy had been created*, either by his death or absence, as he had not yet entered upon the discharge of his official duties." He, however, affirmed the action of the Secretary in relation to the districting of the territory into three districts and the assignment of the judges—Mason to the first district, a resident of Burlington; Wilson to the third, a resident of Dubuque; and Judge Joseph Williams of Pennsylvania (like the Secretary) to the second district. Upon his arrival in October following, however, he selected Bloomington, now Muscatine, as his residence.

These acts of Governor Lucas created in the breast of the Secretary (Conway) unkindly feelings, which were never wholly healed.

Gov. Lucas, being a man of great experience in public life and familiar with the administration of public affairs, looked upon the acts of his younger associate, ignorant in these matters, as an offensive usurpation of authority. It was in the issuing these papers that the Secretary signed himself "acting governor."

Later, the Secretary again came into collision with the Governor in relation to the administration of the affairs of his office; and upon the convening of the legislative assembly, by his indiscreet acts, he came into serious collision with that body, from which he was extricated only through the good offices of his friend and fellow statesman, Judge Williams.

(4.) He died at Burlington, November 6, 1838, some four months after his arrival in the Territory and after a brief illness of typhus fever, and was succeeded in office by James Clarke, at that time editor of *The Burlington Gazette*, who became the last of the three territorial governors of Iowa.

(5.) There is no portrait of Conway extant, at least I never saw or heard of one, as he died some eleven years before daguerreotyping was invented.

Mr. Conway was a small man, very wiry and active, warm in his friendships and bitter in his entities. He was *sarcastic* as a writer, and it was this bitter sarcasm that gave his paper, during the political campaigns into which he entered, considerable notoriety. He was yet a man of genial parts, and had he lived would have learned from experience, no doubt, and improved in his ways and manners.

It was unfortunate for the early history of Iowa Territory that this antagonism should have arisen between the Governor and Secretary of the Territory, but somewhat natural, as on the one hand there existed sound judgment, great and long experience in public affairs and in the knowledge of men; on the contrary the other had had no experience, and his judgment, both of public affairs and of men, was sadly defective, and possessing violent passions; with the quickness of action of his countrymen he often got himself into trouble from which, but for the aid of his friends, he would not have fared as well as he did.

I know nothing about his family, and his memory soon faded away, and but for the position he held and the personal troubles into which he involved himself, there would have been very little or no record left of his actions at that early date.

Very truly,

T. S. PARVIN.

Each generation gathers together the imperishable children of the past, and increases them by new sons of light, alike radiant with immortality.—*Bancroft*.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

A STATESMAN AND PHILANTHROPIST.

In the death of Ex-Senator James F. Wilson, which occurred at his home in Fairfield, April 25, 1895, Iowa lost one of the greatest statesmen and one of the most estimable personalities that has ever borne a conspicuous part in her history. His life was one of the highest usefulness—his character the purest and noblest. From his earliest youth to the close of his career conscientious devotion to duty governed his every action. When the final summing up takes place—when the works of his useful life are set down fairly and impartially to his credit—the annals of Iowa will not contain a more truly enviable record. This is high praise, but we believe the estimate is simple truth. When his life comes to be written, as we trust it may be ere long, it will be found not only rich in good works as a private citizen and public man, but containing “points of history”—seldom falling within the limits of one man’s career—which will make his memory imperishable. His example throughout his whole life—from the harness-maker’s apprentice to the Senator—is one that young men may well study and emulate. His motives were pure, his aims the highest. In the pursuit of the ends he sought to accomplish his paths were always straight, and his zeal and energy knew no abatement. His abilities were of a high order, such as gave him a commanding place, both in the public deliberative bodies of the State and the Nation. One whose counsels were sought by Lincoln and Grant in troublous times—

in the great crises which beset the Nation—could have been no common man. It matters not in what theater of action he was placed—whether in our Iowa Constitutional Convention—in either branch of the State Legislature—in the National House of Representatives or in the Senate of the United States—he was always a leader. In each of these deliberative bodies he occupied a foremost place. His name is and always will be connected with the history



HON. JAMES F. WILSON.

of the important State and National questions of his day. In the settlement of many of the great issues his was the brain that conceived and his the hand that penned the conceptions which were crystalized into the laws of the State and Nation. But while thus prominent in the high places of public usefulness and duty, a leader of leaders. no man was ever more an every day laborer for the greatest good of the greatest number, or more revered or honored in his own town and county. Fairfield is distin-

guished beyond any other town in Iowa by the possession of a Public Library which is the result of a growth of more than forty years. It has been conducted upon a broad and liberal basis from the start. Senator Wilson was ever its most generous supporter—the most untiring worker in its behalf. Not only did he give it his great influence, but he contributed liberally to its rich and varied collections. As the result of his efforts it is now housed in the finest library edifice in Iowa. As a useful working library it is only surpassed by those in Des Moines and Iowa City which have been built up and supported by the State. In American History, Politics and Political Economy, it doubtless leads them all.

But aside from his career as lawyer and statesman, in which his acts were known to the public, his domestic and home life was in every respect beautiful and enviable. His little farm of 55 acres adjoining the town had become under his management a place of marvelous beauty. His fields through high cultivation yielded handsome returns. He had built a modest but comfortable home, to which books, pictures and precious autograph treasures seemed to come naturally as by the law of gravitation. It is now almost hidden by tall trees which were long ago planted by his own hand. He had widened and deepened the bed of a creek, converting it into a deep pond, upon the bank of which he built a little summer-house. Fishes swam in the water and the surrounding timber was musical with the songs of his feathered friends. Here it was his custom to seclude himself for the purpose of studying and writing during the summers he was at home. It was an ideal quiet nook, and at his own door. He protected the birds and was a friend of the dumb animals. His means, to an extent which only those in close relationship with him knew or could appreciate, were devoted to charity. In the clear and forcible language of Judge H. E. Deemer, in the Supreme Court Chamber, on the 22d of May last—

“Through all the trials and temptations of life he was faithful to his friends, to his home, to his family, to his country, and to his God. He was more than a learned lawyer or sagacious statesman—he was a good man.”

Materials for his biography are most abundant. They exist, and are easily accessible—in the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Convention of 1857, in the journals of our State Legislatures of 1858–60, in the proceedings of Congress during his service of twenty years, in a large correspondence which has been carefully preserved, in the files of Iowa newspapers from the time he entered the State, in his printed speeches on many public occasions, and in the recollections of troops of friends. It is to be hoped that these may be utilized by some competent hand in the production of a Life of James F. Wilson worthy of the man and the State and Nation he served so long and so well.

GENERAL J. M. STREET.

Our sketch of the life of this distinguished friend of the Iowa and Wisconsin Indians is from the pen of his son, William B. Street, who is still living at the advanced age of seventy-five years. Though General Street was stationed but a short time in what is now the State of Iowa, his relations with the Indians living west of the Mississippi were intimate and close for many years. No adequate sketch of his life has yet appeared, though he is incidentally mentioned in many works of Indian and Western history, and many papers and official documents from his pen must be filed away in the Indian Bureau at Washington. There is abundant evidence that he was a man of large ability and judicial fairness, honest in his dealings, a genuine philanthropist, devoid of pretense, possessed of the highest moral and physical courage, a chivalrous

Christian gentleman. He thoroughly appreciated the Indians with whom he was so long and so intimately associated, believing them capable of great advancement in the arts of civilization, and of becoming quiet, peaceable citizens. His methods for accomplishing this great result were based upon "The Golden Rule." He won their confidence by kind treatment and exact, unwavering justice. They trusted him implicitly. For many years he acted as a foil to the greed of the rascally Indian traders—and very few of them were not unprincipled rascals—a character which they have constantly maintained, with only here and there an honorable exception, since the time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. He was a remarkable exception among Indian Agents, so remarkable, in fact, that he—a Whig—enjoyed the highest confidence of President Andrew Jackson. In the face of the hottest clamor for his removal. General Jackson, the bitter partisan, retained him in office throughout his administration, even when his removal was demanded by so great a statesman as General Lewis Cass.

Though from the pen of his own son, the article is fair and impartial, the conclusions of the writer according with those of other people who knew or wrote of General Street. He was a man whose clear head, large experience, and high sense of honor placed him, upon the Indian question, far in advance of his time. But the day is coming, and may not be far away, when justice will be done his memory, for the story of the wrongs of the Indians and of those who labored for them will yet be written. The cut of General Street, which accompanies the article, is copied from an India ink portrait presented by his son to the Historical Department of Iowa. The engraving showing the graves of the Street family and the Indian Chief Wapello, at Agency City, Iowa, is from a photograph by William Stoops of Ottumwa.

MAJ.-GEN. JOHN M. CORSE.

When the Rev. Dr. William Salter was invited to prepare for THE ANNALS a sketch of his illustrious townsman, General John M. Corse, it was suggested that the space of twenty or thirty pages could be allotted to the subject. At the outset we believe Dr. Salter did not contemplate extending his sketch beyond the limits mentioned. But after looking up the data for the work—"reading up the subject"—he expressed some surprise at its extent, stating that the sketch would doubtless require four separate articles. But he does his work so well, his historical articles are so uniformly interesting and so permanently valuable, that he was promptly accorded all the space he should deem necessary for its adequate treatment. With this understanding he began the work, half or more of which is now before the reader. General Corse removed from our State several years before his death, and hence was to a great degree lost sight of by our people; but that he still regarded Iowa as his home is sufficiently evidenced by the fact that at his death his remains were brought back to Burlington for their final rest. Dr. Salter is performing his labor of love to the memory of this gallant soldier in a manner worthy of the highest praise. He has woven official orders, reports and despatches into a continuous and interesting narrative—leaving them to tell the story of General Corse's patriotic services. All this matter has been in existence ever since it was written in camp and field, thirty to thirty-five years ago, but it has until very recently been inaccessible to the public. In a general way it has been known that he was a trusted and valued lieutenant of General Sherman, but not until Dr. Salter's present work is completed and published will any one be privileged to read of General Corse's services as a continuous whole. So far as he has proceeded this can now be done, and

when he concludes his articles he will have presented to the people of Iowa one of the proudest military records that adorn her history.

Dr. Salter's article is most appropriately accompanied by a portrait of General O. O. Howard, and two facsimiles of interesting manuscripts. One of the latter is General Corse's famous reply to the rebel General French's demand for the surrender of the fort. "to prevent the useless effusion of blood;" and the other the congratulatory order of General Howard upon the brilliant and heroic defense of Allatoona. These documents in the hand-writing of Generals Corse and Howard belong to the Aldrich Collection in the Historical Department of Iowa.

Since the foregoing was written the Historical Department has secured two very fine photographs of General Corse, in the uniform of a Major-General. The negatives were made many years ago by Brady, who was the leading early photographer of New York and Washington. One is in standing and the other in sitting posture. We believe they are the most faithful likenesses of General Corse in existence, affording the best data yet discovered for his statue on the Iowa Soldiers' Monument, or for a life-size portrait in oil. Copies were at once ordered by the Monument Commission. These negatives had passed into other ownership and were practically forgotten, until a lucky accident brought them to light.

A CHARACTERISTIC ORDER OF GENERAL SCOTT.

In the year 1890 the widow of General A. C. Dodge, one of our first United States Senators, presented to the autograph collection, then in the Iowa State Library, the order book which General Henry Dodge kept while in the military service. It is especially full and complete during the Black Hawk War. The book is a folio volume of

some 400 pages of unruled paper, about half of which is filled with the writing of General Dodge. It contains the orders which he received from superior officers, his own orders to subordinates, and the official letters which he wrote between 1832 and 1836. Aside from this volume very little of the writing of General Dodge has come to light in these later years, when it has been much sought. He was the foremost of western border heroes, the man whom General Jackson would have appointed United States Marshal of South Carolina had she gone into rebellion in 1832, the first Governor of Wisconsin Territory when the present State of Iowa was included within its borders, and one of the first United States Senators after Wisconsin was admitted to the Union. He remained in this latter position until after Iowa was admitted as a State, when his son General A. C. Dodge was elected as one of our Senators. The writer of this item remembers seeing both father and son in their seats as United States Senators in 1853. Their portraits, as well as that of General Jones of our State—who is still with us as a well-preserved nonagenarian—appear in Healy's great painting of "Webster's reply to Hayne," now in Faneuil Hall, Boston.

We expect in the future to find in this very valuable old book many interesting things to be transferred to these pages, but for the present we only take the following characteristic and very interesting order by General Winfield Scott, who made such a determined effort as the first prohibitionist in the West:

ASST. ADJ. GEN'L'S. OFFICE, FORT ARMSTRONG.

ROCK ISLAND, August 28, 1832.

Order No. 16.

1. The *cholera* has made its appearance on Rock Island. The two first cases were brought by mistake from Captain Ford's company of United States mounted rangers: one of these died yesterday, the other is convalescent. A second death occurred this morning in the hospital in Fort Armstrong. The man was of the 4th Infantry, and had been some time there under treatment for debility. The

ranger now convalescent was in the same hospital with him for sixteen hours before a cholera hospital could be established outside the camp and fort.

2. It is believed that all these men were of intemperate habits. The ranger who is dead, it is known, generated the disease within him by a fit of intoxication.

3. This disease having appeared among the rangers and on this island, all in commission are called upon to exert themselves to the utmost to stop the spread of the calamity.

4. Sobriety, cleanliness of person, cleanliness of camp and quarters, together with care in the preparation of the men's messes, are the grand preventatives. No neglect under these heads will be overlooked or tolerated.

5. In addition to the foregoing the senior surgeon present recommends the use of flannel shirts, flannel drawers, and woolen stockings; but the commanding general, who has seen much of disease, *knows* that it is *intemperance*, which in the present state of the atmosphere, generates and spreads the calamity, and that when once spread good and temperate men are likely to take the infection.

6. He therefore peremptorily commands that every soldier or ranger that shall be found drunk or sensibly intoxicated after the publication of this order be compelled, as soon as his strength will permit, to dig a grave at a suitable burying place, large enough for his own reception, as such grave cannot fail soon to be wanted for the drunken man himself, or some drunken companion.

7. This order is given, as well to serve for the punishment of *drunkenness*, as to spare good temperate men the labor of digging graves for their worthless companions.

8. The sanitary regulations now in force respecting communications between the camp near the mouth of Rock river and other camps and posts in the neighborhood are revoked. Colonel Eustis, however, whose troops are perfectly free from cholera, will report to the commanding general whether he believes it for the safety of his command that these regulations should be renewed.

By order of MAJOR-GENERAL SCOTT,

P. H. GALT, Assistant Adjutant-General.

A PRO-SLAVERY LETTER BY JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Persons born since the great civil war have little idea of the deep feeling which existed for so many years throughout this country, relating to human slavery. Two points especially gave rise to the bitterest acrimony.

These were the claims of the southern people of the right to take their slaves with them into the territories—and hold them there as at home—a right denied by a large majority at the north; and the enforcement of the fugitive slave law, which made every man “a negro catcher,” if his aid were required by a United States Marshal. It was the first of these disturbing questions which brought about conditions of actual war in the Territory of Kansas in the later fifties. About the time Iowa was admitted into the Union there were a few slaves in Dubuque and Des Moines counties, brought north doubtless upon the theory that they could be held in bondage “under the Constitution.” The southern champion of this doctrine was John C. Calhoun, the great statesman of South Carolina, who not only represented his State several times in the United States Senate, but spoke for the entire south upon the slavery question and the “compromises of the Constitution.” He was ready even as early as 1832 to go into rebellion on the issue of the right of a State to nullify the laws of Congress, involving of course the right of a State to secede from the Union whenever it chose so to do. The tariff was the particular bone of contention at that time—the protective system being distasteful to South Carolina. The firmness of President Andrew Jackson “put down the rebellion” for the time being. He is said to have threatened, among other things, that he would appoint that born soldier, General Henry Dodge, of Wisconsin, United States Marshal of South Carolina, under whose iron rule there would have been no doubt of the enforcement of the Federal laws. South Carolina gave up the contest then, but the rebellion broke out in larger proportions upon her soil in 1861, resulting in the greatest civil war known to history. The preposterous claims of the Old South upon the slavery question have seldom been more tersely and clearly set forth than in the following hitherto unpublished letter of Mr. Cal-

houn to Honorable Laurel Summers of Iowa, now in the State Historical Collections:

FORT HILL, (S. C.), 16th Nov. 1848.

DEAR SIR: You are right. Consolidation is shaking this government to its center, and will overthrow it, unless we abandon a loose and latitudinous construction of the constitution, and return to the old and rigid construction, which brought the republican party into power.

You ask me: What right has Congress to compromise the subject of slavery? I answer none at all. That it is a subject that does not fall within its province, except to pass such acts as may aid in carrying out the compromises of the Constitution in reference to it, including the delivering of fugitive slaves, and the apportionment of direct taxes, and of representation in the House of Representatives, and to secure the just equality of the citizens in all places where it has exclusive jurisdiction, and in reference to all subjects falling within its jurisdiction. It can make no discrimination between the citizens of one State and another, on account of their local institutions or from any other cause.

But while I hold that Congress has no power to pass a compromise line or to prohibit the citizens to emigrate with their slaves into the territories of the United States, I at the same time hold, the inhabitants of the territories have no such right, until they are authorized to form a State and to enter the Union as one of its members. The sovereignty over the territories is exclusively in the people of the several States, composing the Union, in their federal character, as such, and it is the greatest absurdity to suppose, that the inhabitants of a territory before they are authorized to form a State, can perform an act that involves the high exercise of sovereign power.

With respect, I am, etc.,

LAUREL SUMMERS, Esq.

J. C. CALHOUN.

CHIEF JUSTICE CHARLES MASON.

As stated elsewhere a superb oil portrait of this illustrious early Iowan, from the easel of Geo. H. Yewell, N. A., was presented to the State—the Supreme Court receiving it for permanent preservation in its chambers—on the 22d day of May last. The remarks of Judges Wright and Kinne contain fitting tributes to Judge Mason's character as a soldier, scholar, citizen, scientist and jurist, placing on record interesting and valuable informa-

tion which was fast fading out of existence. That Judge Mason so early decided that a slave brought into Iowa from that moment became a free man—that he favored the amplest protection of women in the ownership of property—are facts which are now for the first time brought to the notice of this later generation and made matters of permanent record. We are glad to present an excellent portrait of Judge Mason from a photograph of this fine painting, which is believed to be one of Mr. Yewell's best works. A facsimile of the original oath of office sworn and subscribed by Judge Mason, before W. B. Conway, Secretary of Iowa Territory, is also given. This document would seem to be in the hand-writing of Mr. Conway, for such things as blanks for that purpose were not in existence at that time in Iowa Territory.

NAMING FIFTY COUNTIES.

An abstract of an interesting paper read by Hon. P. M. Casady, at the meeting of the Pioneer Law-makers of Iowa, February 15, 1894, giving his recollections of the action of the Legislature of 1850-51 in naming fifty Iowa counties, will be found in this number of THE ANNALS. Mr. Casady was at that time a State Senator, his district comprising the counties of Polk, Dallas, Jasper, Marshall, Story, Boone, Warren and Madison. The bill naming the counties was for the most part considered in committee of the whole, of which action no record appears. It made, when complete, just fifty sections, a county being named and its boundaries defined in each. It was approved on the 15th day of January, 1851, by Governor Stephen Hempstead. The counties of Hamilton, Webster, Calhoun and Woodbury were at that time respectively named, Risley, Yell, Fox and Waukaw, but changed by

acts of later legislatures. The three northern tiers of townships of the present county of Kossuth bore the name of Bancroft. The territory of Bancroft county was subsequently added to Kossuth. Before this session of the Legislature the naming of counties had proceeded more slowly. But the Legislature of 1850-51 finished the work, so that from that time, with but few changes, the map of Iowa has remained with regard to the names and boundaries of counties much as it appears to-day. Yell was changed to Webster and Risley added to it. At the session of 1856 the territory which had borne the name of Risley was created into a new county and named Hamilton, in honor of Honorable W. W. Hamilton of Dubuque county, who was that winter President of the State Senate, there being at that time no such officer as Lieutenant-Governor. The statement has been occasionally published that this county was so named in honor of Alexander Hamilton. This is an error, as the writer learned not only from Honorable W. W. Hamilton himself, but from other Senators and Representatives in the General Assembly of 1856—the last held in Iowa City. At the date of this publication several gentlemen are still living who were interested in the action of the Legislature upon the bill creating Hamilton county, all of whom understand the matter precisely as we have set it forth.

MAJOR WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

We are again fortunate in being able to publish an excellent article of permanent interest from the pen of Ex-Governor Carpenter, in his just tribute to the life and public services of Major William Williams, who commanded the Spirit Lake Expedition of 1857. Gradually, after the lapse of thirty-five years, justice is being done to the memory of that heroic band who flew to arms in

such an instantaneous, impromptu manner, on hearing of the barbarous massacre of the settlers. If the reader will stop to consider the points so admirably set forth by Governor Carpenter—that the Expedition was organized in two days—that there were neither law nor regulations for the enlistment and control of the men—that Major Williams, a man of sixty years, was able to enforce discipline and hold them well in hand from first to last, through the exercise of his own high mental qualities—that untold and unimagined hardships from hunger and cold were suffered by all—it will be seen that the commander of that Expedition was not only no ordinary person, but that in his day and generation, he rendered the State “some service” which should ever be held in grateful remembrance. The portrait of “the old Major,” which accompanies this article, is a faithful likeness. Some years ago, Governor Carpenter prepared a paper on the Expedition, going fully into the details of the march and return, for which, from its permanent historical value, we hope to find room in a future number of THE ANNALS.

CONCERNING PORTRAITS.

It will be noticed that some of the portraits which appear from time to time in THE ANNALS are very fine, while others are dull and dingy. This is due to the difference in the copies from which they are made. From a new and excellent photograph there is no difficulty in producing a half-tone plate which prints beautifully, reflecting credit upon the manufacturer and printer; but this is an impossibility when it is copied from a faded photograph or from an ancient daguerreotype. We are ambitious that these portraits shall be the very best in all respects that we are able to obtain—but we are of course compelled to use such originals as may be had in each in-

dividual case. For instance: the portrait of Wm. E. Burkholder, which appears in Governor Carpenter's article on Major Williams, is from a photograph copied from a daguerreotype made forty or more years ago. Three or four years since a photograph was made from this old picture, and this again photographed in the process of making the plate used in this magazine. As a likeness we believe it to be excellent, but we wish it were a far better specimen of printing. This is out of the question when the people who make an engraving have only such ancient and faded originals from which to produce their work.

THE LUCAS-CONWAY QUARREL.

Having occasionally heard of the bitter controversy between Robert Lucas, the first Governor, and W. B. Conway, the first Secretary, of Iowa Territory, we lately asked Honorable Theodore S. Parvin, who was the private Secretary of Governor Lucas, for some facts pertaining to Mr. Conway, with the view of publishing them in these pages. He kindly responded to this request and his letter is presented elsewhere. (See page 221). Mr. Parvin sets forth the subject-matter of the difficulty very clearly. It is little wonder that Governor Lucas—a soldier of the war of 1812, and but recently Governor of Ohio, and a man of National reputation—should have been highly incensed at what was undoubtedly an assumption of authority by the younger man. The case seems to be fairly set forth by Mr. Parvin, and to his letter the reader is referred. It is a matter of regret that a life of our first Territorial Governor, including his public services before he came to Iowa, has not been written. At this time it is very doubtful whether this could be done, owing to the fact that his letters and papers were allowed to be lost or

destroyed. The writer has made many efforts to recover these papers and documents, but so far with little success. His commission as Governor of the Territory is in the Historical Rooms at Iowa City. The Historical Department at the Capitol has secured his commission as Captain in the Regular Army, dated July 23, 1812, and signed by President James Madison, and three of his official letters. Beyond these papers we know of no others in existence, though there may be many in Ohio, dating from before he came to Iowa. It seems a strange neglect that the letters—official and private—with other data, relating to a man who was so distinguished in his time, should have so utterly faded out of existence.

CAPTAIN H. I. SMITH.

An interesting article from the pen of this gentleman appeared in *THE ANNALS* for January, 1895, detailing some sad army experiences during the War of the Rebellion. He enlisted as a private in Company B, 7th Iowa Infantry, on the 8th day of July, 1861—the first volunteer from Cerro Gordo county. At the expiration of the term of his enlistment, he re-enlisted as a veteran, remaining in the service until the close of the war, participating in the battles of Belmont, Forts Henry and Donelson, Shiloh, Corinth, Iuka, Resaca, Long's Ferry, Kenesaw, Atlanta, Allatoona, Savannah, Columbia, Bentonville, Goldsboro, and many others. He was by the side of General G. M. Dodge, when that illustrious soldier was "almost mortally wounded" before Atlanta. In fact, the General fell across the feet of Sergeant Smith, in a very narrow trench, so wedging him in that it was with some difficulty that the latter could extricate himself. He was himself wounded at Belmont and Corinth. He marched with Sherman "from Atlanta to the Sea," saw the surrender of Johnson's

army at Raleigh, and participated in the closing Grand Review of the Union Armies at Washington. The war over, he returned to his home in Cerro Gordo county, where he has since resided. He was a mere boy when he put on the army blue of a private soldier, and seems even now but in the prime of life. He occupies a high position in the community where he lives, and is well known throughout the State. In August, 1894, the President transmitted to Captain Smith a medal of honor, in the name of the Congress of the United States, for distinguished gallantry at the crossing of Black River, N. C., March 15, 1865, where at the peril of his own life he saved a soldier from drowning. His record all through the war is one of especial brilliancy. He has occasionally published valuable contributions to army and local history.

SACS, OR SAUKS.

In the article in this issue of *THE ANNALS* on General J. M. Street, the writer spells the name of this tribe of Indians—"Sacs;" while Dr. Pickard in writing of Indians in Iowa prior to 1846, spells the same word—"Sauks." Both spellings are used, and we choose to leave each writer to his own choice. But the weight of authority seems to be upon the side of the first form. "The Century Dictionary of Names," George Catlin, in his "North American Indians," Drake, in his older work, Judge A. R. Fulton, in his "Red Men of Iowa," and Schoolcraft, in his monumental "History of the Indian Tribes," use the word "Sacs." But McKenny and Hall in their "Indian Tribes of North America," spell it "Sauks." In a later edition of Drake they are noted as equivalent terms. With these leading authorities thus differing, the reader can decide for himself—though the shorter word has been adopted by the great majority of writers.

LIEUTENANT GEORGE WILSON.

Mr. George Wilson, Jr., of Lexington, Mo., lately sent to the Historical Department, where it is now on exhibition, the sword carried by his father during his military service, which included the Black Hawk War of 1832, together with a large parcel of interesting correspondence. The bulk of the letters are copies from the archives of the War Department and Bureau of Indian Affairs relating to the removal of intruding settlers from the vicinity of the Dubuque Lead Mines, where, at that time they had no right to go. There are two deeds of lands by the United States Government to Lieutenant Wilson, executed by Honorable W. L. Marcy, Secretary of War, an original letter signed by Colonel Zachary Taylor, afterwards the hero of Buena Vista and President of the United States, three letters by Governor John Chambers of Iowa, and others of less importance. Lieutenant Wilson graduated from West Point Military Academy July 1, 1830. He remained in the army till 1837, having been promoted to 1st Lieutenant, when he resigned. He served on frontier duty at Fort Crawford, Wisconsin, at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, and upon occasional detached service. After his resignation from the army, he became a farmer at Agency City, Wapello county, 1838-40; member of the Territorial Legislature of Wisconsin. 1838-39; Clerk of the United States District Court 1839-40; Adjutant of Iowa Militia 1849-53; Register of the U. S. Land Office, Fairfield, Iowa, 1849-51. In the latter year he removed to Lexington, where he became a banker. He died March 3, 1880, at the age of 71. He was a brother of the late Judge Thomas S. Wilson and Colonel David S. Wilson of Dubuque, and a son-in-law of General J. M. Street, the distinguished Indian Agent. We learn from one of his relatives that he served for a time in the

Confederate army, which would not be a matter of wonder, as he removed from Iowa into slave-holding Missouri, and his early military associations were all southern. His brother, David S. Wilson, was a State Senator, (1858-60), and raised and commanded the Sixth Iowa Cavalry. This was one of the instances in which members of the same family were in arms on each side of the great controversy.

It has been stated that Lieutenant Wilson refused to obey the orders of the War Department to burn the cabins of the settlers at Dubuque, and thus render women and children homeless in the dead of winter, but none of the papers above referred to disclose this fact. They show, however, that he was very soon relieved from command by Lieutenant John J. Abercrombie, who was accompanied by Lieutenant Jefferson Davis. The War Department gave Lieutenant Wilson a furlough of three months, commencing on the 1st of April, 1833, and his son suggests that this may have been "a mild punishment for his disobedience of orders" which he believed to be cruel and inhuman. They also contain a petition of the settlers of Dubuque, signed by about 150 persons, protesting against their threatened removal. Among the petitioners were several who afterwards became prominent residents of the mineral city. These documents contain sufficient data from which an article may some day be prepared on this episode in the early history of Iowa.

THE NAMING OF THE CITY OF DAVENPORT.

The belief has prevailed in this State for more than half a century that the city of Davenport derives its name from Colonel George Davenport, one of its distinguished early settlers, who was well and widely known from early territorial days, until he was cruelly murdered in his own

home by a band of robbers, July 4, 1845. But latterly a claim has been made that it was "named for" Colonel William Davenport, an officer in the regular army who was stationed a short time at old Fort Armstrong, Rock Island. This question was quite fully and very clearly and ably discussed by Mrs. Maria Peck in *The Democrat* of that city, in December last. She took the position that it was unmistakably "named for" Colonel George Davenport, and seems to have established the fact beyond controversy. She is justly indignant that an effort has been made to ignore Colonel George Davenport, an eminent citizen of the State, who was noted for the possession of high personal qualities—a man of large ideas and progressive spirit—and attribute that honor to "a man of shoulder-straps" who "is as much of a myth to us (the people of Davenport) as though he never existed." Her article seems to include all the arguments on both sides of the question, and to leave nothing farther to be said on the subject.

GENERAL SHERMAN AND THE SONG.

In his splendid collection of War Lyrics the poet, George Cary Eggleston, tells some interesting things about the great General and the song of "Sherman's March to the Sea."

"I talked with General Sherman about this song, not long before his death," says Mr. Eggleston. "It was this poem," said the General, "with its phrase—'the March to the Sea'—that threw a glamor of romance over the campaign which it celebrates. The movement was nothing more than a change of base," continued the General, "an operation perfectly familiar to every military man. But a poet got hold of it, gave it the captivating label, 'The March to the Sea,' and the unmilitary public made a romance out of it."

"In his modesty," says Eggleston, "the General overlooked the important fact that the romance lay in his own deed of daring. The poet merely recorded it, or at most interpreted it to the popular intelligence. The glory of the great campaign was Sherman's and his army's; the joy of celebrating it was the poet's; the admiring memory of it is the people's."

It was something to give a name to a great campaign, a name so romantic that it will go down in history for centuries. When campaigns ten times as bloody as this are completely forgotten, the story of "Sherman's March to the Sea," like the story of Zenophon, will still be taught to school boys. A song, if it strike the right human chord, can embalm great deeds better than a whole volume of history. In fact it becomes history.

General Sherman recognized all this himself, as his words show, and his constant friendship of twenty-five years for Maj. Byers, the author of the verses, indicated something of his gratitude. As a song the verses have ceased to be sung very much—but in the words of a recent magazine writer, the phrase—"The March to the Sea"—has become a household word throughout the land.

Captain J. C. Johnson, of Webster City, who was frozen to death on the homeward march of the Spirit Lake Expedition, had just before come from Pennsylvania. But little has been learned concerning him, though considerable efforts to that end were made a few years ago. His bones, when found on the prairie twelve years after his death, were sent to his friends, some of whom were then living. William Burkholder, who perished with Captain Johnson, was a brother of Mrs. Governor Carpenter. His remains were buried at Fort Dodge.

GENERAL T. J. CHURCHILL, of the Confederate Army, commanded a division at the battle of Jenkins' Ferry, where General Samuel A. Rice of Iowa received his mortal wound. After reading Major Lacey's article in THE ANNALS for April, 1895, he wrote to the author as follows: "I read your account of the battle with great interest. The Federal Army made a most gallant fight, and the stand that General Rice took saved Steele's Army. I never saw Federals show more heroic courage than they did on that memorable field."

THE late Judge E. H. Williams of Clayton county, was often witty, and some of his wit was of a rasping, unsparing character. It is related that while he was County Judge of Clayton county, away back in the long ago, an ignorant fellow one day presented a certificate of election as justice of the peace, asking the Judge if he would "qualify" him? The Judge very complacently remarked: "I can administer to you the oath of office, but nothing short of Almighty Power can qualify you for the discharge of its duties!"

AN IOWA LADY who was at the Chicago Exposition was shown some great guns by a courteous English gentleman. "That," said he, pointing with an air of quiet exultation to a little old six-pounder, "we captured from your folks at Bunker Hill." "Well," responded Mrs. Iowa, "that was all you got! You didn't get the hill!"

IN order to facilitate the work of the Historical Department later in the season we have deemed it advisable to print the articles prepared for the July and October ANNALS in a double number. Instead of the usual 80 pages we present our readers 168. The next issue will bear the date of January, 1896.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

WILLIAM H. HARTMAN, the veteran editor and proprietor of the *Waterloo Courier*, died at his home on the 1st day of July. He was a native of Pennsylvania and came to Iowa in 1850. His first newspaper work was done on *The Anamosa News* the year after his arrival. *The News* was the first paper published in Jones county. In March, 1858, he went to Waterloo and was employed on *The Herald*. Soon after he removed to Cedar Falls and became the publisher of *The Banner*. On the 18th of January, 1859, he issued the first number of *The Waterloo Courier*, and fairly commenced his life-work. He entered upon his new enterprise with a good knowledge of the business, and realized the hard work that would be required for many years to build up a paying newspaper in that small village and sparsely settled county. But he was young, well equipped, and settled down to business with an energy that was sure to bring success. *The Courier* under his management soon took rank among the best conducted and most influential newspapers of Northern Iowa, a position which it held till the day of Mr. Hartman's death. At various times he had associated with him on *The Courier* some of the brightest newspaper men of the State. He has always kept the plant equipped with the best material for turning out a first class paper. He was an untiring worker for whatever would build up Waterloo, and kept his paper at all times fully up to the standard of excellence that the patronage of the city and county would justify. In 1890 he began the publication of a daily edition, which has been successful from the start. He was appointed postmaster of Waterloo by President Grant in 1873 and held the position until Mr. Cleveland became President. He was one of the pioneer editors of northern Iowa, ranking among those longest in the service as journalists.

LYMAN PARSONS, who was for ten years Treasurer of the State Historical Society at Iowa City, died there at the age of sixty-four, on the 28th of February last. He was a native of Massachusetts and for twenty-six years had been a prominent business man at Iowa City, having been President of the First National Bank of that place since 1883. For ten years he was contractor on the construction of the Rock Island railroad, building the stone work for most of the bridges from Chicago to Council Bluffs. In politics Mr. Parsons was an active republican, but never sought or held a political office. In all respects he was a useful and most estimable citizen. *The Iowa Historical Record* pays a kindly and deserved tribute to his memory, from which we condense the above.

JOHN M. HAAS, of Iowa City, died there on the 19th of March, at the age of ninety-one. He was born in Germany during the time when Napoleon was leading his victorious armies from one conquest to another in the principal kingdoms of Europe. In 1839 Mr. Haas left his old home and came to America. In 1852 he settled at Iowa City and as the years went by built up a good business and became an influential citizen. In an elegant home surrounded by a profusion of shade and fruit trees, vines and shrubbery, he lived a happy life, reaching extreme old age.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

HUGH SCOTT, an Immigrant of 1670 and his descendants, by John Scott. Wouldst thou trust thy name to dumb forgetfulness, or to the rotting graveyard stone? Nay:—rather place it on the pages of the Printed Book. Nevada, Iowa, John Manor Scott, Printer.

This work in genealogy is a neatly printed volume of about 350 pages, illustrated with some 80 engravings—mostly portraits—of which only 300 numbered copies have been published. It was written, or compiled, by Colonel John Scott, who served in Mexico and in the War of the Rebellion, was elected for two terms to our State Senate, 1859–1885, and as Lieutenant-Governor, 1868. The book, says Colonel Scott, “was printed by my grandson, John Manor Scott, on a hand press, two pages only at a single impression.” It is therefore altogether a novelty as a specimen of the book-maker’s art, intended for little if any circulation outside of the descendants of Hugh Scott and the few public libraries to which it may be sent. Colonel Scott frankly says in his preliminary suggestions that he believes “that it contains many errors. His information has come from many sources; statements of alleged facts are in some cases contradictory; in some cases improbable; in some cases impossible.” He also as freely states that “there are many omissions.” But he has done everything in his power—and the effort is a very praiseworthy one—to present in an attractive form, such information as he has been able to obtain during the past twenty years, in regard to Hugh Scott and his now widely scattered descendants. Every intelligent reader will appreciate the difficulties to be encountered in such a task. Ancient records, decaying monuments in neglected cemeteries, old letters, falling memories and other out-of-the-way sources, must be consulted for facts and dates, and the results are too often unprofitable and unsatisfactory. But with all its shortcomings, the book is an interesting and valuable addition to Iowa genealogy and deserves a place in every public library. The title page bears “no date,” but the book is dated elsewhere 1895.

In the 6th line page 210, for “1895,” read “1865.”

THIRD SERIES.

VOL. II. NO. 4.

JANUARY, 1896.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



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DES MOINES, IOWA.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

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In haste truly Yours
D. P. Finney

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. II. No. 4. DES MOINES, IOWA, JANUARY, 1896. THIRD SERIES.

JOSIAH BUSHNELL GRINNELL.

BY PROF. L. F. PARKER, OF IOWA COLLEGE.

The town of Grinnell is eminently the monument of its founder, Hon. Josiah Bushnell Grinnell. The volume, "Men and Events of Forty Years," written by himself, is the best possible record of his life. More than "two hundred years before he was born" Huguenot ancestors began in France to develop his power and purpose. He may have been improved by his ancestral environment in Wales during a quarter of a century and among New England Yankees five times as long. He aided the family of Myron Grinnell to celebrate "Forefathers' Day" in New Haven, Vermont, by becoming a member of it on the two-hundred and first anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. The names given to him seemed to impose weighty responsibilities, for they had been borne by men distinguished in theology and in law. His family designation has also been honored by such men as Henry Grinnell of Arctic fame, Moses H. Grinnell, long a congressman and a collector of the port of New York, and by Julius Sprague Grinnell who prosecuted the Chicago anarchists in 1887 and has been pilloried by Governor Altgeld.

The life of an average Yankee boy need not be written in detail, nevertheless young Grinnell was more than an average Yankee boy. That boy, too, was father of the man we know so well. He was early in love with animals and with flowers, with business and with boys, with independence and with mankind. An orphan at ten years of age, at home later with a keen-eyed business man and an entertaining story teller, in winter schools and in summer trusts beyond his years, he became a school teacher at sixteen, an academy student at eighteen, and was in search of a college for further study a year afterwards.

Those first years of Mr. Grinnell's life had been years of ever increasing slavery agitation in this country. Southern families had been alarmed by the Charleston negro insurrection in 1820, and still more terrified by Nat Turner's bloody uprising in 1831. Congress had fought its way along into the Missouri Compromise, had smothered anti-slavery petitions and become almost ready to smother the ex-president, John Quincy Adams, when he presented them. In the south, the life of a northern man who openly advocated the anti-slavery views of Jefferson would not have been worth a groat, and in the north itself \$5,000 were offered for the head of Arthur Tappan. Mobs made anti-slavery meetings perilous, destroyed anti-slavery presses, and murdered Elijah P. Lovejoy. Anti-slavery men organized societies, divided themselves into Garrisonian ultraists and Birney moderates, and in 1840 cast nearly seven thousand votes for an abolitionist for President of the United States.

Mr. Grinnell caught the growing fever of the time and was easily induced to enter Oneida Institute under the presidency of Beriah Green, a noted Birneyite. The school was known as a manual labor institution with a leaning toward moral and intellectual novelties; the President was a man of large heart, vigorous brain, little admiration for the "heathen" classics and a special love for the thought

and the deed of the hour. The Institute was his "lengthened shadow." The students caught his spirit and incarnated his ideas. They put on Beriah Green; they usually put off no part of themselves. Young gentlemen of all colors met and mingled hilariously, seriously, studiously. They had a royal good time as boys, as students and especially as debaters who loved to discuss live questions in their societies extemporaneously, that is, to speak on a theme given them after they had taken the stand and addressed the chairman. That custom developed a ready mastery of all their resources of wit, of logic and of memory; it may have led to some neglect of the deliberation of the judge in an over stimulus in the arts of the advocate.

Such men as Alvan Stewart, the immensely witty abolitionist, and Gerrit Smith, the very wealthy one, were most welcome at Whitesboro. Stewart, Smith and Green left their impress on that institution, but no influence seemed so masterful over Grinnell as that of President Green.

During those years dietetic reform, also, was in the air, and with it the promise of a richer purse, clearer brain and better scholarship to all students who should adopt it. That "great reform" broke in upon Oneida Institute, of course. For a time young Grinnell and others were carried off their feet by it. They abjured tea and coffee, butter and meat, and then stretched bodies which were growing more emaciated daily upon a single blanket on an oak board at night. For such physical vagaries nature furnished a ready rebuke in a weakened digestion and in semi-sleepless nights until the young reformers were ready to re-reform. (We may well regret that nature does not protest just as promptly and as effectively against all intellectual and spiritual Grahamism.)

Denunciation of the dime novel and advocacy of the serious pamphlets and booklets of the American Tract Society made Mr. Grinnell an agent of that society in Wis-

consin in 1844. He wrote that at that time he "was vain enough to think that 'he' could speak to edification, and that, with the dash of an 'unfledged reformer'," he "might rattle the bones, seemingly very dry, in the valleys of conservatism." The absence of a liberal degree of self-confidence at the age of twenty-two is a prophecy of future inefficiency; its presence is not always a proof of a brilliant future. Perhaps young Grinnell did not over-estimate his own powers; he probably under-estimated the inertia of those conservative dry bones. Whitesboro had elevated and intensified his earlier purpose of manliest action. Fired by its enthusiasm he dashed into his Wisconsin field with the confidence of a crusader. He preached and talked politics, became acquainted with influential men and was invited to a pastorate. He saw the prairies and fell in love with them. The ministry had highest attractions; he returned to New York for further preparation.

Thenceforward till 1846 he maintained the tropical ultraism of Whitesboro in the midst of the arctic conservatism of Auburn Theological Seminary.

Eventually like attracted like. The radical Congregationalists of Union Village (near Albany, N. Y.) sought the pastoral ministrations of the Auburn radical. He preached there to "nabobs and niggers," it was said sarcastically and extravagantly. It was true, however, that men of means did sit on one side of his church while the other was occupied by intelligent and industrious colored men. A more dangerous field was then awaiting him.

The capital city of this nation was a torrid region for abolitionists when the nineteenth century was pivoting into its closing half. 1850 was the year of most important compromise; Judge William Jay said that year began the "scoundrelizing of our people" by the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law. It was the year before Webster's seventh of March speech which was the knell of his politi-

cal death, the fourth before "Bleeding Kansas," seventh before the Dred Scott decision made the entire Union slave territory, and only the tenth before South Carolina seceded. During that eventful year Mr. Grinnell began the erection of an anti-slavery church in Washington. His first sermon in the building owned by that body was preached on Nov. 25, 1851, and in the presence of such men as Senators Salmon P. Chase and John P. Hale, and of Representatives like Joshua R. Giddings.

He was aided there by Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, in whose *National Era* Uncle Tom's Cabin was then appearing as a serial, and by many active abolitionists in the north. Nevertheless, cautious in speech as he was, he soon learned that few northerners who believed that all men who were created equal could long enjoy good health in that city. He was politely, yet very suggestively escorted to the cars for a permanent residence elsewhere. As he parted with those attentive friends he gave them assurance that he would meet them again, a promise which he was never able to redeem until, as a representative from Iowa, he voted to confiscate the property of one of them who had become a little too bold as a "rebel in the civil war."

Mr. Grinnell was then far on toward Iowa. He made but one further stop on his way; that was in New York City as a pastor, where, as usual with him, technical theology was second to practical philanthropy. There he came into closer intimacy with Horace Greeley and his *Tribune*, with Joshua Leavitt and the *Independent*, and with many others whose good will to him became helpful, at last, to his prairie town and to Iowa. While there he married Miss Julia A. Chapin, of Springfield, Mass., whose exact knowledge, balance of mind, workful sympathy and high aspirations were promotive of all his later achievements.

Excessive speaking in the open air forced him to resign his pastorate. "Go west, young man, go west," was

Greeley's famous advice to him at that time. A commission as reporter for the *Tribune* bore him to Illinois in 1853 to "write up" the annual Fair of that State. His subsequent invitation through the New York *Independent* to those who wished to join him in forming a settlement where church and school should be central in public plans, attracted Thomas Holyoke from Maine, and Henry M. Hamilton and Homer Hamlin from Ohio, to unite with him in March, 1854, in choosing the spot where Grinnell now stands as the site of their contemplated Eden.

Mr. Grinnell became pre-eminently the builder of the town of Grinnell. Dr. Holyoke was a scholarly physician, conservatively anti-slavery, said little and meant every word he uttered, was true as steel in agreement and in disagreement, while he gave confidence, and won it, rather slowly. Of the four, Mr. Hamlin was the most radical in thought and in feeling, but, as an invalid on the prairie for his health, he was unable to devote much time or strength to public effort, and survived only a few years. Henry M. Hamilton, was a man of rare clearness and breadth of business vision, undemonstrative and uncommunicative, and spoke only when he had something to say. He was influential in promoting the educational, the railroad and the general interests of the place. Mr. Grinnell, on the other hand, who had originated the plan of the settlement, welcomed every man, woman and child that ever entered the town, placed every one under obligation by some personal attention, and drew every new comer into some joint effort for the common good. Probably no man ever had greater success than he in enlisting "saints, sinners and the Beecher family" in a common work. Every person became more hopeful after meeting him; differences lessened in his presence; agreements were more masterful. Optimistic, excessively optimistic, of course he was, and his optimism was so energizing that much which would have been impossible without it became the actual with it.

If one really immovable seemed inclined to remain here, in some way he usually found it for his interest to move out and to move on, and Mr. Grinnell helped him to move.

Good deeds were noticed; all ability was stimulated; the young were never overlooked; the sick and the absent were never forgotten. The eyes of strong men moisten to-day as they recall the words and deeds of forty years ago which were then a pleasure to him and which gave new courage and new life to them.

He was constantly on the wing and always working for the town. The railroad was needed; he was in touch with all forces which governed it. The educational thought among the settlers in 1855 blossomed into a Grinnell University idea and bore fruit in 1859 in Iowa College instruction in Grinnell. Before and ever after the latter date he bore the college on his heart and aided it by his wide-open purse. Purses, also, other than his were closed by springs which he could and did open for the college benefit, to a degree unequalled by anyone else. Blair Hall stands as the monument of his success in obtaining funds from a single contributor. Goodnow Hall and the Mary Grinnell Mears Cottage are memorials of the work of his spirit as it wrought through his daughter and her husband.

When, on June 17, 1882, the tornado swept through the town and over the college campus, smiting buildings into splinters and life into death, Mr. Grinnell at once flew eastward, and thousands of relief came back quickly along his track from Chicago, from New York, from Brooklyn and elsewhere. Men like John V. Farwell, William E. Dodge and Henry Ward Beecher anticipated his coming and aided him in making such appeals as only he could make. He had no peer before an audience in an hour like that.

The year 1854 made Kansas central in public thought, and Grinnell soon became a station on the under-ground R. R. between Kansas and Canada. John Brown was

welcome here. In Mr. Grinnell's house he continued to develop the plan for the attack on slavery which he soon after began at Harper's Ferry and ended on the Virginia gibbet at Charlestown. Gov. Wise's search for co-conspirators involved Mr. Grinnell in danger of arrest, though not of conviction.

In those early Iowa decades it was a matter of course that Mr. Grinnell received the hearty support of his immediate neighbors for any political office to which he might aspire. He first sought the state Senatorship in 1856. He had come to Iowa at a fortunate hour for such a whig-republican as he, for it was the year when James W. Grimes was made governor, and when for the first time the State was in harmony with his own temperance and anti-slavery views. At the first state convention which he attended he was a center of observation; his ready wit and striking characterizations were captivating. He was chosen to write the address to the voters.

His conspicuous position in the State gave him great advantage in his senatorial campaign. He was in the prime of life, in the flush of highest expectation. His hail was magnetic. His opponent was overwhelmed by a torrent of thought and speech to which only hesitating answers could be given. The Yankee was triumphantly elected, of course, and as the champion of temperance, free soil and universal education in free schools.

The niche in educational progress was waiting for him. He was made chairman of the committee on schools in the senate and piloted the free-school law of 1858 through that body. He then voted, somewhat reluctantly, to modify the prohibitory law by permitting the sale of native wine and beer, and for two reasons. He believed that lager beer, at its best, was non-intoxicating, and (what seemed most important) that, without that concession to German thought, Iowa was likely to abandon its hostility to the extension of slavery into the national terri-

tories, and at a time when that opposition was of supreme national concern. Whether right or wrong, he never regretted that vote.

Southern secession soon followed, then the Civil War, a nomination for congress and an election in 1862 when the great issue was the Emancipation Proclamation and the admission of negroes into the army. The home vote was against him, (many of his natural supporters had gone south), but the army had become willing that white men should no longer monopolize the privilege of dying on the battle-field for their country. His majority was some 1400 in 1862, and four times as great in 1864 when he was re-elected. He lacked little of a third nomination in 1866.

In Congress an act of politeness made Thaddeus Stevens his warm friend; his entire bearing brought him into most genial relations with the ablest congressmen. Never was congressional ability in greater demand than during that time. There were giants in Washington in those days, when Iowa sent such men there as John A. Kasson, James F. Wilson and William B. Allison, and when they stood beside such other men as Owen Lovejoy, Thaddeus Stevens, Henry Winter Davis, James A. Garfield and James G. Blaine, even if we should omit the names of Voorhees, Vallandigham, Cox, Trumbull, Fessenden and Henry Wilson. Great questions, great leadership, high debate characterized that hour. Mr. Grinnell was not silent. His words were meet for such high themes, such great companionship. On one occasion they evoked the compliment of a physical assault from a Kentucky General for an unanswerable criticism of a disgraceful declaration.

Out of Congress he continued to render great service to American industries, and to various public and private interests. His railroad activities extended to several corporations. As Receiver of the Iowa Central, he was sub-

jected to the most rigid scrutiny of able and belligerent factions, called before the United States Judge, Hon. J. M. Love, for criticism and discharged with commendation and an increase of salary.

The presidential campaign of 1872 separated Mr. Grinnell for a time from his usual political friends, its close brought intense sadness, and its memory a medley of emotions. There was a wide-spread dissatisfaction with Grant's first term; deeper than that perhaps with Mr. Grinnell was loyalty to Horace Greeley who had been a most helpful friend through many an emergency during more than a score of years. The *New York Tribune* had been a power behind him when he was in Washington, in New York City and during all his Iowa life, Grinnell, man and town, had been most helpfully introduced to sympathetic circles through its columns. Coils of personal obligation encircled him. An honorable man must feel their pressure. Mr. Grinnell yielded to it. Think as we may of the wisdom or unwisdom of that episode, we must ever honor as heroic a readiness to offer a liberal sacrifice on the altar of a long-cherished gratitude. He who fails to feel it is but an atom of a man.

This memorial must close, as it began, with a reference to Mr. Grinnell's written record of his own life. The volume was long in contemplation and in preparation. It was compacted and completed only during the enforced leisure of the author's last days. The appreciative memories of a life-time which were remodeled and finished by his dying fingers, will be read by many with tender emotion; they will make ungenerous criticism impossible.

All through and all between its lines the reader discovers the author undisguised. Fervid in feeling, generous in aim, resolute in supreme purpose, facile in methods, glowing in friendship, poetic in apprehension, and at times so poetic in expression as to touch the verge of the unreal, he was easily first in his town, an eminent

benefactor of the State, a worthy servant of the Nation. Few of us would have colored every life picture which he has drawn with the exact tints he has used; some of us would have written an omitted name here and there and in brilliant colors. Differences of vision, however, necessitate diversities of judgment. All in all, the book and the man we place in highest honor; the book, because of the information it imparts, and because it is so complete a photograph of the writer; the man because he has been a benediction to our own and to many lives, a benediction to his generation.

The wife whose life added luster to his own during forty years survives him. Only two children of theirs are left to honor them. Mary Grinnell Mears, the wife of Rev. Dr. D. O. Mears of Albany, New York, and Carrie Grinnell Jones, the wife of Prof. Richard D. Jones, Ph. D. of Swarthmore College, perpetuate their name and their usefulness.

Mr. Grinnell's life has been lived; the last word concerning it has not been uttered. Men who met him in his palmiest days will continue to long for the blessing of his potential optimism and his enthusiasm, of his courage and his superb service to College, to town, to State and Nation.

GRINNELL, Iowa, December, 1895.

MEMORIAL SERVICES in remembrance of Rev. Dr. S. F. Smith, author of "America," were held in Davenport, December 1. He has a son, S. F. Smith, in that city, at whose residence he wrote an additional stanza to "America," April 30, 1889. He preached in Des Moines in 1893, and after returning east made some interesting manuscript contributions to the Historical Department of Iowa. He was born in Boston, Oct. 21, 1808, and died there, November 16, 1895.

OPENING AN IOWA COUNTY.

BY HON. JOHN M. BRAINARD.

Forty years ago is not so very long in the past, but it was "the dawn of history" to many portions of Central Iowa. Scraps of records which throw light upon that penumbrous period and hold the mirror up to the "manners and customs" of those times, are of interest in this day. The musty files of the courts would not, at first thought, commend themselves as promising lodgment for unique historical information, yet from so unpromising a source have been unearthed the materials for the following pages.

In the summer of 1855 there came from Granby, Connecticut, to Boone county, Iowa, Arden B. Holcomb, spying out the land. He was fifty-one years of age, versatile in business, with knowledge of the law, and possessed of the native shrewdness, thrift, genius for adventure and finance characteristic of the sons of New England. He came to be well known for many years in Boone and adjoining counties as "Judge Holcomb," an inheritance from the presidency of some minor court in the land of steady habits. He died in the city of Boone, in the fall of the year 1879, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

He brought with him from his eastern home some money for investment, and some belonging to one Edmund Holcomb, which was also invested, in his own name, the proceeds of the venture to be shared with the eastern namesake. In 1878 suit was brought in the Circuit Court of the United States, District of Iowa, between Judge Holcomb and the heirs of Edmund Holcomb, to determine their respective rights in this joint investment, the property involved having become a valuable part of the city of Boone. The defendants filed as their testimony, a printed



JUDGE A. B. HOLCOMB.

brief, a transcription of some thirty-six letters written by Judge Holcomb to the Granby partner between the years 1855 and 1866.

These are in the tone of utmost frankness as from an intimate acquaintance to his friend, by a man in the fullness of his powers; sagacious, daring yet cautious, visionary it may be, as became the times when the boundless prairies of Iowa were smiling for emigrants and its virgin groves beckoning the saw-mill. It is in this freedom of expression, the non-intent for publication, accurate description, faithful characterization, and the aroma of those early days therein preserved, that lie the chief charms of these epistles. With the hope that their perusal may be in some degree entertaining and instructive, and preservative of the spirit of those pioneer times, extracts from these quaint, old letters are herewith reproduced. Their flavor and truthfulness to the era will be readily recognized by "the old citizen," whose recollection can doubtless find many parallels to the pictures. The first letter is dated

BOONESBORO, IOWA, July 24, 1855.

Turned up at last at this place. It is the geographical center of Iowa, the county seat of Boone county, and one of the points of great interest to land operators. Everybody seems wild with the excitement of entering government lands. "Benton's mint drops"* fly freely and fortunes are made, sure and no mistake. Forty per cent interest is the lowest sale last week. I got a quarter section. As soon as lands are secured they are valued at \$3.50 per acre for prairie and \$5.00 for timber. So I made a good operation. I am in for three or four quarter sections at the sale this week. The lands are now all mostly taken within ten miles of this place. If any are found there is snatching for them. But I understand their games and can stand as good a chance as any one—a \$300 profit by securing a quarter section is as good for me as for anyone. A man must have his eye-teeth cut before it will do to venture. I supposed that all a man had to do was to select his land and make his entry whenever he pleased; but the case is very different. You obtain, for fifty cents, a plat at the land office, of any township you wish,

* Thomas H. Benton, by reason of his advocacy of metallic currency while a U. S. Senator, was called "Old Bullion," and the money he favored was denominated "Benton's mint drops." The quaint, double allusion can be readily interpreted by recalling the fondness, below Mason and Dixon's line, for "mint" in certain combinations.

which shows you the sections entered in it up to date. You make your selections of unentered lands and be ready for the sale, at which they call the townships in their order, naming the sections not heretofore entered, and you enter your name for the land. But, generally, there are many applicants for the same piece. Then comes the strife. They bid upon each other, and the highest bidder takes it. Consequently they have exciting times at the sale, and the timid and cautious choose to purchase at second-hand rather than run the gauntlet at these sales.

The town is now in the third year of its settlement. The public building is not yet built and courts are held in the log school house. The town has about forty houses and two hundred inhabitants. It lies in the bend of the Des Moines river, its valley covered with heavy timber; yet for want of saw-mills, all the lumber, up to this spring, had to be brought from thirty to forty miles. Now there is a steam saw-mill running, and two more in process of erection; also, two grain mills, which will be running in October. Other than this, there is no grain mill within one hundred miles. The heaviest timber land can be purchased for from \$5.00 to \$12.00 per acre. There are black and white walnut, basswood, different kinds of oak, elms, etc. Lumber is selling from the mills here, as fast as they turn it out, at \$2.00 per hundred.

Of the fertility of the soil—it can't be excelled. The prairie is rolling, a most magnificent sight. It reminds me of the handsomest Hartford meadows in June, fresh and green. Where it is broken up you pass corn fields of one hundred acres in extent, yielding from fifty to one hundred bushels per acre. The labor of one man with a pair of horses will easily produce ten thousand bushels of corn. I think it would make some of our Granby farmers' eyes blink to look at a farm here in wheat, oats, corn, etc., and all with comparatively no labor. Corn is planted by horse drill. It is never hoed and never falls. There are no railways yet completed beyond the Mississippi, but a number are in course of construction. In the course of three or four years this valley will be crossed by railroads in every direction. The Des Moines River and valley are to this region what the Connecticut is to New England.

The city of Des Moines, the new capital which is to be, contains 1,500 inhabitants. Yet speculation has gone ahead of me. Lots are run up there to \$1,500 to \$3,000. It is a low, dirty, stinking hole. I think the capitol buildings will be some two or three miles out. The matter is to come before the legislature again, since an injunction has stopped the commissioners from locating. It is thought by many that this place (Boonesboro), stands the best chance of any town in the State, if the whole matter were to be gone over again.

I have written a desultory letter. If it had been for the public eye, I would have been more methodical. I am bound to stay here awhile. Nothing is done on a small scale and a man with half an eye,

in this opening, magnificent country, cannot help building up a fortune in time.

I was bound for Fond du Lac and Lake Superior, until I reached Chicago. My route was to Niagara by rail, thence across Lake Ontario by steamboat to Toronto, thence by Lake Huron and Sinico railroad 94 miles to Collingwood at the southern extremity of Georgian Bay, thence through the straits of Mackinaw to Chicago. Tickets for the entire trip, \$9.50, which included board and stateroom on the steamers. At Collingwood I could not hear that there was any settlement at the west end of Lake Superior—so little is known in the east of what is going on in the west. New towns spring up in six months. On the steamer I was told that three new towns were started at the terminus of navigation in the Superior region, each about one mile from the other. Arriving at Chicago, I found that the steamer "Superior" was hourly expected from her first trip; that she was the first steamer through the entire lake, and the first arrival at the town of Superior, and would return there immediately. When she arrived I found the true condition of things there. A joint stock company of 120 members, formed in Washington, composed mostly of members of congress, among whom was Frank Pierce, had located and founded the town of Superior; had built a dock and were selling lots, 25x125 feet, at from \$200 to \$1,000, selling only alternate lots, and that the company had secured things so that they could make all for the next fourteen years. So I determined to push on in the direction from which I am now writing to you.

Evidently the transportation companies have improved in the art of collection of revenue from the traveling public since the day Judge Holcomb came from Connecticut to Iowa for \$9.50. His next letter gives evidence of the correct idea in the selection of colonists for a new country, with, perhaps, a little narrowness in its restrictions, and indicates the happy burdens laid upon the immigrants in satisfying the eager inquiries of friends left behind. Some of the statements must be taken in the light of later ascertained facts, but they were the opinions entertained at that time, and to be accepted as such only. He had revisited the east and on his return writes, under date of

May 18. 1856.

I shall take no trouble to look out a tavern stand for M——. We don't want any such taverners here. We have the "Maine Law" here that you have there. The supreme court this winter tried the constitutionality of it and sustained it—two judges to one.

Myself and wife have been overflowed with letters since my return here, asking for descriptions of the country; so much so that we

found it a great tax upon our time to reply to them individually. We have adopted the method of replying to them through the eastern papers, making one letter answer the inquiries of many. Our letters have been published in the papers of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont.

The winter held on to the middle of March. In the spring rains came, and the roads have been almost impassable since; the streams from melting snows of the North and from rains have been so high that crossing, otherwise than by swimming, was out of the question. We had only about six inches of snow this winter, which was blown into piles. The ground froze to the depth of four feet, and when the spring rains came the mud was of the tallest kind. Traveling with loads was out of the question. Mails have been, much of the time, carried on horseback, the carrier riding one and leading the other with the bagson.

Most of the deer skins here are bought up by steamers going to Keokuk, at 12½ cents and sold for 18.

Was admitted to the bar last week. The lawyers from Fort Des Moines were here. This is a regular back-woods court; lawyers, judges and jury were good fellows. The court house is a log school house and the scene was ludicrous in the extreme to a man accustomed to the dignity of eastern court rooms. And such law as you might have heard laid down you don't find in Blackstone or any of the other writers! I brought twenty-seven suits last week at one time, and that is not the worst of it, either. I brought them all answerable before myself, I being a magistrate and that being the practice here. Every day long strings of emigrant teams and large droves of cattle are in sight, moving over the prairies, seeking homes.

In this same letter (May, 1856,) he tells of his purchase of the future site of Boone. A purchase not the result of happy chance, but inspired by a sagacious consideration of all the topographical and other circumstances surrounding the situation, and by a belief in the early construction of what is now the Chicago & Northwestern Railway.

In company with two other men—Cornelius Beal and Eli Keeler, a taverner—I have purchased a tract of land amounting to 300 acres at the sum of \$10.00 an acre. The prairie portion lies just one mile east of this burg, is elevated, and a beautiful site for a town and is at the point where this town must ultimately be. It is just due east of the John Pea's crossing of the Des Moines River, which is generally considered the place where the "Iowa Central Air Line" must cross the river. The railway up the Des Moines River to Minnesota can hardly fail of crossing this lot also. The main traveled road, east and west, also crosses it. Keeler was building a large hotel in town which was

nearly ready for the roof. He at once took it down and moved it to the land and it will be ready for business in four weeks. The stages from Fort Des Moines to Fort Dodge will stop there and send the mails in. The moment the deed was filed and Keeler commenced tearing down his frame for removal, there was a great commotion in town and men became alarmed. It seemed as if everybody in the county knew it in three days time. They beg us to stop—they scold—in short, they don't know what to do. It is conceded on all hands that the depot must be out there, that the town must go there, and in consequence of this belief everybody was wishing to buy property on that side of town. We will have our dish out ready for them. We, however, judge it best to sell no lots at less than \$100 a lot, and require the purchaser to improve it, and thus have a rather good class of citizens. We should like Yankees. We have a good many settlers from Indiana—regular log-cabin settlers whom we don't want.

There is not an acre of good timber land here but what is worth \$50 per acre, and the day is near when it will readily command that. There are four or five coal beds * * where the veins are five to fifteen feet thick, and so situated that you drive alongside and shovel the coal from the beds into the wagon. The indications are that there is enough on this land to supply the State of Iowa with fuel for one thousand years. The coal is overlaid with potter's clay of the best quality. Good limestone underlies the coal. A good water-power is on the lot, falling one hundred feet to the mile, running over coal and rock beds. The coal is worth 10 cents a bushel at the beds; the lime is worth, on the lot, 40 cents a bushel. Keeler has a splendid situation. The view extends ten miles north, south and east.

Under the decision of the supreme court the state capitol is located on the east side of the Des Moines River, on the highlands east of Fort Des Moines. The excitement was tremendous. The old town is ruined. Everything was said and done that could be to induce the commissioners to locate it on the west side of the river. Two hundred thousand dollars were offered; but the commissioners were firm, and placed the stakes out on the prairie. The town, of course, goes out there. The population is 2,700. A man having five hundred acres of prairie, upon which the stake was put, was immediately offered \$500 per acre for the whole tract. The effect was instantaneous on property on this side of the river. Here, by many, it was held at double its former value. It secures the great thoroughfare north and south, and also the railroad this side of the river is placed beyond a question.

Col. Harris of New York, the agent of the Des Moines River Navigation Company, spent a few days here and has gone to Minnesota to examine the country. The Company put the whole river under contract from Keokuk to Fort Des Moines last week. The expedition for the River Company encamped here last week on its way to Minnesota, to ascertain the true source of the Des Moines River, and to explore the country. The Chicago Air Line road was put to running to the Missis-

issippi in December, to the town of Fulton, and Lyons in this state. From Lyons the road takes the name of Iowa Central Air Line. It is under contract from Lyons to Cedar Rapids, in Linn county, to be completed this fall.

My Sharpe's rifle is a great curiosity here. I have used it but little since I got back, the hunting season then being over. I don't care to sell it; it has the reputation of being a terrible weapon, and it's a very good idea for a man in this wild country to be known as prepared for any emergency. The name itself is a guarantee of safety. We have not seen a sick day since we came here. I never saw any country that compared with this for healthfulness. There are no prevailing diseases here. * * If I take part in politics, I will go in for J. C. Fremont.

Verily the earth was leaning toward "Taverner" Keeler's hotel at the source of Honey Creek and on the main highway between Fort Des Moines and the frozen North. But as though the list of good things recited in his last were not enough, the next letter declared new possibilities for this favored land. It is under date of June 30, 1856. The commerce of the region is indicated in the remark that "In the spring arks can be floated down the river, say for two or three months in the year." Navigation of the Des Moines by steamboats would seem to have been abandoned. There was a dearth of salt, and the prices quoted, if compared with present rates for this necessity, show that modern transportation has its advantages:

Salt is selling at \$2.00 per bushel, and is worth that in most parts of the interior of the state. There has never been any salt yet found in the state. I do not know that any one has bored for salt. I think it possible that by boring through the limestone, salt might be reached. If so, it would be worth more than the Mariposa grant of Col. Fremont. The stoneware manufacturers in town are working from a bed of potter's clay about five feet thick, clear from grit and makes a very good soap to wash with. They have made about 15,000 fire proof bricks from it and these are hard enough without burning to build a four story house, if kept from the rains. They say they can do a good business making these bricks at \$2 a thousand. Have specimens of black marble, beautifully variegated, which by rubbing together immediately take as fine a polish and finish as ever I saw. I never saw any Italian marble superior to it.

In this same letter, of June 30, 1856, a fresh discovery is mentioned which attracted attention for some time and served as the foundation upon which many air castles were builded.

Last Thursday we were in the bottom with a man from Boston who was looking with a view of removal of a number of families to this place. We discovered a vein of what we thought was Breckinridge coal. The vein is two feet thick, lying upon coal under slate: is the color of ivory black, feeling greasy, cutting like Bayberry tallow with a knife, having a smooth surface. On examination we, as yet, don't find what it is. It will not burn in a candle, and under the blow pipe flies to pieces: is about as hard as chalk. Yesterday several blacked their boots with it, pulverizing it with a hammer, mixed with water and used as a paste blacking, giving a polish as fine and high as they ever saw. The Boston man took specimens of it and of the marble home to test them. Also, a beautiful agate which our boy found on the prairie, to cut and set in jewelry. He is a jeweler and pronounced it very fine.

Still pursuing this promising lead in future letters, we watch its development with an interest akin to that of the original discoverers.

I thought when I first found it that it was cannel coal, on account of its greasy feeling; but it cannot be burned. The State Geologist. (James Hall, '55 to '57.) examined it this fall while here, and at first thought, as I did, that it was cannel coal: but when it could not be burned under the blow pipe, he was unable to tell what it was. I have used it all summer as a boot blacking, it taking a polish and wearing well. I took some of it to a painter who ground it in oil and varnish and tried it on a carriage. His opinion is that it was the article they call "patent black," the highest priced black and the best they can get. I have no doubt it is a very valuable article. I think I could work off \$50,000 worth in a year, and almost the whole of it profit. * * * Charles Pomeroy has moved here from Meriden, Connecticut, and he is sanguine that a great amount of money can be made from it as a shoe blacking, stove blacking and paint.

By the following February, specimen packages had been sent to the friends in the east, and it had taken the local name of "mineral black." The eastern experimenters were non-professionals who tried it in the mechanic arts and returned most encouraging reports of its merits. Pomeroy's father advised him "by all means to secure the balance of the land containing it." The Judge writes: "We must keep dark here lest we have some Yankee opposition if found plenty elsewhere." In nearly every letter there continues to be found hopeful expressions of the value of "mineral black," with fond anticipations of a big

revenue therefrom, estimated even at \$100,000 a year. The advice is frequently given to "lie low and keep hushed" until the bonanza is ready for the market.

By and by some of the new mineral was shown to Prof. Silliman in New Haven, who promptly pronounced it "plumbago, improperly called black lead, a very valuable mineral and this specimen a very superior article." Other samples were submitted to Prof. Hitchcock of Amherst college. The prospectors themselves seem to have taken to the books, and we see references to Prof. Vine's Treatise on Mining, and his description of the mine in Borrowdale, England. The general markets were studied, discovering that plumbago was worth \$100 a ton, was imported into America, and that the manufacturers used 1,000 tons of it each year. This suggested the formation of stock companies and "shares on the New York market," pending which organization a quantity was shipped, at considerable cost, for a practical trial in the crucible works. This "bust the bubble," and it takes but two lines. Aug. '57, to record the ruin of the grand bonanza:

Pomeroy's brother-in-law has been here this summer. Said the "mineral black" did not answer for crucibles: that it burned through.

In May, 1858, a gold excitement broke out in the settlement, and another series of air castles was promptly erected to commemorate the event:

The gold fever has raged here for the last two weeks and bids fair to be of absorbing interest. Heretofore I felt very little interest in it, but now I have such evidence that I must pronounce it no humbug. It is found in several counties, and two weeks ago on our land, by an old California miner, in the same black sand and quartz as on the Pacific coast. It is in most of the ravines which run to the river. Yesterday there were forty men digging in the ravine west of town. They had the genuine dust—pieces about the size of a pin head and less. They say that with the proper appliances a man might realize from \$2 to \$10 a day.

We will not follow this golden fleece through all the hopes it engendered; but in February, 1859, the sequel is given:

Gold here is no humbug. It is diffused through the soil of this state, but not in sufficient quantities to pay wages. It raised quite a furore at the time, but was soon over, as it was found in many other places.

That there might be nothing in nature lacking in this happy land of promise, there was a "discovery of coal oil" about this time. Of this he writes:

I am assured by experienced oil men that there is beyond question oil here. They say they can see it in the water in the springs here. We have what is known as the stinking springs here. The water is so nauseating that no man can drink it. They advise me by all means to bore for it. You know my caution and I'll wait awhile.

A similar "oil excitement" held sway for a time in after years in the neighborhood of Des Moines. Our pioneer "had his dish out" a little the earlier.

Yet another scheme characteristic of the times was entertained, described as follows:

Beal is a mail contractor, carrying the mail from Fort Dodge to Council Bluffs, once a week on horseback, for \$1,600 a year. A good job that. There is a very important point somewhere on the 42d parallel, where the mail routes from Fort Dodge to Council Bluffs, and from Fort Des Moines to Sioux City cross each other. If we can fix that point we can make a pretty thing of it. The Air Line railway will be likely to go through it.

He further remarks about this time, "It makes me ache to see the opportunities for money-making go by for want of means." Beal, the mail carrier mentioned above, was one of the early members of the legislature from Boone county, in which, tradition has it, he exploited his constituency in a speech favoring the Des Moines River Improvement bill, by the encouraging prediction that if the improvement were made, "High Boone alone would send more than six thousand pounds of maple sugar to market every year." In one of the Holcomb letters is given a personal description of this gentleman:

Beal is about thirty years of age; has a large, massive brain, is of exceedingly nervous temperament, his action fully up to his capacity which is immense. All that he has acquired he had to pick up in the backwoods. He says, talk to him of log houses, log-rolling and stump

clearing and he is at home; but talk to him of civilized society and he is not. He commenced practice with two month's preparation, yet he is a man of power in the courts here.

In this connection the advice given to a young eastern friend who wished to come on and open a law office, is to

Commence before Justice courts. Assume the half-horse half-alligator style—the rule in the new districts in the west. This will soon soften down, and the field is large here for a young man to push himself. But after the novelty and first excitement of western life had worn off he would sigh for the comforts and care of a mother's home.

The Granby friend was contemplating a visit to the west, and received the advice to “bring along a bottle of French brandy; also loaf sugar. The water here is all lime water and some of it slightly sulphuric.” He was further informed of the character of the people he would find on arrival:

You'll find them rude, plain and blunt—they speak their minds right out. They will like you or not, and they'll let you know it, too. Independent, they regard a man for what he is, not for his connection, place or position. They must associate on equal terms or not at all. I would advise you not to say much about your eastern life and habits. If you enter their houses, no matter how rude the cabin, they'll invite you to eat. Don't decline, but draw your chair right up and take hold as though you loved it. Prepare a few stump speeches. Nothing brings a man forward better than a few good stump speeches: and if they like it they'll fight for you to the death.

The early Iowa settler, either by inheritance of original sin or eastern importation, understood the energy concealed in a commercial corner; for we are informed that in the milling business

The way they grind is this: The law regulates the toll here as well as in Connecticut. A man goes to mill with a load of wheat and finds that they don't grind for customers, but will buy his wheat and pay him in flour, twenty pounds of flour for a bushel of wheat. He can do no better—there is no other mill within twenty-five miles—and they keep the price of flour up, to from \$5.50 to \$7.50 per hundred.

The rates of interest in those early days were simply “terrific,” forty per cent being the usual tariff. Even that was sometimes exceeded, for the Judge writes, in 1856:

I put out \$200 for thirty days for \$15. A good man came to me the other day and offered me \$20 for \$15 twenty days—\$5 is pretty good interest. Of course I let him have it.

At this rate per cent it was possible to indulge in an occasional can of oysters, the price for which was \$1.25, or to use molasses at \$1.50 per gallon. In the midst of this rush for lands and railways and big interest, it is refreshing to find a touch of sentiment in the Judge's sorrow for the loss of his horse.

My horse is dead: my elegant, splendid Charlie. He was sick about three weeks, during which I gave up my time to care for him, day and night, but I couldn't save him. He struggled hard to live. We shed many tears over him. He was so kind and affectionate. Let him rest. You see it disconcerts me every way.

And so the story runs along, touching almost every phase of human interest, and being an epitome of the social, political and financial history of the early years. The founding of the first local newspaper in this frontier community is mentioned, the making of "sorghum molasses," and consequent danger to Southern sugar plantation values, the first appearance of quail, those companions in man's advancing work of civilization, the rise and fall of real estate, growth of the town's population, the independence of "help," passage of the state banking act, advent of "hard times" with the panic of 1857 and resort to tilling the soil as a means of existence, the killing of wolves with strychnine to still further add to the family till. Inkpadutah's raid calls for this note:

The Indian excitement has gone by. One woman came in here from Spirit Lake at the time of the massacre. She had the mark of a rifle ball on one cheek and another on a thigh. She was out two days and one night in March, with nothing on but the clothes she wore about the house and a single crust of bread to eat, and a child two months old in her arms. She knew nothing of the fate of her husband until she got here, nor he of her.

The Women's Temperance Crusade was practiced out on the frontier before it aroused the attention of the nation in the larger cities years after. Under date of October 24, 1858, our historian writes:

Our women took the law into their own hands with the liquor dealers a few weeks ago and made summary work of it. The rummeries

got word of it and hid their liquors; some in wells, some under the floors of their houses and some out in the fields. But the women found it and, knocking in the heads, spilled it. One fellow invited them to search his house; but when they found it, he sprang upon the two women who were taking up the floor, seizing them each by the throat. One of the women was a large, stout woman, such as they grow in New Hampshire and Vermont. She took the fellow instantler, and laid him on his back on the bed, and held him by his arms, pinioned, just as easy. The crowd of men, some one hundred and fifty, rushed in, called for ropes and would have hung him if the women had not interceded. They made a clean sweep and now no one dares to sell openly.

Beautiful and promising as was this new Land of Canaan beyond the great river, it needed transportation facilities before anything more than hopes could be realized. What were the "mineral blacks," the coal, potter's clays, gold, and corn by the hundred bushels per acre to a people without ready and reasonable transportation to the markets? It was not uncommon in those days to hear the settlers say, "We had better give half our lands to secure railways than stay here to decay in the midst of plenty; the other half will be worth more to us then than the whole now is." It was this sentiment which promoted the liberal land grants of those years. The story of the weary waiting, the high hopes of one year, the depression of the next, as the railway prospect waxed and waned, are, at this distance of time, pathetic. The war came, and again the cup of railway promise was stricken from their lips. But they were brave, these early settlers. They sent their sons by ox team to the recruiting stations on the river and down into Dixie to fight the battles of our country, and when "the cruel war was over," received them home again, drawn to the prairie by the iron horse. Let the Judge's letters tell the story of this season of working and watching for more than a decade.

Within the first year of his residence, between July 1855 and May 1856, he had determined in his mind the location of the future town when the railway should have arrived, and had sagaciously endorsed this judgment by

purchasing the land. There were two different railway lines in prospect, and he and his friends "had their dish out" to secure the benefits from both of them. These were the Keokuk and Des Moines, now in the Rock Island system, and the Air Line, now the main line of the Chicago and Northwestern. The former was eventually lost to this locality, perhaps by the attempt to use a "railway dish" in trying to catch a state capital.

In July, 1856, he writes:

I learn that the men of the Keokuk, Fort Des Moines & Minnesota railroad are on their way looking out the route and getting the right of way. Day before yesterday they were at Saylorville, seven miles this side of Fort Des Moines, on their way up. They will probably be here the last of this week. We shall look for the surveyors from the east also in about two weeks. Many heavy business men here say it is very evident this town is not in the right spot and that we have the exact spot. Our movement in "East Boonsboro" is playing the deuce with the old town. I am anathematized as being the author of it. I am a Yankee; they give me full credit for that, and many govern themselves by my operations. Sometimes I amuse myself in the way you did in pacing Dr. L's lot across the street from your house.

A month later, August 13, he writes:

The company which surveyed from Cedar Rapids reached here one week ago. It is now settled that Boonsboro is to be the great central point in the state. My view is that the road will take the Honey Creek route, as much the most favorable. The road bed west of here must be furnished with ties from the Des Moines River timber. One of the engineers told me they would continue the survey west of the Missouri, one hundred miles into Nebraska.

December 20, 1856:

Everything in the matter of railroads is going on fully up to our most sanguine expectations. The road is under contract from Clinton to Cedar Rapids; is to be completed for running by next fall. I think the cars will reach this place by a year from next fall. I am confirmed in my belief that the cars will reach here before any other point on the Des Moines River. It requires very little foresight to see what the effect will be on this place. Already strangers are beginning to appear here with copies of the railway map in their pockets, shy and private in their movements. I am at a loss to determine where the depot will be, but have a pretty strong faith that the day is not distant when our lots will be in the center of this town. The town now has a population of 1,000 inhabitants. I have no doubt that before the railway leaves here it will have run up to 15,000 or 20,000, and if so, the town will extend two miles east and west.

Then followed the "cold winter of 1856-7," long to be remembered in the annals of this state, and railway references were subordinate to the "plumbago scheme." March 30, 1857, note is made of the return of the railway surveyors, who, starting from the Des Moines River, ran a line to the Maple River. The Judge also explains what he knows about railway organizations:

Ten men organize into a railway company to build a road from the Mississippi to the Missouri river. They apply to Congress and obtain a grant of land to aid them. Then they subscribe up the stock to the amount of \$1,000,000 among themselves, organize, choose officers, make a contract with a company to build the road and put it in running order, and when completed, take the lands in full payment for the building. Haven't the railway company financiered pretty handsomely? Is that not doing business with a big auger? Have a railroad with \$8,000,000 of stock in which every dollar is a dollar, and at a cost of nothing comparatively!

In July, an agent of the company passed over the line, getting the mortgage of the company to secure \$12,000,000 bonds recorded in every county along the line, thus taking up another link in the chain of hope for an early construction. The settlement begun by "the Yankees" east of Boonsboro was sometimes called "New England," but dubbed by the irreverent "Holcombville." Notwithstanding the courage with which the field was held, in reply to an inquiry from the eastern friend, if there was not a re-action in western speculation, he says:

The re-action has commenced, and many are losing largely, especially in Fort Des Moines. The capital question raised a great excitement: anything like a fair business lot commanded from \$4,000 to \$8,000. Now business there is at a standstill and speculative prices are tumbling down. But I have no fears of a re-action in this place. A man from the east bought a lot on the street a few days ago, paying \$900 in gold for the naked lot, the holder's profit on the lot was \$850.

In August, 1857:

Allen & West, bankers at Fort Des Moines, have bought 636 acres adjoining ours on the south, for thirteen dollars per acre, cash down. Without a doubt the purchase is with reference to the Keokuk, Des Moines & Minnesota railway company, which is purchasing its depot grounds all along the line this side of Des Moines, and, I am told, say

they will have their road here first. The struggle is between St. Louis and New Orleans to control the trade of the Des Moines valley from being drawn off to Chicago.

An English agent was here a week ago, passing over the route of the Air Line road, and from his view he selects the bonds of this road to purchase.

By September he writes that the company has the iron and will lay the track to Cedar Rapids that season. In December he returned from a visit to the east, walking home twenty-five miles from Nevada, the ground covered with snow and the weather cold. He had met the locating engineers at Marietta and reports:

They had high times at Marietta that night. The citizens gave a ball and supper. The question was settled between Marietta, Marshalltown and Lafayette, three rival towns all sure of the road. I left them eight miles west of Marietta steering for Boonsboro.

By the latter part of February, 1858, he rather despondingly records that "the engineers spent six weeks here surveying the river to find the best crossing. So that now railroad matters are just as undecided as before."

There is no mention of railroad building again until the next year, and then only to remark, "times do not improve any here yet owing to failure of crops and scarcity of money. It is impossible to collect anything. But we can sell when the railway comes." Then there is a long skip in these letters. But in November, 1863, railway news revives:

Enclosed I send you a slip from our town paper containing a notice of the location of the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River Railway as finally laid here. There are now but twenty-one miles to be graded to this place. The location of the depot is now only in doubt.

The "Air Line" had taken the name used above, and this later gave way to the present name of the road. The patience which had endured eight years was yet to be tried for two years longer, and it was not until the summer of 1865 that regular train service was put on the road to Boone, then called "Montana."

Then the Granby recipient of these many confidences received a letter with the shout of victory, the proud note of triumph and the joy of things hoped for now seen. Persistence and patient endeavor was a justification for these glad notes.

BOONE, September 8, 1865.

Dear Sir: Yours from the senate chamber came to hand and found me well. In railroad matters I have been successful beyond my most sanguine expectations. All that I have told you heretofore in relation to this point I am realizing now to the fullest extent. But I have had a hard fought battle. Single-handed and alone I had to combat a town of 1,500 inhabitants. I sent you in March the Chicago Journal containing the advertisement of the sale of lots in the new town of Boone on the 29th of March. At that time there was not a spadefull of earth broken nearer than one mile, to which point the track was laid and construction trains running. On the day of the sale came two full car loads of buyers from the east of here, and even from Chicago. The first two lots sold were each warehouse lots, and struck down at \$300 each. The sales ranged through the day at prices from \$75 to \$300, the highest sold. Building commenced immediately, and on the 17th day of July the passenger trains commenced to run regularly. Now we have over six hundred inhabitants in the town and the rush increases every day. There are seventy-five dwelling houses erected and in process of erection. Some ten or twelve heavy stores are now building, designed for wholesaling and retailing—in short we are having all the concomitants of a large town—foundries, machine shops, saloons, restaurants, etc. We have regular transportation lines running to Council Bluffs, Omaha, Denver, Sioux City, Dakota Territory—in short it is the outsetting point for all the great west. There is a rush here; lots rising—in some points they have already trebled in value. Already two other railways have arranged to come here as soon as they can be built. We have two lines of telegraph here, both running to California, and one to the east. I have heard of cities built in a day; I am seeing it here now.

There is nothing of the Keokuk line in these days. Alas! it was lost in the shuffle of railway land resumptions, capital locations, and other of men's ambitions. But the cup of Judge Holcomb's ambition was full to running over even without it. A few months later, is the glad shout of triumph repeated, in the last letter of this interesting collection.

As you may judge, we are living in excitement here. Business is increasing very fast. One year ago to-day nothing here; now a town

so large as to attract the traveling circus, with music wagon with ten white horses, playing through the streets. * * * * * I've unbosomed myself somewhat; no matter. I know you can sympathize with me and can readily feel how I feel about these days. I've accomplished everthing I have undertaken. I'm in the complete tide of success. I've gone through h--ll to do it. I've fought a town of 1,000 inhabitants, single-handed and alone. I've triumphed. I am regarded now as a far-seeing, long-headed man, and "pretty well off" in the world, and as never failing in my undertakings. Direct your letters to "Boone Station," we have a new post office here of that name.

This closes the record, so far as made by the letters filed in the case. Judge Holcomb lived to see the city which he dreamed of in 1855, and so graphically described in 1865, grow into a healthy, western town; but an unfortunate investment in the Republic Insurance Company of Chicago which suffered so severely in the great fire in that city, and the adverse result of the suit in which these letters appeared, stripped him of much of his wealth in his old age. Fortune is ever fickle with her favors, and the founding of Boone merely gave the jade another opportunity to exercise her caprices.

BOONE, IOWA, December, 1895.

THE THIRD IOWA INFANTRY went into the battle of Shiloh six hundred strong, with twenty-six commissioned officers. Near the close of the first day Colonel G. W. Crosley, then a first lieutenant, was the ranking officer and commanded the regiment until the close of the battle on the second day. Only seven commissioned officers escaped being killed or wounded, and they were first and second lieutenants. The total loss was two hundred and six killed, wounded and captured. * * * After the Atlanta campaign the one hundred men to which this gallant command was reduced were consolidated with the Second Iowa Infantry, losing its identity as a regiment—absolutely fighting itself out of existence on the field of battle! —Condensed from *The Webster City Freeman*, Nov. 8, 1895.

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN M. CORSE.

(Third Paper. 1865-1893.)

BY THE REV. WILLIAM SALTER, D. D.

Upon the fall of Savannah, Dec. 21, 1864, General Grant proposed to bring Sherman's troops by sea to join the Army of the Potomac before Richmond, but he deferred to General Sherman's preference for marching his troops through the Carolinas. Heavy rains, however, raised the Savannah river, submerging the country and the Carolina rice-fields; and the movement was delayed.

General Corse's division was temporarily separated from his corps, and marched with the left wing up the west bank of the Savannah river, and crossed into South Carolina the first week in February, 1865, at Sister's Ferry, forty miles above the city of Savannah. It was necessary to rebuild bridges and causeways which the enemy had destroyed, and make corduroy roads for many miles over swamps for the passage of army wagons and the artillery. At some places soldiers went waist-deep through the swamps, musket overhead, cartridge box around the neck. In a skirmish with the enemy at the crossing of a swollen creek, men of the Second Iowa, who had stripped themselves, fought in their "birth-day suits," and drove off their assailants. The line of march was by Hickory Hill (where Corse's division rejoined the Fifteenth Corps), Beaufort Bridge, Midway, Orangeburg, to Columbia, which the Union forces entered on the 17th of February, General George A. Stone's Iowa Brigade of the first division, Fifteenth Corps, in the lead. It was a day of humiliation to the proud State that had been foremost in making war upon the Union. Impregnable upon the seaboard at Charleston, she had cherished a sense of security from the devas-



BREVET MAJ.-GEN: JOHN M. CORSE.

His brevet rank dating from October 5, 1864, "for long and continued services, and for special gallantry at Allatoona."

tations of war upon her own soil, and not dreamed of the Union forces as gaining a foothold in the interior at her Capital. But the flag of the Union now waved over the State-house, and the next day the Confederate forces under Hardee evacuated Charleston, as two months before they had evacuated Savannah.

From Columbia the army moved to Cheraw, having spent more than a month in marching over South Carolina, and then entered North Carolina, and arrived at Fayetteville on the 10th of March, where they destroyed the arsenal, machine-shops and foundries. They crossed Cape Fear river on the 13th and 14th, and encountered the enemy under Hardee on the 16th in a line of intrenchments at Averysboro. This was the first resistance to Sherman's advance by infantry in force since his leaving Savannah. After a spirited fight the enemy was beaten. They retreated in the night to join the last Confederate rally in the Carolinas under General Joseph E. Johnston in the marshy, timbered bottoms near Bentonville, where that eminent strategist mustered all his forces (Bragg, Cheat-ham, Hardee, S. D. Lee) upon ground selected by General Wade Hampton as a favorable point to crush one corps of Sherman's army, and then defeat the rest in detail. On the 19th General Johnston attacked the first division of the Fourteenth Corps, and was repulsed with a heavy loss, and in turn was attacked on his flank and rear the following days by the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Corps and heavily worsted; on the night of the 21st he retreated, leaving his dead unburied upon the ground.

Lieutenant-Colonel C. C. Carpenter (then on the staff of Major-General Logan, Commanding the Fifteenth Corps), afterwards Governor of Iowa, 1872-76, recalls the characteristic coolness of General Corse in this reminiscence:

Corse's division was in the battle, and was in line in front of a grove of timber. The Rebels were on the opposite side. Captain Barber of his staff had been out in the timber taking observations and

found the rebel line advancing. Riding at full speed followed by his orderly to Headquarters where General Corse was pacing back and forth in front of his tent, he said with considerable agitation, "General, they are coming through the timber, and I believe they intend to charge." Corse, without hesitation, replied, "All right, Captain! Barkis is willin'!" *

From Bentonville the army marched to Goldsboro. and was preparing to move to Richmond, when on the 12th of April news came of the surrender of General Lee to General Grant three days previously. General Sherman entered Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina, on the 13th, and on the 26th General Johnston surrendered. Three days later the army started on its homeward march, via Petersburg, Richmond and Alexandria. On the 23d of May the Fifteenth Corps crossed the Potomac on the Long Bridge, and bivouacked that night in the streets of Washington about the Capitol. The next day General Corse with his division marched up Pennsylvania Avenue and was everywhere greeted with a storm of cheers in the Grand Review of the Army of the West, before the President of the United States and his Cabinet.

Soon afterwards General Corse proceeded with his command to Louisville, Kentucky, where his troops were mustered out, and he was placed in command of the district of Minnesota in the Department of the North West, and employed in quelling Indian disturbances. The following year he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel 27th U. S. Infantry in the regular army, but declined the appointment, "the rank not equalling his ambition." He was honorably mustered out of the service as Brevet Major-General of Volunteers, April 30, 1866.

In 1867 he was appointed U. S. Collector of Internal Revenue at Chicago, and subsequently engaged in railroad construction, in bridge-building for the Union Pacific Railroad, and in other business. He spent the summer of 1870 in Europe with his family. By act of Congress, approved

*MSS. letter in Aldrich Collection.

March 3, 1871, he was one of the original incorporators of the Texas Pacific Railroad Company, with John C. Fremont, G. M. Dodge and others. He succeeded beyond his expectations in securing a large land grant for the enterprise and went abroad to enlist foreign capital. Meanwhile all his effects were destroyed in the "Chicago Fire" (Oct. 9, 1871). His wife had previously gone to Boston, leaving her trunks for him to bring later. Their effects had been stored at different places in the city, but the flaming and roaring whirlwind swept them all away. General Corse at the time was at the Tremont House, and did not leave it till the hotel was on fire. He remained on the Lake-front till daylight and it was a day or two before he could learn of the safety of a sister whose house was in the burnt district.

For several years he watched over the failing health of his wife with the devotion of his early love, and when her freed spirit was released the memory of her fortitude and composure strengthened him for the duty that remained in life.

In Boston, as in Chicago, he was received with honor and esteem and made a host of friends. He never lost his interest in retrieving the fortunes of the Democratic party in national politics, and was Chairman of the Democratic State Committee of Massachusetts, and a vigorous opponent of the Hon. B. F. Butler. A warm personal friend and an earnest supporter of the Hon. Samuel J. Tilden in the presidential election of 1876, he also entered with ardor into the canvass for the election of the Hon. Grover Cleveland in 1884.

General Corse was married in 1882 to Miss Frances McNeil, the accomplished daughter of Colonel John McNeil, and niece of Hon. Franklin Pierce, President of the U. S. (1853-7), and made a new home at the "Hemlocks" in Winchester, a few miles out of Boston. During their travels abroad they were detained nearly two months.

at Athens by the sickness of Mrs. Corse with typhoid fever. A letter of that period to William Corse McArthur, of Burlington, shows his habits of quick and keen observation.

ATHENS, Greece, March 17, 1883.

My Dear Nephew:—Athens is a modern looking city, built entirely of white marble stone, very dazzling and glary in the sun. The Greeks are a factious, discontented set; like all people emerging from long slavery, they have the vices of slaves, cunning, falsehood, and want of appreciation of individual responsibility. If it were not for the outside pressure they would degenerate rapidly into brigands and outlaws, as they would rather starve, murder, and suffer than see their neighbors succeed. The present Greek looks very much like a Sioux Indian. In fact, I have been much struck with the resemblance the Greeks bear to our North American savages.

The ruins are few, and much exaggerated. They dwindle on contact, like all things we read much about.

I have been confined to the house most of the time since our arrival, but have been pleasantly entertained by the members of the American, Russian, French and English legations. The king and queen have taken much interest in Mrs. Corse's illness, and manifested much sympathy. King George is a very sensible, modest fellow, and entitled to great respect for the success with which he has handled these barbarians the past twenty years. They are not a great people, and never will be. Their accidental successes were soon marred by their meannesses and vices. There are no railroads in Greece, and the best improvements are those made by Greeks who have lived in other countries long enough to become rich and civilized. They have only one legislative body composed of about two hundred members, and they are bought much cheaper than a carpet-bag legislature in the South.

Our rooms are pleasantly situated on a public square facing the palace, back of which Hymettus rears its honied heights; on our left is the peak of Sycabettus, and still further off are visible the summits of Pentellicon; to our right and rear the Gulfs of Salamis and Ægina, and still more remote the mountains of Peloponnessus. There are few ruins of any importance here. The Parthenon, the temple of Theseus, the columns of the temple of Jupiter Olympus, are about all. The Areopagus, the Pnyx, the Stadium, the Walks of Plato and Gardens of Socrates—you have as good varieties of in Burlington as there are in Athens.

Athens has a population of about sixty thousand, and is five miles from its port or harbor which has nearly thirty thousand. We have connection only by steamer with the civilized world, and that only three times a week. One never feels so desolate as when in such a place sick and a stranger. The hotel proprietors and servants are all Greek. Mrs. Corse's nurse, a Greek, cannot speak a word of French or English. The Doctor is Greek, speaks a little French, and one woman to help

take care of Mrs. Corse speaks German and French and is our general interpreter. Altogether our Athenian experience has been unfortunate. Mrs. Corse has been sick from the hour of her arrival, and very sick at that. The weather is like March weather at home, rain, snow, hail, alternately with sunshine and wind,—and such wind, sometimes I have thought it would tear the shutters off and drive the windows in.

In July, 1886, General Corse made a visit to the battle-fields of Georgia where twenty-two years before he had passed through the most thrilling scenes of his life. Two of his home letters of that date give the following incidents:

ATLANTA, Georgia, July 21, 1886.

We arrived yesterday, and after a survey of Atlanta we go to Kenesaw to-morrow. The weather was extremely pleasant until we crossed to this side of the mountains. The rains east that have kept vegetation fresh and green never extended west of the Blue Ridge, and we found our road hot and dusty. Glad enough we were to get into the house and get clean. We are in the private residence of Senator Brown, of Georgia, guests of his family, consisting of two sons here, the remainder in Washington during the session. We came out in his private car which made the trip more agreeable. He and his wife were great friends of Franklin Pierce, and named one of their sons after him. General Pierce gave them a photograph of himself with his autograph. A very intelligent and hospitable clan they are.

Atlanta has changed so much, I never would have recognized it. The surrounding country is densely wooded, and I fancy I shall never be able to locate many of the places with which I was so familiar twenty years or more ago. In fact it is just twenty-two years to-morrow, the 22d, that we had the great battle, a few miles from where I sit, in which McPherson was killed, and a day or two after I left the staff of General Sherman and took command of the 2d division, Sixteenth Army Corps.

This afternoon we will spend on and about Kenesaw, and to-morrow will commence on Allatoona. A rain storm is occurring at this moment, and we are praying it will make the roads better for travel, and the heat less intense for our walking and driving about the old battle-fields.

ALLATOONA, Georgia, July 23, 1886.

We are on the old battle-fields and will finish our pictures and maps to-day, and go on to Chattanooga to-morrow and look over Missionary Ridge. Mr. Brown and the artist are of the party. We have a photographer, and I think will get a good picture of the mountain and the scene of our contest. The ground is much overgrown with trees and brush, and looks little like the field of twenty-two years ago. However, we are making sketches that will enable the artist to restore substantially the scene of the engagement. There are many local matters of

interest, and the whole revives vividly the action which has become historical. Yesterday we drove around Kenesaw and made numbers of photographs for studies. I walk a great deal. Our life is active and agreeable, pretty much all the time on the go. To-day I climbed to the summit of the highest peak of the Allatoona range, and I was hot and tired enough when we got back.

General Corse had a map made of the Allatoona battle ground, and it was in his mind to prepare a full and accurate account of the battle, but considerations referred to in his letter of January 29, 1888, interfered, and he did not complete his purpose. At intervals he conducted a correspondence with some of his surviving comrades. Occasionally upon solicitation of friends or of some post of the G. A. R., he gave a familiar lecture upon the Atlanta campaign and Allatoona, but only from rough notes. The following extracts from the correspondence referred to, furnish information additional to that given in a former number of this volume, pp. 117—135.

LIEUT.-COLONEL J. E. TOURTELOTTE TO GENERAL CORSE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 25, 1886.

On the east side of the railroad cut there was an earthwork with rather higher and better profile than the work you were in. That earthwork was at the extreme eastern end of the ridge, and there rested the extreme end of our line. From that earthwork a line of rifle-pits crowned the ridge to the cut, and then extended northward overlooking the cut and the ground on your side. These rifle-pits overlooked the store-houses and the road and ground to the south. These same pits by using them in the opposite direction, as was done, overlooked the ground to the north.

On the west side of the cut was the earthwork you were in, and there was a rifle-pit several rods to the west of it, where you will remember one of your regiments suffered so severely. About a third or half-a-mile to the westward of your fort, and south of the Cartersville road, was a pretty good earthwork in the form of a fort, and some smaller rifle-pits. There was abatis and slashing around them. I think the rebels built them when they retired southward en route for Atlanta. But they were never used by us at any time within my knowledge, except on the morning of Oct. 5th, when some companies of the 93d Illinois were sent out to feel the enemy, and some of their line of skirmishers must have crossed the nearest of those works.

There was a stockade of sharpened stakes around the west and north sides of your fort, and I think also on the south side. There was

no abatis around either of the forts used that day. The fort you occupied was not large; but the profile was good as works of that character usually are; the trouble was the enemy had higher ground. The redoubts used by our troops were laid out by an engineer officer of General Sherman's army when that place was first occupied by that army. The works were outlined when I went there. We did many days' (and some nights') work to complete the defense as you found it.

I never heard that the 93d Illinois lost their flag that day, and I do not believe it. Once (which I saw), and I think several times, small parties of the enemy dashed across the dirt road south of our position towards the store-houses, but they died on the way, and none of them ever reached the store-houses. The 18th Wisconsin were placed to the south of our position, perhaps a quarter of a mile, across the road to Acworth. They were in that position during the first part of the fight, and were firing continuously. The Major in command reported at one time that he was hard pressed, as we all were, and he asked permission to retire to the hill. I sent him commands to keep his place until he saw danger of being outflanked and cut off, and then to come to the rifle-pits on the hill. Sometime afterwards he did come in, but I do not remember that he came in with confusion. We were all very sensitive about the south side as the store-houses were there, but the enemy's infantry did not press on that side, partly because the ground was open and exposed, and partly to give their artillery on the hill to the south a fair chance to play upon us without danger to their infantry. Most of the animals at the post were killed, perhaps some broke away.

You ask how far Sears' brigade extended to the east of me. He did not extend so far as my eastmost flank, which was my weak point, as I could not place there as many men as were needed if that point were hard pressed. Several times the enemy tried to reach it, but we were so situated that we took them in flank every time and drove them back or broke them up. The enemy did not show much knowledge of the ground that day. The eastmost redoubt was really a key to our position, as it dominated your fort and enfiladed my rifle-pits. It did good service that day. Whenever the enemy charged upon you, or upon the east side of the railroad from the north, or tried to reach our east flank, the guns from that redoubt took them in flank. The men in the ditch of the western fort were of great value to the east side by taking in flank the enemy who tried to reach our line of rifle-pits; and so men on the east side took in flank the enemy approaching you.

I shall take great pleasure, dear General, in telling anything you may wish to know further. I send you many thanks for your good wishes, and I hope for you every honor and success. I shall await the publication of your paper with great interest.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 29, 1886.

You have forgotten the stockade, but it was there. I placed it there myself (and did my best to make a good one), not on the glacis of

the fort, but it was sunk into the scarp at the inner edge of the ditch. It did not interfere with the movements of men in the ditch. The object of the stockade was not to keep the enemy out of the ditch, but to delay them, and if possible prevent them from climbing the parapet. If you had not reached Allatoona in time I was to defend the post with the garrison I had. Only small parties of the enemy could approach either fort without being struck in flank by the other. On that fact I depended, and had charged the regimental commanders and Artillery commander to put their whole strength, which could be spared from their immediate fronts, upon the enemy approaching the opposite side of the railroad cut. The fort on my side was the commanding point of the whole; the fort on your side was the weakest point of the whole, on account of higher ground to the west and northwest. It was on that account I showed you that side first, and you had no time to go to the east side before the fight commenced. And you directed me to defend the east side, without any detailed instructions, as I knew the place thoroughly, while you did not.

Twenty or thirty rods west of your fort was a ridge beyond which the ground could not be seen from either fort. I knew the enemy could get to that ridge in spite of anything we could do. They could there form, and there they could rest, and with my small garrison they could not be prevented. But the enemy must approach the fort over those twenty or thirty rods in open view. There were some entanglements of down trees, but not much. There had been abatis, but the trees had been used, I suppose, for camp purposes. Strong men would not be much delayed by the entanglement, but the lines would be somewhat broken. It was during their passage of those twenty or thirty rods that I intended to give them our whole strength with the hope to break them up. But I could not be sure; so my plan contemplated their reaching the ditch, and I placed the stockade to prevent their climbing the parapet, and to give us inside an advantage which I felt we should use most earnestly. I had a faith that they would never get into the fort. I placed stockades about the entrance as well as I could, but a passage for artillery had to be left; the cotton bales were placed there to be used as you did use them.

Sears' attack was divided by the railroad cut; I cannot tell what portion of his command was on each side. When his line came forward it took about the direction of the fort on the east side, but the right of his line became engaged with the west fort, and the left evaporated long before it could reach the east fort. The men in the ditch of the west fort took them in one flank, and the east fort and my pretty long line of rifle-pits took them in front. Fragments of their line did come well up to the rifle-pits, and some of their men did remain in depressions in the ground, neither able to go forward or back, and these men I sent some companies of the 4th Minnesota to bring in. These men were the unwounded prisoners we took that day. Here were taken the flags of two regiments.

The guns of the 12th Wisconsin Battery were equally divided in the two forts. A Lieutenant of that Battery assures me that they had eight guns, four on a side, that day. They had been ordered to turn in their three-inch rifled guns and to draw 12-pounder Napoleons. They had drawn the Napoleons, but not yet turned in the rifled guns.

About a mile and a half south from Allatoona two companies of the 18th Wisconsin were placed to guard the railroad bridge over Allatoona creek. They were in a block-house. After French withdrew from Allatoona he demanded the surrender of that post, which was refused. French then beat in the roof with artillery and forced the two companies out. I wish I could remember the name of the Captain in command. He was a brave soldier. These were the men lost by the 18th Wisconsin that day, but they were not at Allatoona.

During the battle a private of the 12th Wisconsin Battery actually did carry an armful of canister across the railroad cut to your side. I do not know the man's name, but his act was a daring one. It happened in this way: I had brought a field-piece from the east fort to a position favorable for sweeping the ground to the north and northwest. The Sergeant in charge of the gun ran short of canister and sent to the fort for more. The Lieutenant in charge of the ammunition directed a soldier to carry the canister, but misunderstanding where to go, the soldier carried it across the foot-bridge to the west fort. The Sergeant who had charge of the gun just spoken of was a brave fellow; he was made Lieutenant of the battery; his gun did excellent work, but at length became silent. I went with some anxiety to find the reason and in answer to my question the Sergeant pointed to his men on the ground. All were dead or wounded except one.

When Sears reports to French that he is in the "enemy's works," he must mean our sinks; those were the only works of ours he got into that day, except the rifle-pit to the west of you.

June 8.—I cannot tell about the "rations," except that the amount was large.

LA CROSSE, Wisconsin, Sept. 9, 1886.

Your paper on the Battle of Allatoona will make the history of the engagement, and I shall be glad to contribute to its correctness and fullness. I will not attempt a continuous story, as that would make needless repetition with the report I made and with my former letters to you. But I will state anything that I do not remember to have mentioned to you before.

Three small companies of the 18th Wisconsin were guarding the bridge some two miles south of Allatoona. The Captain deserves most honorable mention. He kept scouts out from his post to observe the approaching enemy, and he kept me continually notified where they were, and what they were doing. From these reports I felt sure on the 4th of October that I should be attacked next day.

I have been told that your answer to French's demand for surrender was never received by the enemy. In my presence you wrote the answer, and the soldier started back to the outpost on the Cartersville road with the note.

General Corse said: "Colonel Rowett received the summons to surrender and brought it to me in person. I jumped off my horse and wrote the reply from a stump near the roadside."

When the answer had been dispatched you remarked, "They will now be upon us," and said as you had no time to examine the other side of the railroad cut you would remain where you were, and you directed me to go to the east side.

The 4th Minnesota, which was large for those days, having received some 200 recruits a few weeks before, was alone on the east side until four companies of the 18th Wisconsin came in from outpost duty about 10:30 a. m. We also had three guns (field-pieces) on the east side, and a few cavalry-men whom I had used as scouts and messengers.

After I left you to go to the east side I did not see you again until we met after the fight, both on cots, in the house shown in your sketch. During the day I do not think I heard from you except in regard to moving a regiment to the west side. In no other battle did I feel such desire to crush the enemy as on that day, and I could feel that my men had such desire. There was no flinching, but every man seemed to strive to do his best. My line was thinner than I wished, and every man who could discharge a gun was very precious. I remember, I sent my negro servant to carry boxes of ammunition along the line, as I did not wish to use a man who could shoot. The servant afterward got a musket and took his place in the trenches. Some civilians were in the works, and I made them use guns or carry the wounded to the doctors. I saw one soldier jump upon the top of the trench; he shook his fist and dared the enemy in a loud call to come on. He was immediately shot down, but, I am glad to say, not killed. I only mention the circumstance to show the feeling of the men.

I was wounded about half-way between the house and "C." I think I was going at the time to encourage the gunners at "C." This was after the heaviest charge upon the east side, about 1 p. m. Up to that time I had continually walked along the line, but after that I sat on the ground not far from where I was wounded and where I could overlook the position. When I could no longer carry my orders, I sent them continually by my servant, by civilians and hospital attendants. The Major of the 4th Minnesota used to say he received ten messages from me while I sat on the ground, and they were all the same, viz. "If he allowed the enemy to cross that road running down the hill to the north I would never forgive him." Some of the enemy may have crossed that road, I think small squads did, but the line of the enemy never extended beyond that road.

It was close up under the hill that the unwounded prisoners were taken. The fire was so hot they could not come on, and they could not go back, and when there was a suspension of the engagement I sent some companies to bring them in. The Captain in command of the companies (4th Minnesota) sent to bring them in, was roughly dressed and wore no insignia of rank, so the Senior rebel officer refused to surrender to him, but he did hand his sword to the Sergeant Major who was neatly dressed, with an air of rank in his rather pompous manner.

LA CROSSE, Wisconsin, Sept. 18, 1886.

There were men in the rifle-pits south of the house on the east side for the purpose of overlooking the store-house all that day. I feared the enemy would make a rush for the store-house, and I never left off watching and guarding it.

Up to the time I was wounded I was going about the lines on our east side every moment. I remember I was painfully thirsty, and there was water in the house, but I had no time to get it, and did not get it. I had not a man I could spare to bring water to the men, nor could I have allowed the men sufficient leisure to drink, even had the water been beside them. This will indicate the pressure of mind and body felt by both officers and men. I do not think many men knew I was wounded until after the engagement. There was no time to carry news, and no one to carry it.

The artillery in the eastern redoubt, after the appearance of the enemy's infantry, fired upon them all day. Their fire, which was continuous, was directed to the enemy as they charged upon you and upon the position east of the railroad, and I thought did great service in breaking up the enemy. All their loss was by the musket balls of the enemy.

I cannot state where the two Illinois regiments took position on the east side before they went to the west side.

While the day of that engagement seems pretty vivid in my mind, many details have been forgotten, and that is the reason my letters do not appear full to you. In regard to the number of the enemy I can not guess. I only saw part of them at a time. I suppose there were always reserves behind the crest of the hill. In regard to deeds of gallantry, I saw none but brave deeds that day. That was the only engagement I was ever in where soldiers were actually killed by bayonet thrusts, as they were in those intrenchments in front of the west redoubt.

Oct. 2, 1886.—From Colonel Edson (who was Major, commanding 4th Minnesota on the day of Allatoona) I learn that companies B and C were in and about the eastern redoubt; company A in the intrenchments near "C. A." on your map; company E were especially watching the store-house; company K were deployed upon and in advance of our north front until driven back by the advancing enemy. The companies of the 18th Wisconsin took position along our line between the eastern redoubt and the house where you spent the night after the battle.

WILLIAM G. POWER, LATE COMPANY "G," 39th IOWA INFANTRY, TO GENERAL CORSE.

MT. VERNON, Iowa, February 17, 1887.

Pardon me for addressing you, but the memory of the past has so impressed me that I take the liberty. I was with the command on the west of the fort where our noble Colonel (Redfield) lost his life, where also I had a brother killed, being on the right of our line and a few steps from the main road. I was fortunate enough to escape capture or death there, and was one of the last that left the pits. When within a few steps of the fort I received a minie ball through my left fore-arm about an inch above the wrist joint, which disabled me. I was in the fort and near you when you so narrowly escaped death by the minie ball that left its mark on your face, and I vividly remember when Colonel Rowett gave the order to cease firing, how the boys cried "Never!" "Die first!" I had a revolver loaded which I gave Lieutenant Blodgett, and he got on the ammunition boxes, and thus exposed, received the fatal shot.

Those experiences are indelibly stamped on my mind. I made a visit two years ago to Marietta, Allatoona and Rome, to look at the places which had been the scenes of such fearful carnage twenty years before, and thankful that peace now reigned. My parents and grandfather, John Kynett, were early settlers in Des Moines county, and I remember when a lad, of being in your father's book-store in Burlington. I have read every account I could find of the fight at Allatoona, and your noted messages as well as your curt reply to General French. I would deem it a great kindness from one whom I have always admired, if you could find time to drop me a few lines in reply.

MT. VERNON, Iowa, March 2, 1887.

Your very kind letter came duly to hand. I was much gratified in reading the same. I will give you all the particulars I can, and speak only of what I feel in my mind was actually true, for I did not have much opportunity of observing what others were doing.

I remember very well the flag of truce that carried the request for a surrender, and after which how the enemy advanced. The musket firing commenced very close to 9 a. m. Colonel Redfield was in the rear of the rifle pits, and on the right of the road, and was killed directly in rear of our company. A comrade who lives here says he saw him, as he was encouraging the men, fall from a shot, and get up again, but soon fall the second time. I have been informed by one of our boys that saw him, that he was wounded first in his arm, next in his foot or leg, and last killed.

I did not leave the ditch until the enemy had captured some of my company on my left; those who got away did so by passing between the little shanty and the oven. I passed around the head of the hollow to a little log out-house, and halted long enough to discharge my gun and load once; some few of the boys came this way also as the enemy was

coming up the hollow from the north and near the spring. A number passed down the road directly to the fort. I went in with three others at one of the embrasures where was a piece of artillery, while most of the boys went around the north side. Our company went in with twenty-four men, and lost four killed, six wounded, four prisoners. Our regiment had two hundred eighty seven men, and lost one hundred eleven, killed, wounded and missing.

Somehow a Johnny got up very close in front, behind brush piles, and when one of our company raised up to shoot, the Johnny shot at him, but missed and then threw a stone, when our man put his musket against him and ended the strife.

Sergeant Hartzell of our company was with the colors. When the last onset was made he loaded, and fixed bayonet, and when a Reb jumped on the dirt and took hold of the Flag, demanding it, Hartzell shot him dead. At once another jumped for the Flag when Hartzell attempted to bayonet him, but was knocked down with a clubbed musket, and marched off a prisoner. So Hartzell told me afterwards.

As I was in the first hollow going to the rear, I discovered a sixteen-shooter that had belonged to one of the Illinois boys, and to save it took it with me, and had it in my left hand when shot, but after that I did not wait to get it.

On my recent visit the lay of the ground seemed as I had it in my mind, only the distance seemed less from the fort to the rifle-pits, and to the hill in the southwest where the enemy's artillery was first placed. The timber being grown up changed the appearance some, but the old house where the wounded were cared for was as natural as could be. After the fight I saw a dead rebel near the store-house, who had a fire-brand to burn our hard tack; under his outer suit was a Lieutenant's uniform, and there was taken from him a gold watch. On the east side of the shed where the crackers were stored, I saw a dead rebel and by him were splinters and matches, showing their determination to burn, if they could not capture the rations. It has always been a wonder to me also, why French did not succeed in capturing the place and us.

I do not know if this will be worth your reading, having been written while attempting to keep store as well as write.

DR. T. M. YOUNG, LATE OF COMPANY "A," 4th MINNESOTA,
TO GENERAL CORSE.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minnesota, March 5, 1887.

I am very glad that Allatoona is to be handed down in history under your hand. I am anxious to obtain a copy of your book with your signature in it, for I value highly the honor of having been under your command that day.

Any portion of my sketch which can be made useful is at your service. It was written from the standpoint of company "A," and does not ignore, though it does not describe what was done by other organ-

izations. No doubt as much might be said of any other company which was there.

Incidents at Allatoona, Oct. 5, 1864.—Much has been written about this, probably the most hotly contested engagement of the entire war. General Sherman had established his depot of supplies at one of the strongest points on the Western and Atlantic Railway, and had collected there at the time nearly three million rations, consisting principally of musty pork and worm-eaten crackers. It was known to the garrison that a fight was imminent and the destruction of the command almost a certainty. We had been paid off a few days before, and I was detailed by Colonel Tourtelotte to go to Cartersville and express home such money as the men wished to send. The trip was made Oct. 4th, and I got back that night at 11 p. m. About 2:30 a. m. a sudden rattle of musketry on the picket line announced that trouble had begun. Sergeant John Hughes (4th Minnesota) had fired on the advance of the rebel cavalry. Taking shelter in the brush, he allowed them to charge past him, then gave them another volley in the rear, and then every man of the picket scattered, finding his way into the fortification independently and safely.

This alarm put an end to rest. The command was formed by companies, inspected by the first sergeants, and the recruits (about one hundred twenty in the 4th Minnesota) were drilled until daybreak in loading and firing, and instructed in such commands as were likely to be required. At daylight the Confederate batteries made matters lively until about 9 o'clock, when troops were seen massing for a charge. General French sent in his summons which elicited General Corse's reply:

"I have the honor to command men who do not fear the effusion of blood. If you want the post, come and take it."

Then came a succession of charges which for obstinacy have seldom been equalled.

A brigade under General Cockrell, of Missouri, charged on one outlying redoubt and took it, and the 7th Illinois was annihilated, four fifths of the men being killed or wounded. There was the only place in four years' service under Grant, McPherson, Sherman and Logan, where I saw the blood run along the ground. In the road at that redoubt the dust was several inches deep, and along in that dust a rivulet of purple ran for six or eight rods, and one hundred and sixteen soldiers of the blue and gray lay dead in one heap on less than an eighth of an acre of ground.

During the hottest of the fight the guns on the west side ran short of powder. Instantly two men of the 93d Illinois volunteered to cross the railroad cut on a foot-bridge, four feet wide, and eighty-six feet above the track, in the face of the fire from a heavy line of infantry less than a hundred yards distant. They crossed in safety, but in going back with their arms full of cartridges one poor fellow was struck, and we picked him up after the battle with his hands still clutching the

precious cartridges as he lay mangled and lifeless on the iron rails below. The way Dillon's Wisconsin boys acted may be known by the way one gun was served. This gun with nine artillerists was stationed in a conspicuous place on the east side, and before the fight was over the last man was down, his arm broken, yet he loaded and fired that gun twice before he became so weak from the loss of blood that he was forced to give up.

I had the honor to command the detachment which was sent to bring in eighty-six prisoners and three flags. I picked up one of the flags, but when I saw the number of prisoners confronting my squad of twenty, I feared they would resume their arms, and taking us prisoners use us as a shield to make their escape. Hastily resigning the flag to the Sergeant Major, I ordered the Confederates to hold up their hands and march out of the ravine in which they had taken shelter. Two of the flags are now in the State-house at St. Paul. Certain individuals claim that they captured them, yet it is justice to say that to no one more than another is due the credit.

Private Samuel Bridenthall, of Le Seuer, Minnesota, shot a rebel officer who, torch in hand, tried to fire the depot of supplies. Sergeants P. W. Fix and Oscar O. Jaquith, 4th Minnesota, used two rifles constantly, having them loaded by recruits who could not use them effectively; the next day on account of the contused state of their shoulders, they were unable for duty. Corporal Al. Cottrell (4th Minnesota) had his left arm broken early in the fight; he went to the Surgeon and had it amputated, and returned for duty, and carried boxes of ammunition for three hours; three days later he died of lockjaw, induced by his exertion. Private Isaac Russell, Co. "A," was sick in hospital, convalescent from typhoid fever. A shell crashed through the hospital. He got up, came to his 1st sergeant and asked for his arms and ammunition; he was too weak to stand alone, but he fought all through that bloody day, and every time he discharged his piece he was kicked over by the recoil; he would get up, reload, and repeat the operation until the last enemy had left the field. This company used during the engagement 9,400 cartridges, an average of 293 to the man at the beginning of the battle. Many times their rifles were so hot that it was unsafe to reload, an event that does not often happen with muzzle-loading guns.

General Corse lost his own and the horses of his staff and escort, and was himself severely wounded while cheering his men in the western fort: every colonel was down as well as most of the majors; at the close of the battle captains commanded regiments, and sergeants and even corporals, as in the 93d Illinois, commanded companies.

Robert Brown, of Royalton, Minnesota, a Confederate 1st sergeant of Cockrell's old Missouri regiment, told me that he heard a confederate major before the charge on the 7th Illinois order that no prisoners were to be taken; the major was killed in the charge; but his order was needless, said Brown; they could not be taken; the only way to take a man was to knock him down and pull him out of his place. He said further

that he was never so humiliated in his nearly five years of service as when they received the orders to retreat from Allatoona, that the Confederates felt they could take the fort in half an hour.

GENERAL CORSE TO JOE SCOFIELD, ESQ., LATE COMPANY
"F," 12th ILLINOIS INFANTRY, CHAMBERLAIN, DAKOTA.

Boston, Massachusetts, June 29, 1888.

Of the 12th Illinois Infantry, sixty-eight men and two officers were left at Rome on picket duty, and fifty-four convalescent and sick in camp. With the rest Captain Koehler reported to Colonel Rowett, first brigade, and went to Allatoona where he arrived about midnight or early in the morning of the 5th (October, 1864). He first placed his command on the east of the railroad at the foot of the hill on the left of the 50th Illinois. At 6 a. m. the artillery fire of the enemy proved so annoying as to compel him to move forward into a ravine which furnished some shelter. He was soon after ordered to report to Colonel Hanna, 50th Illinois, on the hill east of the railroad cut. The command was moved by detachments through the cut, and ascended the hill from the north, forming on the right of the 50th, and next to the crest of the cut in line of battle facing west. Here he gallantly assaulted that portion of Sears' brigade which attacked the west fort from the north, losing a number of officers and men. This fire saved the force on the west hill from being doubled up, and protected it from Sears' flank attack.

Shortly after the repulse of this part of the enemy he was ordered to report with his command to the commanding officer west of the cut. The passage of the cut was performed under a galling fire of infantry and artillery, notwithstanding which he moved his command down the south slope of the east hill across the railroad, and up the slope of the west hill, forming his regiment to the right of the west redoubt, and in rear of the shanties that were built along the crest over the cut. After excellent execution which freed him from the northern attacks, he moved his men into the trenches about the west redoubt, and fought his command to the close of the engagement, losing fifty-eight men and four officers out of one hundred fifty-five men and eight officers.

The four hours of terrible conflict in and about this west redoubt he describes with graphic pen, and speaks of the veteran coolness and courage of his command as remarkable.

It was at a critical period in the battle that I directed Lieutenant Flint of my staff to go to Colonel Tourtelotte and direct him to send me the fiftieth Illinois, as I had suffered so severely that it was necessary to reinforce the west hill command at once. Through some mistake occurring very naturally in the midst of the dreadful excitement, the twelfth Illinois followed the fiftieth, and it was fortunate that it did as from that hour all the forces of the enemy were concentrated on the hill west of the redoubt, determined to destroy the command on

that side of the cut. This movement successful, the supplies (nearly three million of rations), would have been their prize, and such a prize as Hood never secured in his long and bloody career as a soldier.

It was during the period subsequent to the arrival of the twelfth Illinois that your regiment came under my observation. I was amongst them and of them all the rest of the day, and I say without hesitation that no more gallant body of men ever resisted a foe, and none more intelligently. There was no time for bravado. The stillness of death prevailed amongst officers and men; every movement was characterized by deathly resolution and a sternness of determination I never witnessed before or since. I cannot speak too highly of the conduct of your regiment, nor of the importance of its services in that sanguinary conflict, and this without reflecting upon any other command.

I was not aware that there were forty repeating rifles in your command, but there is no doubt of their execution, and it is difficult to say what might have happened had we been armed exclusively with the Springfield muzzle-loader.

The facts I give you are taken from contemporaneous records. Like yourself, I sometimes think I was not at Alltoona when I see the reports given by others of that affair. I have concluded, however, it would be unprofitable for me to try to give my version.

In reply to a request from Mr. Charles Aldrich for memorials of his army life for the "Aldrich Collection" in the Historical Department of Iowa, General Corse wrote:

Boston, December 30, 1890.

All my commissions, swords, diaries and correspondence during the war were destroyed in the "Chicago fire." Every thing that I had collected during the convulsion and everything that I had written and accumulated for historical purposes went up in the flames.

It is hoped that your efforts may be successful, and that I shall be happy to help, you can rely upon. The matter will have serious consideration, and if anything occurs to me that would prove of value in connection with your very commendable labors you shall have the benefit of the same.

Historical paintings are of the highest educational value, and the death scenes of Redfield, Blodgett, Ayers, and other gallant Iowans, in defense of our flag and country, could but prove the most inspiring object-lesson to posterity that one can think of. But high art is expensive, and can only be indulged in by "States," not individually. I hope you may be able to induce our beloved Commonwealth to do something towards reclaiming the acts of some of its sons from oblivion, and that many of our citizens may be inspired to follow your example in preserving all that is of value of the past for the benefit of the future.

In October, 1886, General Corse was appointed without solicitation on his part postmaster at Boston by President Cleveland. A few friends, without his knowledge or request signed his bond for two hundred thousand dollars, much to his gratification as he had made up his mind to ask no one to go upon his bond. The annual receipts of the office were at this period a million and a half of dollars, and the money orders over three millions. He gave himself to a thorough study of the postal service and cherished the ambition to make that of Boston the best in the United States. He advised with the leading merchants of the city, and provided a more rapid transit of mail, and a more prompt delivery, and refused to make "political" considerations a ground of removal or appointment of clerks, but insisted only upon qualifications of fitness. His management won public confidence and esteem, and the Boston postoffice was characterized in the Post Office Department at Washington as "the model office of the United States." His reappointment under President Harrison's administration was supported by the business men of Boston without distinction of party, and by the senators and a majority of the representatives in Congress from Massachusetts, and by General Sherman in a letter to the President, one of the last letters written by him. The refusal of President Harrison in the matter called forth many expressions of regret. A Complimentary Dinner was given by the Massachusetts Reform Club to General Corse, May 7th, 1891, at which he acknowledged the generous welcome that was given him and said:

I felt it my duty to come here to-night, with a great deal of trepidation, however, to say how deeply I felt your kindness, and to express my appreciation to that large number of the citizens of Boston of all parties who sustained me in my administration of a public office in this city.

It is some satisfaction to know that the little I have done has been recognized among the people for whom I conscientiously labored. But it is a sad commentary on the public service that a man should be thus received and commended simply for having done his duty; let us hope that

it may be an exceptional instance, and that in the future the condemnation of a man for not doing it will be more marked than the other course.

I have been deeply in sympathy with the Reform Club in its object to elicit independent thought upon the administration of governmental affairs. I am that much of a partisan that I go on the same line with my party as far as it coincides with my convictions, and when it diverges I am not with it. I cannot tell you how much aid the civil service law was to me as an official. It was a bulwark against the hordes of my political friends. It was the means by which I could protect myself in the orderly discharge of daily duties, that I was limited by this law in changes of employees. It was my desire in common with the Republicans who were anxious for civil service reform, that the office should not fall into the hands of spoilsmen.

President Eliot, of Harvard University, said:

It gives me great pleasure to come here to-night to bear my testimony to the worth of General Corse's services. We have seen so many men who have won eminence in other walks of life who, when they entered civil life, defiled their reputation with the pitch of patronage, that it is exceptional to find one who has been equally faithful in war and in civil life. I am sure, gentlemen, you will join me in wishing that the next postmaster-general may be General Corse.

Congratulatory letters were received from several eminent citizens who were unable to be present. James Russell Lowell wrote:

I should be glad to join in any tribute of respect to one who has shown such a rare quality of military and civic courage as General Corse. In both capacities he has held the fort with equal gallantry in his country's service, and it would gratify me could I express my sense of obligation to him face to face.

George William Curtis wrote:

Nothing could be pleasanter to me than to join in your tribute of honor to so effective a civil service reformer as General Corse. It is easy to advocate reform principles in the abstract, but to enforce them in office is to be a leader in the work. We can ask nothing more than that every public officer may follow so firm and faithful a leader as General Corse.

Charles Eliot Norton wrote:

It is fortunate when a reform like that of the civil service becomes associated with a person eminent for his upright and vigorous character. The service which General Corse has rendered in his staunch support of civil service reform is hardly less notable than that splendid service

of his, twenty-seven years ago, which made known to the country the name of one of her heroes. When we have reformed the civil service, and the tariff, and the currency, and pension legislation, new reforms will be urgent, and when a difficult reform is to be carried out in practical application, we or our successors shall point to General Corse as having set an example of how such work should be done.

As commander of the Massachusetts Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion in the United States, General Corse presided at a meeting held in Boston, March 19, 1891, to honor the memory of Major-General Charles Devens, late Attorney-General of the United States, at which eulogies upon that distinguished soldier and orator of the War of the Rebellion were pronounced by Ex-President Hayes and General Francis A. Walker. After prayer by the Rev. Phillips Brooks, chaplain of the Commandery, General Corse made the introductory address as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen: These services, instituted by the Massachusetts Commandery of the Loyal Legion in memory of their old comrade and friend have their origin in the affection in which he is held by every member of the organization. For seven years he was its commander, and for twenty-two years an interested and active companion. During that period he endeared to him by many ties all who came in contact with him. General Devens distinguished himself in various walks, and his deeds and public services are a part of his country's history; but we who knew him more intimately are not so much moved by the triumphs of his public life as by the simplicity of his character, the gentleness of his nature and the goodness of his heart. He was a high type of the gentleman, ever manifesting a tender regard and consideration for the feelings of others.

It may be proper to say for the benefit of those not familiar with this organization that the Loyal Legion had its origin at the death of the lamented Lincoln. Last April it celebrated in the hospitable city of Philadelphia its twenty-fifth anniversary. The Order embraces nineteen State commanderies, extending from Maine to California, of which Massachusetts is one of the largest, having nearly 800 members. The national organization enrolls some 7,000 names of officers of the army and navy who participated actively in the conflict for the supremacy of the Union. Among the commanders-in-chief are names now high enrolled in the temple of fame, and the present commander, respected and esteemed by all, has come from his distant home to pay a tribute of affection to a beloved companion in arms, to a trusted cabinet

officer, to a lifelong friend. I have the pleasure of presenting ex-president Rutherford B. Hayes, Commander-in-Chief of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States.

In March, 1892, General Corse was solicited to be a candidate for Congress in the eighth Massachusetts district, but declined the honor, as also later the office of Commissioner of Pensions, which President Cleveland after his re-election tendered him.

Occasionally General Corse suffered from sickness, a reminder, he said, of the war that would probably hasten his end. Usually he rallied quickly and regained at once his cheerful and sunny ways. In a letter of condolence to his sister, Mrs. Virginia McArthur, on the death of her husband in 1892, he said: "My life has been so active and so exhaustive of vital sap that I feel near my three score and ten already. I believe I am ready for it, never having had much fear of death. It seems to me the crowning grace of life, and always welcome."

Early in the morning of April 27, 1893, at his home in Winchester, he was seized with apoplexy, and without recovering consciousness expired at 2.30 p. m. of that day, which was his fifty-eighth birthday, "all his long pain of living comforted."

On the first of May, after funeral services at the house, the casket, wrapt in the flag, with wreaths of laurel and his sword upon it, was taken in charge by the Massachusetts Commandery of the Loyal Legion and conveyed to the New Old South Church in Boston, where a great throng of people attested the public respect for his character. Members of Light Battery A in full uniform acted as guard of honor, and bore the body on their shoulders into the Church. A wide streamer of white ribbon from one of the wreaths was inscribed, "Allatoona." After the body came the National, State, and Loyal Legion colors, representing the three branches of military service, infantry, artillery, and cavalry, which General Corse had commanded; the pall-bearers, selected from the military and civil depart-

ments in which he had served, followed. After the Scripture lesson, and prayer by the Rev. George A. Gordon, and the singing of hymns, a cornet solo, the "Lost Chord," was played with organ accompaniment. In leaving the Church, half-way down the aisle, taps were sounded.

The interment was in Aspen Grove Cemetery, Burlington, Iowa, according to directions which General Corse had left, and his nephew, William Corse McArthur, took charge of his remains to that city, where they arrived Tuesday morning, May 9th. A detail of Matthies Post. G. A. R., acted as escort to the Congregational Church, which was decorated with flags and flowers under the direction of his old friends, Mrs. John M. Sherfey and Mrs. L. H. Dalhoff. For several hours a stream of people filed past the bier, gazing tenderly on the battle-scarred face of one whom many had known from his boyhood. On the south side of the bier was a wreath of white roses and white pinks, with the inscription in immortelles, "Allatoona;" on the north side a pillow of the same inscribed "Hold the Fort." The pall-bearers were General F. M. Drake, of Centerville, and Colonel J. C. Stone, Colonel Fabian Brydolf, Major J. N. Martin, Captain Carl Ende, and Hon. J. C. Power, of Burlington. The Hon. James Harlan and many eminent citizens were present. The Rev. Dr. J. C. McClintock read a selection from the Psalms and offered prayer. The Rev. William Salter and Thomas Hedge, Esquire, made addresses, in part as follows:

Rev. William Salter said:

Fifty-one years ago a boy of seven years, born in the Keystone State, came with his parents to our then infant city, and grew up among us in the nurture of a loving home. His father was a substantial citizen, and filled our highest offices of honor and trust. His mother was a superior person who stretched out her hands to the poor, and in her tongue was the law of kindness. The boy early evinced that he had in him the fibre of an independent mind and a resolute character.

When the storm of war broke over the land and the flag of the Union that had made us a great people was hurled in the dust, he saw

the peril of the hour, and in that peril heard the call of duty and of God, to make whatever sacrifice of himself his country might require. His strength and firmness of character and his military education fitted him for a place of command which he eagerly sought. His valor and signal capacity for energetic work won the attention of his superior officers, and he was rapidly advanced to arduous and responsible positions. In the campaigns of Grant and Sherman he won the admiration and respect of those renowned commanders. Such was the fire of his zeal against the public enemy, and so determined was he in the hour of conflict, that men called him "the incarnation of war," "a demon for the hour." His report of one of his engagements, of the celerity and dash of his men, reads like a chapter in Julius Cæsar.

With the dawn of peace he strove to do his part in rebuilding the Nation. He attended to many duties in civil life, and advanced his fame when appointed to an important public trust in one of our chief cities. And now that brave and manly heart is still, and beats no more at war's alarms or at any shocks of this tumultuous world, and we are permitted to pay the final obsequies to his memory and renown. Lauman and Matthies, Fitz Henry Warren and Abercrombie, and many more from our city who ventured their lives that the Republic might live, and now General Corse, who was amongst the youngest if not the youngest of them all, have joined "the bivouac of the dead." May the rising generation learn their intrepidity and valor, and be inspired with similar devotion to God and Native Land!

Mr. Hedge said:

John Murray Corse was born on the day that Ulysses Grant was thirteen years old. The scene of his birth was that neighborhood made famous by the defeat of Braddock and the fortitude and skill of Colonel George Washington eighty years before.

From the first he was a positive quantity, abounding in health, of bright and handsome presence, earnest, self-reliant, perhaps self-confident, a boy to be noted and remembered. At twelve, the military spirit was quickened in him by the events of the Mexican war and the return of the soldiers home, but the annals of Burlington in those days were short and simple. A sojourn of two years at West Point was the only peculiar event in his career until the days of 1861. Then twenty-six years of age, Governor Kirkwood commissioned him Major of the 6th Iowa Infantry. How he justified and repaid the trust and confidence of the War Governor has become a schoolboy's story. The scrupulous performance of "the daily round, the common task," fast fitted him for wider responsibility and more conspicuous charge. His great Captain, in his classic story of the salvation of the Republic, his last but not least gift to his countrymen, calmly awaiting his departure, as his soldiers pass before the vision of his memory, notes the brave and efficient commander who fell wounded in the fiery heights of Chattanooga; and again lingers on the story as Sherman told it to him of the Pass of

Allatoona, and writes on his Roll of Honor: "Corse was a man who never would surrender, one of the very able and efficient volunteer officers produced by the war."*

What more need be added? We know why they stood there. We know how they stood there. It was a new Thermopylæ, after three and twenty centuries. A sense of duty, the inspiration of the cause of human liberty, ever old and ever new, held them steadfast.

"Are all his conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils,
Shrunk to this little measure?"

Not so. Bearing the sword which the Prince of Peace proclaimed He came to bring—such as that under which the men of Massachusetts won peace and liberty—his conquests were of equal rights and civil order, his warfare that political truth should shine in every nook and corner of the Republic, and equal justice, sweeping away all barriers of wrong, dwell from the eastern to the western sea.

In this house where the memory of a sainted Mother†, each day softening and dispersing the rays of the ascending sun, is henceforth to be also the monument of filial affection; on this spot where two score years ago the presence of her who was to become the wife of his young manhood was wont to add grace and beauty to the homely sanctuary; it is fitting to testify that this man was as loyal, steadfast, considerate and true in his home relations and among his fellows, as the blunt, abrupt soldier of the Fifteenth Corps was in the service of the flag. As we look upon his sleeping face we are more and more persuaded that heroes of Allatoona are born and bred in loving homes.

This soldier died on the day he was fifty-eight years old. The child born in the year of "Allatoona" is now of the age of him who held the "Pass." A generation has arisen which learns the story of the redemption of the Republic only by tradition. It is for us to preserve the truth of this tradition; for only so long as this continues to be a land of memory will it remain a land of promise. Our pulses are stirred as memory rests upon the array of our heroes who made the name of Iowa illustrious on a hundred battle-fields, from Wilson's Creek to Bentonville and Appomattox. Gone before, they are our leaders still; the story of their service is our highest inspiration. Our young Captain here coveted the remembrance of his comrades and countrymen. Poor in words to express the homage we would pay to his character, we now under the lead of a comrade‡ in his most illustrious service reverently salute his passing from the shore of time to join his mighty Captain's last review.

*Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant, II, 355-6.

†The east window of the Church was put in by General Corse in 1869, "In Memory of his Mother." She died Sept. 28, 1866.

‡Frederic J. Croft, Sergeant Company C, 52d Illinois infantry, who of his own motion accompanied the detachment of General Corse from Rome to Allatoona, Oct. 4, 1864, now unfurled the draped flag before the bier.

At the tomb in the Corse chapel, which General Corse had erected several years previously, the last rites were performed by the G. A. R., Post Commander Philip M. Crapo commanding, the Rev. A. V. Kendrick, Chaplain. Co. H. fired the salute, and "taps" sounded the soldier's requiem.

The Massachusetts Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of which General Corse was elected Commander in May, 1890, adopted an eloquent tribute to his memory, recounting his services, and inscribing his name "as one of the bravest of the men who grandly helped preserve our freedom and nationality."

General Corse always refused to consider the suggestion that he was entitled under the law to a pension, and to one of a high rate, from the close of the war to the end of his life, but a grateful country by act of Congress the year after his death placed the name of his widow upon the pension roll, describing his services as "marked by distinguished personal bravery and among the most valuable rendered to the country by any officer of his rank."

From many eloquent tributes to his fame, that pronounced before the Society of the Army of the Tennessee at its twenty-fifth annual meeting, by a son of General Sherman, is selected for its beauty and pathos, as an appropriate close to this paper. Father Thomas Ewing Sherman said:

The finest of fine arts is the art of noble conduct. Of this your heroes gave signal examples. The discipline and self-denial of the soldier's life culminate in the sacrifice demanded of him in the dread hour of battle. The nation has many heroes who stood that test, who faced great odds undaunted, and fell with their faces to the foe. You have given us champions who fought after they had fallen. The heroes of Allatoona have touched the limits of the sublime. Though their bodies are prostrate, their spirit is still erect, and that spirit is the spirit of the Army of the Tennessee. When French's division closed up about Corse's lines that October morning, and a flag of truce was sent demanding surrender, bets were exchanged among the Confederates as to whether our fellows would yield without a blow. Had they known Corse, or Tourtelotte, or Rowett, there would have been no such

bets. No odds would have made a man foolish enough to take such a bet when prostrate and bleeding Corse, "though short a cheek bone and an ear, was ready to whip all hell yet," to use his own expression. When one so tried and true, such a typical soldier, leaves us, it is fitting that a special garland should be laid upon his tomb. Permit me to contribute to that chaplet a sprig of oak for his stanch intrepidity, lilies for the stainless integrity of his manhood, roses for the warmth of his patriotism, and laurel for the victory he won: a single word for his epitaph: "Soldier;" one more upon the pedestal, "Allatoona." Were I privileged to preach his funeral oration, my text would be his words I have quoted. They are the soul of military eloquence. With such texts, and such men as Corse to back them, America need not fear a world in arms, nor does she.

Farewell, brave friend! a picked man where all were heroes: gallant, eager, single-minded and devoted; downright, hearty, generous and true; you reached the limit of the possible that day as you stood on the edge of destruction, not dizzy nor amazed, but with your soul nailed to the flag-staff of your fortress. There let it rest forever.

PROSPERITY OF DUBUQUE.—We continue to have large additions to our population. Among the numerous arrivals of emigrants, we notice in particular a company of about fifty persons from Philadelphia, the gentlemen principally mechanics, and all men of first-rate character; and the two smaller parties from Ohio, farmers and mechanics, men made of the right stuff for pioneers. Indeed, a calm observer must be struck at contemplating the business of a town only three years old. One will witness everywhere in Wisconsin, a surprising augmentation of inhabitants, and a corresponding progress in wealth and improvement, but particularly in Dubuque and Des Moines counties. History furnishes no example of such rapid advances.—*Du Buque Visitor*, June 22, 1836.



JUDGE GEO. W. WAKEFIELD,
of Sioux City

SERGEANT CHARLES FLOYD.

BY GEORGE W. WAKEFIELD.

Charles Floyd, whose remains are buried in Iowa soil, merits the attention of Iowa people, and a place in the ANNALS of the Historical Department.

President Jefferson, upon the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, at once organized an expedition, under command of Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, for its exploration. Nine young men from Kentucky volunteered and were mustered into the service of the United States for this expedition. Charles Floyd was one of the nine, and his home was in Jefferson county, Kentucky. Little is known of him outside of his service upon this expedition. He was appointed sergeant, and in the roster of Lewis and Clark's command of January 15, 1807, his record, as copied verbatim by Dr. Elliott Coues, is as follows:

5. Charles Floyd. "deceased the 20th. of August 1804—a young man of much merit—his father, who now resides in Kentucky, is a man much respected, tho' possessed of but moderate wealth. as the son lost his life while in this service I considered his father entitled to some gratuity in consideration of his loss, and also, that the deceased being noticed in this way will be a tribute but justly due his merit."

The captains kept journals of the expedition, and under their direction, seven of the men kept journals. Sergeant Floyd was one of the men who kept a journal; and his journal was lost to the public until February 3, 1894, when it was discovered by Prof. James Davie Butler, among the manuscript collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society, at Madison. A fac simile of the signature of Charles Floyd, appearing inside of the cover of his journal, is presented herewith, by permission of the Sioux City *Journal*.

Floyd's journal gives us a glance at his mental operations, and indicates that he was a careful and accurate observer. A comparison with other published journals

Chas. Floyd Bought
at River Dubois 13th March
1804

shows that he was more careful than others in noticing the condition of their arms, and setting down the hours of embarking and tying up, the nature of the current and the state of the weather. The following extracts are selected from his journal, without reproducing the peculiarities of the original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation:

A journal commenced at river Dubois, Monday May 14, 1804. Showery day. Captain Clark set out at 3 o'clock p. m. for the western expedition. The party consisted of three sergeants and thirty-eight working hands, which manned the batteau and two perogues.

Tuesday, July 31, 1804. We lay by to see the Indians, whom we expect here to see the Captains. I am very sick and have been for some time but have recovered my health again. The Indians have not come yet. This place is called Council Bluffs.

Thursday, August 2, 1804. To-day the Indians came, whom we had expected. They fired many guns when they came in sight of us, and we answered them with the cannon. They came in about two hundred yards of us. Captains Lewis and Clark met them at shaking hands. We fired another cannon.

On the 14th of August he states that the Omaha Indians have not lived at their town since the small pox was so bad four years before, when they burned their town; and the balance of this entry is given in the fac simile of part of the last page of his journal, presented herewith through the kindness of the *Sioux City Journal*:

town and only live about it in the winter and in the
 Spring go all of them in the prairie after the Buffalo and
 do not return until the fall to meet ^{the} French traders they have
 no corn nor any thing except some times they have some corn
 and then the Ottawa nation comes and cuts it down while they are
 in the prairie
 Wednesday August 15 Capt Clark and 10 of his men and
 my self went to the Makus Creek afishen and Capt 300 and
 17 fish of Defiant bands over men has not returned yet
 Thursday August 16 ^{the} Capt Lewis and 12 of his men went
 to the Creek afishen Capt 709 fish different bands

The last entry is dated August 18th; and on the following day there was a council with some of the Omaha Indians, which closed with a dance, in which, as reported by Patrick Gass, Sergeant Floyd participated; and becoming overheated, and going upon guard duty shortly afterward, he lay down on a sand bar and was soon seized with a fatal illness, growing worse until his death, August 20th.

Dr. Elliott Coues, in his recent edition of the Lewis and Clark History, in a note (p. 79) gives from the original manuscript of Captain Clark the following in substance:

Sergeant Floyd is taken very bad, all at once, with a bilious colic. We attempt to relieve him without success. And yet he grows worse. and we are much alarmed at his situation. All attention to him; Sergeant Floyd much weaker and no better; as bad as he can be; no pulse, and nothing will stay a moment on his stomach or bowels; died with a great deal of composure. Before his death he said to me, "I am going away, I want you to write me a letter." We buried him on the top of the bluff, one-half mile below a small river, to which we gave his name. He was buried with the honors of war, much lamented. A cedar post with the name, "Sergeant C. Floyd, died here the 20th of August, 1804," was fixed at the head of his grave. This man at all times gave us proofs of his firmness and determined resolution to do service to his country and honor to himself. After paying all honor to our deceased brother we camped at the mouth of Floyd's river, about thirty yards wide.

The journal of Patrick Gass says:

On the 19th a council was held with these Indians, who appeared to wish to make peace with all nations. This day Sergeant Floyd became very sick and remained so all night. He was seized with a complaint somewhat like a violent colic.

Monday, 20th. Sergeant Floyd continued very ill. We embarked early and proceeded, having fair wind and fine weather, till two o'clock, when we landed for dinner. Here Sergeant Floyd died, notwithstanding every possible effort was made by the commanding officers and other persons to save his life. We went on about a mile to high prairie hills on the north side of the river, and there interred his remains in the most decent manner our circumstances would admit; we then proceeded a mile further to a small river on the same side and encamped. Our commanding officers gave it the name of Floyd's river, to perpetuate the memory of the first man who had fallen in this important expedition.

Floyd's journal shows that they passed the mouth of Boyer river July 29th, the mouth of Soldier river August

6th, the mouth of the Little Sioux river August 8th, the grave of Omaha Chief Blackbird August 11th; and that they caught fish in Omaha Creek August 15th and 16th. The other journals show the passing of the Big Sioux river on the day following the burial of Floyd.

Floyd's river was charted on Lewis' map of 1806 and still bears his name. Floyd's grave is marked upon Clark's map of 1814 and Nicollet's of 1843, and was for many years a landmark on the Missouri river. Brackenridge mentioned it in 1811. George Catlin found the cedar post intact, and made a sketch and painting of this bluff. Nicollet visited it in 1839 and says:

We stopped before night at the foot of the bluff on which is Floyd's grave; my men replaced the signal, blown down by the winds, which marks the spot and hallows the memory of the brave sergeant who died here during Lewis and Clark's expedition.

So the memory of this place was preserved by explorers and traders until the the Indian title was extinguished by treaty and the permanent settlements of the white man began.

It was well known to the early settlers of Woodbury county and often visited by them. Thus it was that M. L. Jones of Smithland, in May, 1857, while on his way home visited the grave and found the river had so cut away the bluff that the coffin was exposed. He at once sent word to Sioux City. A committee consisting of numerous citizens promptly visited the grave, when they found that the river had already robbed it of a portion of its contents. At considerable peril they secured "the skull, lower jaw, one thigh and one shin, with quite a number of smaller bones, together with relics of the coffin." The committee took charge of the remains, and "on May 28, 1857, they were re-interred with appropriate ceremonies on the same bluff, within 200 yards of where they had formerly rested," in the presence of a large concourse of people. It was

then planned to erect a monument over the grave of Sergeant Floyd; but, like many other good purposes, the plan was not carried out.

So rested in this new grave the remains of the brave sergeant and citizen soldier through the busy years during which north-western Iowa grew from an almost unbroken wild into a wide expanse of well-tilled and productive farms; and during these years, by the operation of natural laws every distinction that marked the grave had been obliterated and its exact location lost, except as it was approximately retained in the memories of old settlers who were familiar with it in the early days.

Dr. Wm. R. Smith, who died July 1, 1894, had not forgotten the proposed monument over the sergeant's grave, for in his will he made a bequest to assist in its erection. W. P. Holman, late of Sergeant Bluffs, in his life time also contemplated making a like bequest, and had joined Dr. Smith in procuring a petition to Congress for an appropriation, signed by 780 citizens of Iowa. In the spring of 1895 the public attention at Sioux City was directed to the subject, and numbers of citizens visited the bluff to identify the exact location of the grave, but without success until May 30th, when it was discovered by John H. Charles, George Murphy and C. R. Marks. They deemed it advisable to have a larger number of interested persons present before opening the grave, and on June 6, 1895, there were present at Floyd's Bluff J. C. C. Hoskins, S. T. Davis, J. D. Hoskins, D. A. Magee, George Murphy, L. C. Sanborn, H. D. Clark, A. Groninger, A. M. Holman, L. Bates, E. R. Kirk, W. L. Joy, T. J. Stone, C. J. Holman, John H. Charles, J. P. Allison, W. B. Tredway, J. L. Follett, Jr., and C. R. Marks, most of whom had been present at the reburial in 1857. J. C. C. Hoskins was chosen president and C. R. Marks secretary of this meeting, and the secretary reported the opening of the grave as follows: "No depression of the ground

was visible, but at a place on the ridge a spot was pointed out where the dirt on the surface was light or yellow, in contrast with all the surrounding black surface earth. The top was removed for a few inches and the whole outline of a grave was plainly visible. The west end was dug into to verify the location, and the original walls of the grave in the dark colored dirt were visible as the mixed yellow and black dirt was thrown out. At a few inches below the surface, at the head and foot were found pieces of oak board about a foot long, much decayed, and at about four feet below the surface the coffin appeared, very much decayed but still in form, and the top caved in when struck with the spade. The skull and lower jaw were found at this west end in a good state of preservation, and a few other bones were at that end, but the grave was not further opened as the identification was deemed complete." It was then resolved by those present to organize the "Floyd Memorial Association," and the president and secretary, with A. M. Holman, Mitchell Vincent and George W. Wakefield, were constituted an executive committee to arrange future meetings, perfect the organization and provide for a memorial meeting on August 20, 1895. The skull was then placed in the custody of the president and secretary, to be safely kept until August 20, and those who were present at the reburial in 1857, or then knew the location of the old and new grave, fourteen in number, made and signed a formal certificate stating the facts and identifying the grave so found as "the place where now lie the remains of Sergeant Charles Floyd, the first soldier of the United States who died in the service in the new territory purchased from France." The Executive Committee held five meetings, at which Mr. Hoskins resigned and John H. Charles was chosen president; arrangements for the memorial meeting and permanent organization were furthered and completed, and the following persons added to the Executive Committee: Dr. Elliott Coues, Professor James

Davie Butler, Hon. Charles Aldrich, H. G. Burt, L. Bates, D. A. Magee and F. C. Hills. The skull and lower jaw of Sergeant Floyd were placed in an earthenware urn made for the purpose by Holman Brothers, of Sergeant Bluffs, on which was the following inscription: "Sergeant Charles Floyd. Died August 20, 1804. Re-interred May 28, 1857. Memorial services August 20, 1895." The remaining bones were placed in another urn for burial, and these urns were securely sealed up.

Measurements of the bones and skull were made by Dr. Grant J. Ross, the particulars of which are as follows:

One femur, extreme length 18 inches; one tibia, length 15 inches; one fibula, length $14\frac{1}{4}$ inches; circumference of skull $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of lower part $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; horizontal length $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; greatest length $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches; horizontal width $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches; bitemporal width $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches; frontal breadth $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; upper facial height $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches; bimalar width $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches; greatest breadth of nasal cavity $\frac{3}{4}$ inches; greatest breadth of orbit $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches; greatest width of orbit $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches; length of profile of face $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The horizontal length and width of this skull give a cephalic index of 76.66, which places it in the mesocephalic class.

The memorial meeting of August 20th, ninety-one years after the first burial, was held at the grave of 1857 on Floyd's bluff, which is situated on the south side of lot 8, in section 1, township 88 north, range 48 west.

The Sioux City and Pacific R. R. provided a special train to convey the procession to the bluff, and the meeting was largely attended. John H. Charles presided; the grave of 1857 was opened in the presence of the meeting; the remains were viewed by those present and the formal exercises were opened by an address in behalf of Sioux City by George W. Wakefield. Professor Butler was then introduced and delivered an eloquent and touching funeral oration and presented for inspection the original journal of Sergeant Floyd. Hon. George D. Perkins next spoke

on behalf of the Iowa Historical Society. The soldier's funeral exercises and honors were then given by General Hancock Post No. 22, G. A. R. of Iowa, Post Commander Eugene Rice in charge and Rev. Dr. H. D. Jenkins acting as chaplain. After this impressive ceremony Dr. Coues read an extract from Captain Clark's journal, and Dr. S. P. Yeomans, who was present at the reburial in 1857, delivered an interesting address. A number of photographs were taken, and the urns containing the remains were then deposited, the grave filled, and a large stone slab placed covering the entire grave and bearing the following inscription: "Sergeant Charles Floyd. Died August 20, 1804. Remains removed from 600 feet west and reburied at this place May 28, 1857. This stone placed August 20, 1895." The Articles of Incorporation were signed by numerous persons at the grave and in the evening resolutions were adopted and addresses delivered by Dr. Coues and Professor Butler. The Articles declare the object of the Association to be, "to commemorate the death and burial of Sergeant Charles Floyd, and the Lewis and Clark expedition, of which Sergeant Charles Floyd was a member, and for that purpose to acquire and hold necessary real estate and other property, to erect a monument," etc. All who contribute one dollar or more are members. The annual meetings are to be held August 20th, and the officers chosen for the first year are: President John H. Charles; Vice-Presidents, George W. Wakefield, Professor James D. Butler of Madison, Wis., Dr. Elliott Coues of Washington, D. C., H. G. Burt of Omaha, Neb., Mitchell Vincent of Onawa, Ia., Dr. S. P. Yeomans of Charles City, Ia., Rev. Dr. T. M. Shanefelt of Huron, S. D., Hon. Chas. Aldrich of Des Moines, Ia., W. P. Garrison of New York, Colonel W. Hancock Clark of Detroit, Mich., Hon. George D. Perkins of Sioux City, Ia., George Murphy of Sioux City, Ia., Jefferson K. Clark of New York City, Colonel

M. Lewis Clark of Louisville, Ky., Major John O'Fallon Clark of St. Louis, Mo.; Secretary, C. R. Marks; Treasurer, D. A. Magee.

So a new impetus has been given to the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of Sergeant Floyd over his remains, and the appeal is and will be made to the people of this great State, and of the Nation, to furnish the means of accomplishing this purpose at no distant day. It is the business of the present to make history, but it is also the duty of the present to see to it that the history that has been made in the past be properly preserved and the memory of those who made it perpetuated for the future. The Association appeals to the present to perform this duty for Sergeant Charles Floyd.

THE PASSING OF THE PIONEERS.

Almost before they can realize the transition those who a few short years ago constituted the strength, sovereignty and citizenship of this goodly county, find themselves a scattered remnant among the on-surgng hosts who are already upon the ground to take the place of those who fall. And while the rear guard of the receding generation are tenaciously clinging to the tenure by which they have heretofore held their places, they cannot but realize, as a melancholy fact, that their few remaining years must be spent in the midst of "a generation that knew not Joseph." Other generations may follow them who will have more in the way of luxuries, educational advantages and refinements. But there were privileges, advantages and experiences, enjoyed by the pioneers, that can never come to any succeeding generation. They had a monopoly of new country life upon the extended prairies and grand old forests of Hamilton County. Theirs was the heritage of all its primitive glories. They enjoyed many things that can never be duplicated on the same territory as long as the sun moves forward on the dial plate of civilization. But the pioneers will soon be gone. He of the snowy beard and sharp scythe is close upon their tracks.—Hon. Isaiah Doane, in *Webster City Freeman*, December 4, 1895.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

HON. J. B. GRINNELL.

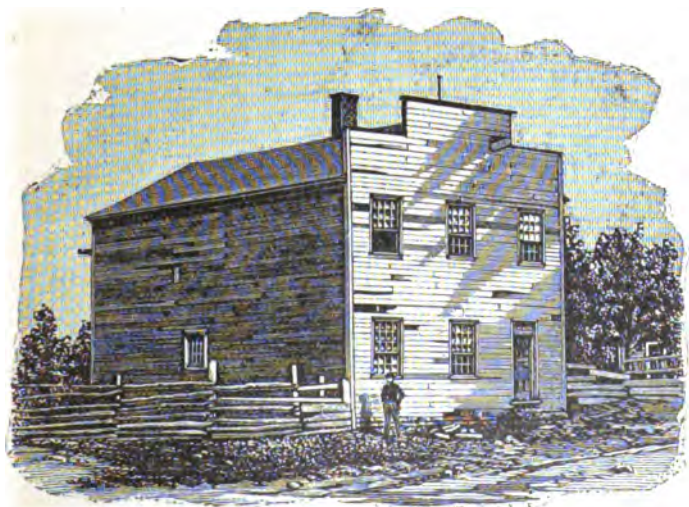
The first article in this number of THE ANNALS presents a very just estimate of the private worth and public services of this distinguished Iowan, who died March 31, 1891. It was written by Professor Leonard F. Parker, one of the leading and well-known educators of our State, the friend and associate of Mr. Grinnell more than a quarter of a century. Professor Parker still ably fills the chair of History in Iowa College, and is the author of an elaborate monograph on "Higher Education in Iowa." No man in the State knew Mr. Grinnell more intimately, and no one is better fitted to write a just estimate of the departed statesman. The life of J. B. Grinnell was filled with good works, many of which live after him. An intimate friend of Horace Greeley, and himself a ready writer, he was always a welcome contributor to the NEW YORK TRIBUNE, through which he spared no effort to apprise eastern people of the advantages presented by our young State to all home-seekers. It was often said of Mr. Grinnell that no other ten men did so much to advertise Iowa. His great topic was Iowa, and no man was better informed touching her resources and her needs. His enthusiasm in the cause of education found expression in building up Iowa College to its status during the past ten years. When it was destroyed by the great cyclone of 1882, he went to work with heroic courage to secure funds for rebuilding its ruined edifices. In this he was remarkably successful. He raised \$100,000, of which amount he was himself a liberal giver. Wherever he went he woke up the spirit of Christian

benevolence and charity. The college regained more than it lost, and it was not many months until it was in better condition than ever before. In every sphere of effort in which he labored, whether in the pulpit, in the State Legislature or in Congress, for the cause of education, or as a builder and manager of railroads, Mr. Grinnell proved himself an exceptionally able and useful man. During his last illness he wrote his recollections of men and events, which appeared in a printed book after his death. In this work, written while suffering from a most painful disease, he paid generous and kindly tributes to scores of men with whom he had been associated during his long and busy public life. All his old-time friendships seemed beautifully revived when the hand of affliction rested upon him most heavily. This book, as Professor Parker so pertinently states, is the best record of his life. It presents his autobiography from his youth to near the time of his death, and sets forth the hopes and ambitions which were the inspiration of his busy life, and makes an enduring and beautiful record of his abiding friendships. It deserves a place in all our public libraries.

A PRIMITIVE CAPITOL BUILDING.

We are apt to associate the edifice where legislative bodies meet, and Governors and Councils exercise their authority, with some degree of elegance, stability and solidity. But there was a wide departure from this ideal in the first Capitol of Wisconsin, when the region now known as Iowa formed a part of that large Territory. President Jackson approved the bill establishing the territorial government of Wisconsin, April 20, 1836. Ten days later General Henry Dodge was appointed Governor. The 9th day of September following Governor Dodge issued his proclamation, stating the number of members of the council and house of representatives that each of the six counties

was entitled to, ordering that "the first election shall be held the 2nd Monday of October next ensuing," and that the legislative assembly should convene at Belmont in the county of Iowa on the 25th day of the same month. Two of the six counties lay on the west side of the Mississippi, to wit: Des Moines and Dubuque. Dubuque elected as members of the council, John Foley, Thomas McCraney and Thomas McKnight; and to the house of representatives, Loring Wheeler, Hardin Nowlin, Hosea T. Camp, P. H. Engle and Patrick Quigley. Des Moines elected to the council Jeremiah Smith, Jr., Arthur B. Inghram and Joseph



FIRST CAPITOL OF WISCONSIN.

B. Teas; and to the house, Isaac Leffler, Thomas Blair, Warren L. Jenkins, John Box, George W. Teas, Eli Reynolds and David R. Chance. The session lasted until about the 9th day of December. It was held in a building of which we present the accompanying engraving. THE ANNALS is indebted for the use of this cut to the office of our Secretary of State. It originally appeared in one of the publications of the Wisconsin State Historical Society whence it was procured for the

"Iowa Official Record" for 1893. Its faithful representation of the ancient edifice is attested by Hon. Theo. S. Parvin of Cedar Rapids, Judge W. H. Utt* of Dubuque, and other residents of Iowa at this time. Excellent work was done by that first legislature, though the council consisted of but 13 members, and the house of representatives of but 26. Its laws fill a volume of 88 pages, and while some were of a local and temporary character and now obsolete, all seem to have been necessary at the time, and many of their wise provisions are still in force. Certainly, in the matters of education, libraries, the organization of townships and counties, location of roads, etc., etc., the work of those pioneer law-makers was well done.

This "Capitol" and the accommodations of the town were so meager that Hon. Jeremiah Smith, Jr., a member of the council, offered to erect a suitable building in Burlington, if the legislature would hold its next session at that place. This offer was accepted, provided the public buildings were not sooner completed in Madison, where the law located the permanent capitol of the Territory of Wisconsin. The next session (winter of 1837-8) was held at Burlington—the temporary capital—as well as the extra session which convened the 11th day of June, 1838. After this sudden and conspicuous elevation into the capital of the vast region then known as Wisconsin Territory, Belmont lapsed into its previous obscurity. The Cyclopedias do not even mention it, while the last edition of Lippincott's great Gazetteer gives it six lines, mentioning sundry old mounds near by, but does not even state that it was formerly the seat of the territorial government.

Hon. Hardin Nowlin, referred to above, settled at Dubuque in 1833. He was prominent as an early surveyor

*"I have several times seen the old capitol building at Belmont. The cut you give is a correct picture as it existed from 1863 to 1874 or '75. I think it is torn down now. The site of the town has long since been part of a farm." Letter of Hon. W. H. UTT to MR. C. S. BYRKIT, Jan. 24, 1895.

(aside from serving in the territorial legislatures of both Wisconsin and Iowa) and performed a large amount of work for the U. S. Land Office in N. E. Iowa. The last nineteen years of his life were spent in Waterloo, where he died at the residence of his son-in-law, Hon. H. B. Allen, Oct. 7, 1892.

WAR RELICS.

It required considerable time and effort to secure any of these desirable objects for the Historical Department. Private individuals who are in possession of such articles—received, in most cases, from some father, brother, or son, who fought for his nation's life—are at first shocked at the idea of “giving them away.” A father may wish that his sword, pistols or musket, shall descend to his son, and so remain in the family. But it is seldom that the third generation regards these objects as very precious—though there are, of course, exceptions. Too many of them are consigned to the garret or other lumber room, to be eaten up by rust, or destroyed by fire. But to us it seems far better that these objects should be presented or loaned to the State, for preservation in our beautiful Capitol—a fire proof edifice. Few can ever see such relics when retained by private persons, to say nothing of the constant risk of loss. It dignifies and ennobles the sword of a hero, when it can be said that his State guards it as one of her sacred treasures. So far as the question of safety is concerned, we believe there can be no better custodian than the State of Iowa. And then, the interest with which war-worn relics are regarded by the people ought of itself to be a sufficient reward for all such loans and gifts. Gradually, we believe, the owners of such articles throughout the State are coming to the same conclusion. The Department has received the sword and pistols—“the sword of Donelson”—of Gen. J. M. Tuttle; the swords of the two Belknaps, with the old-fashioned pistols belonging to the father; the

swords of Generals J. A. Williamson and Ed Wright; Col. Wm. T. Shaw; Col. (Gov.) W. M. Stone, and Lieut. Geo. Wilson of the Blackhawk war. Quite a number of others have been promised to the Department and will doubtless come in ere long. Among the commissions, letters and papers, thus far secured are those of Generals G. M. Dodge, William W. Belknap, James A. Williamson and James M. Tuttle.

The Department has also obtained a small collection of rifles, muskets, carbines, pistols, sabers, projectiles, an ancient Mexican swivel gun, etc., by purchase from the Rock Island Arsenal; and by act of Congress, (the passage of which was secured by U. S. Senator W. B. Allison and Representative J. A. T. Hull), two 100-pounder Parrott rifles and a 13-inch mortar. This last item with its carriage weighs 22,000 lbs. Its "record" is about as good as one could be made, for it was used in the bombardment of Forts St. Philip and Jackson below New Orleans, in the siege of Vicksburg, and in several minor engagements. The Parrott rifles were mounted on vessels of war and in use during the rebellion.

When the Confederate arsenal at Selma, Alabama, was broken up after the rebellion, some of the war material was brought to the Arsenal, at Rock Island, Ills., where it has remained until very recently. Among this was a lot of cannon primers, some of which were imported from England, as the manufacturer's name in London attests. They doubtless "ran the blockade." One parcel of these primers was put up "in Dixie," and shows the straits to which the confederates were reduced for wrapping paper. The outer covering is a leaf from the New Testament—being portions of the 9th and 10th chapters of Romans. A few of these items have reached the Historical Department, through the courtesy of Col. A. R. Buffington, who is in command at Rock Island.

These are all interesting souvenirs of the great Civil War.

PRESENTATION OF THE PORTRAIT OF EDWIN MANNING.

DES MOINES, IOWA, September 14, 1895.

MY DEAR SIR:—Largely through your active labors and influence, inspired thereto by a love of the State and a desire to preserve its valuable history, we have in your growing and much-prized Department, and other rooms of our beautiful Capitol, the likenesses of most, if not all our early governors and judges, those filling places in other executive departments, as well as eminent legislators and others. To-day, on behalf of his family and many friends, I ask you to accept the likeness of an old representative, not so much of official life, as of the largest business interests of our great State—a pioneer merchant, banker, and farmer, who has nobly and intelligently aided Iowa in her marvelous growth and development, and who, in turn, admits how much Iowa has done for him.

Edwin Manning, a native of Connecticut, almost eighty-six years of age, was a few years a resident of Pennsylvania, coming, however, to Iowa in 1837, settling in that oft-spoken of, "historic county, Van Buren," (and at Keosauqua), where he has since continuously resided, bringing up a large family, and more prominently connected, perhaps, with every material, educational, and religious interest of that county, if not of the south east and other parts of Iowa, than any other man now living. The only official position he ever held was Commissioner of the Des Moines River Improvement, (1856-9), and yet it is proper to say that, without his asking, his name has been more than once prominently mentioned in connection with local representative positions, and also for Governor and member of Congress. He, however, never sought nor desired political preferment, preferring the quiet of his excellent family and that business life for which he always had pre-eminent aptitude.

The life of Mr. Manning has been far from common. Starting a poor boy, for almost sixty years he has continued in the small place where he settled, and of which he was one of the proprietors, content to enjoy an elegant home, surrounded by old friends, going to his daily work at store, bank, or farm, often to each or all daily, working in all capacities most laboriously, giving liberally, and yet as a rule without the knowledge of any other than himself and good wife, to the poor, as also to churches and educational institutions, accumulating a fortune hardly equalled by any other in the state, content to be the leading business man of his locality, a fitting and accredited representative of the pioneer men of this great State. Such a man may not be entitled to wear medals, or have his merits heralded as a public official, or acquire prominence in politics, and yet is worthy of the highest place when we come to write our history. Simple and unostentatious in manners, he is a striking example that "potentates are not necessarily found in cabinets," but often rather in the humble and active walks of life. And hence the appropriateness of having this faithful portrait, made in

his old age, among those who labored in our upbuilding, and whose examples are worthy of imitation by those to succeed us. I therefore most respectfully ask you to accept and care for it. I am,

Yours very truly,

GEO. G. WRIGHT.

CHARLES ALDRICH, Esq.

The above letter by Ex-Chief Justice Wright was accompanied by a fine portrait in oil, from the easel of John Mulvany, of Hon. Edwin Manning. This valuable gift by Mr. Manning's family now hangs in the Historical Department.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE EXPEDITIONS OF ZEBULON MONTGOMERY PIKE, To Headwaters of the Mississippi River, Through Louisiana Territory, and in New Spain, during the years 1805-6-7. A New Edition, now first reprinted in full from the original of 1810, with copious critical commentary, memoir of Pike, new map and other illustrations, and complete index, by Elliott Coues. New York; Francis P. Harper, 1895.

It will be remembered by our readers that Dr. Coues brought out in 1893, a superb edition of the Expedition of Lewis and Clark. The present work follows almost as a natural consequence. For the task of editing these great and quite unique records of early western explorations, no other man in this country is so well equipped. We have, however, heretofore spoken of his high qualifications for this work which has been a labor of love on his part. He has himself been over the ground traversed by our early explorers. But when he determined to prepare new editions of their works he again visited much of the same territory, becoming so intimately acquainted with their several routes that he was able to identify the precise localities of most of their camping places. Added to his extensive knowledge Dr. Coues entered upon his work in a spirit of the highest enthusiasm. If a point which he wished to establish was in any way obscure, he spared neither time, effort nor expense to learn the exact truth. He spent several weeks in 1894 in tracing out that intricate labyrinth known as the headwaters of the Mississippi—following the footsteps of Pike, up and around, until he reached the very source of the great Father of Waters—verifying and amplifying the records of that expedition as well as those of J. V. Brower, and other reliable explorers. Really, such painstaking editorial work is but seldom seen. It is so rare as to be altogether exceptional. The consequence is, that we now have editions of these early Travels to which it would seem that very little, if anything, can be added in the future. By extracts from original documents, references to many volumes of later date, among which were histories of Iowa counties, and copious notes of his own, he has more than doubled the text of the first editions. In many instances in which officers or soldiers are named he has recorded their history from their entry into the military service to the end of their lives, giving them due credit for their services to their country, thus keeping their memory green for all time. These volumes to casual examination might seem overburdened with annotations, but every note conveys information illustrative of the text, or adding to our knowledge of western life and history. "Pike's Expeditions" becomes quite an important Iowa book, from the fact that he traveled all the way by the Mississippi river, meeting parties of Indians, and visiting their camps or towns and recording his observations and experiences in advance of all other explorers. Upon all this the wide and exact knowledge of his present editor throws a flood

of light. This work like its predecessor, is accompanied by a copious analytical index, map, portrait of the explorer, and other illustrations. So well has the editor performed his task, that we shall look in vain for books of travel and exploration approaching it in completeness.* With such a measure of success already achieved, Dr. Coues should not rest from his useful labors until he has given the benefit of his knowledge and experience to preparing like editions of several other volumes of western exploration. Then he should crown his useful life with an account of his own experiences in camp and field, and of the great survey with which he was long and usefully connected. We will only add that the present edition of each of these works is limited to a thousand copies, and that the opportunity of securing them will speedily pass away.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. Board of Editors: George B. Adams, John Bach McMaster, Albert Bushnell Hart, William M. Sloane, Harry Pratt Judson, H. Morse Stephens. Managing Editor: J. Franklin Jameson. Issued Quarterly. Vol. I. No. I. October, 1895. New York and London: Macmillan Company. \$3 per year.

While but one number of this work has been issued, its typographical appearance is so fine, its board of editors so distinguished for their historical writings and researches, and its articles of such high and permanent value, that it has met with most cordial welcome from the leading scholars and editors of this country. Much was anticipated when its appearance was announced under such auspices, but this first number happily met every expectation. It starts out with the highest promise, and in the hands of the great house of the Macmillans is sure of an audience of scholars and book worms in all English-speaking countries. Their imprint is a guaranty of the highest excellence. Of the 208 pages 87 are given to the following historical articles: "History and Democracy," by William M. Sloane; "The Party of the Loyalists in the American Revolution," by Moses Coit Tyler; "The First Castilian Inquisition," by Henry C. Lea; "Count Edward de Crillon," by Henry Adams; and "Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era," by Frederick J. Turner. Original, unpublished documents fill 14 pages, signed reviews of historical works 86 pages, the remaining 14 being devoted to "Notes and News." The article which has attracted most attention is that of Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, on "The Party of the Loyalists of the American Revolution." Every person whose memory goes back fifty years or more will recall the bitter obloquy heaped upon the "Tories" of Revolutionary times—those who doubted the wisdom of separating from the mother country. No words of execration seemed bitter enough to express the popular contempt and detestation in which they were held. "Even yet," says Prof. Tyler, "In this last decade of the nineteenth century, it is by no means easy for Americans * * * to take a disinterested attitude, that is, a historical one, towards those Americans who thought and fought against the Revolution." He believes that "a solid century * * * should be a refrigerator for over-heated political emotion," and that the time has arrived when history can deal fairly and justly by that maligned and misrepresented class. The "Tories" included at least one-third of the people—a number so vast that it "can hardly deserve longer to be turned out of court in so summary and contemptuous a fashion as that in which it has

* A brief account of "Pike's Explorations" may be found in Vol. I of this series of *THE ANNALS*, pp. 531-536. In No. 4 of the present volume, pp. 20-31, we present the notes of the editor on his visit to the headwaters of the Mississippi, from advance sheets of the work.

been commonly disposed of by American writers." "Hardly have we known, seldom have we been reminded, that the side of the Loyalists, as they called themselves, of the Tories as they were scornfully nicknamed by their opponents, was even in argument not a weak one, and in motive and sentiment not a base one, and in devotion and self-sacrifice not an unheroic one." The article, which is an elaboration of these facts, is a very able one and has been the subject of wide and favorable comment.

Since the foregoing was written we have received the January number of this admirable work, which bears out all that has been said in its praise by the American press. In its broad and beautiful pages are appearing articles of the highest merit and importance, and its survey of the field of History gives its readers the amplest information touching everything that is transpiring in the direction of news, investigations and publications. It takes its place at once as the highest current and standard authority in this country.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

The veteran lawmaker, DANIEL F. MILLER, of Lee County, who died December 9th at the home of his daughter in Omaha, had long been known as one of the most notable of our pioneers. Tall and commanding in figure, with white hair falling nearly to his shoulders, a massive forehead and eagle eye, walking erect as in his youthful days, his keen intellect well preserved at eighty years of age, he was a stalwart representative of the founders of this great State. He was born in Maryland, October 4th, 1814. At an early age he began the study of law, and in April, 1839, came to the newly organized Territory of Iowa. In politics he was a Whig, and soon made his mark as a lawyer and public speaker. In 1840 he was elected representative in the third territorial Legislature, and fifty-four years later was again chosen to represent his county in the House. He was nominated in 1848 by the Whigs of the first district for Member of Congress. His Democratic competitor was Col. Wm. Thompson, familiarly known as "Black Bill Thompson." He entered into the contest with great vigor, reducing Thompson's majority from 544 of the year before to 386. Mr. Miller contested the election, and upon investigation Congress decided that Thompson was not elected, but refused to award the seat to Mr. Miller, whereupon a special election was held to fill the vacancy. Thompson and Miller were again nominated by their respective parties, and after an exciting contest Miller was elected by a majority of 632, and became the first Whig Congressman from Iowa. He had done an act of charity to an old and destitute Mormon which so pleased that people that they voted for him to a man. Although born and raised in a slave state, he was an anti-slavery man, and when the Republican party was organized was chosen by its first State Convention held at Iowa City in 1856, as one of the candidates for presidential elector. He was one of those who cast the vote of Iowa for Fremont for President. In 1860 he became an independent candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court, receiving the support of the Democrats, but was defeated by Judge Wright, the Republican candidate. From this time to the close of his life he acted with the Democratic party. He was always an able and independent advocate of most of the reform measures of his times. He had in early life worked for the abolition of slavery and imprisonment for debt, and later for prohibition of the liquor traffic, the granting of suffrage to women, and pensions to all Union soldiers who served through the war. He

was actively engaged in the practice of law for more than half a century, and a lawyer of unusual ability. It is stated that he was employed as counsel in no less than forty-five murder trials, winning all but two of them. He found time to write a work on rhetoric which became a school text book, and did a large amount of literary work at various times. Daniel F. Miller was among the last of our pioneer statesmen whose residence and services dated back to early territorial days. The work of a long and useful life was given to the up-building of the State which he loved so well. He was in public life with Webster, Clay, Calhoun and Benton, with Jones and Dodge of our own State, and lived in Iowa from the administration of its first territorial Governor, Robert Lucas, up to that of the present Governor, Frank D. Jackson. During his life within its borders Iowa grew from a frontier wilderness to one of the most progressive, productive, and influential members of the Union, and it owes not a little of its wonderful development to the untiring labor, wisdom, and influence for good of such honored pioneers as Daniel F. Miller and his co-workers.

GENERAL ED WRIGHT died in Des Moines, Dec. 6th. He was born near Salem, Ohio, June 27, 1827. He received a common school education, and in 1848 married Miss Martha Thompson. The young couple moved to Cedar County, Iowa, in 1852, making their home in a Quaker settlement of John Brown fame, not far from Springdale. When a convention was called by the anti-slavery people of the State to organize a new party in 1856, Ed Wright was one of the delegates from Cedar county. That convention put the first Republican ticket in the field, and chose delegates to the first National Republican Convention, which nominated Fremont for President. The next fall he was elected representative from Cedar County in the last Legislature which met in Iowa City. He was re-elected in 1857, and served in the first Legislature which convened in Des Moines. When the war of the rebellion broke out, he assisted in organizing the 24th regiment, of which he was commissioned Major. He made an excellent officer, taking part in some of the bloodiest battles around Vicksburg. He was also in General Banks' disastrous Red River Expedition, and with Sheridan in his brilliant campaign through the Shenandoah Valley. He was several times wounded in battle, and was promoted successively to Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel, and brevet Brigadier General. At the close of the war he returned to his Cedar county farm, and at the next election was again sent to the Legislature, and chosen speaker of the House. In 1866 he was elected Secretary of State, twice re-elected, serving six years with great efficiency. In 1873, when work was begun on the new State House, he was chosen secretary of the commissioners charged with its construction, and soon after became assistant superintendent of the work. He proved to be the right man for the place, carefully guarding the interests of the State in all the details for the erection of the new capitol. After its completion he was made custodian of the building, holding that position until 1890. No public official served the State with more fidelity than General Wright. His work was done intelligently and with a scrupulous care for the public interest. He won the confidence and esteem of all who knew him. Few men in public life have made so many friends, or so few enemies.

Mrs. CAROLINE V. CLARKE, an old-time resident of Iowa City, died at her home in Washington, August 22nd. She was the wife of Hon. William Penn Clarke, a prominent pioneer of Iowa, one of the framers of the present constitution of our State, and many years reporter of the Supreme Court.

FAYETTE PROCTOR DUNGAN, only son of Lieut. Governor Dungan, died Sept. 9th in Chicago, at the early age of 35. He was born in Chariton and grew to manhood there, learning the printing business in the newspaper offices of that town. When G. H. Ragsdale of *The Chariton Patriot*, was elected State Printer, Fayette, who was employed in his office, came to Des Moines and took a responsible place in the new establishment. Some time later he went to Omaha and was for several years employed on *The Bee*. A few years ago he accepted a position on *The Chicago Journal*, having charge of the advertising department. He proved to be a most valuable man and was doing excellent service and winning a high place in that branch of newspaper work, when he was stricken down by the fatal malady which terminated his life.

CAPTAIN J. W. LUKE, chairman of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, died at his home in Hampton, December 20th. He was born in Albany county, N. Y., in March, 1840. His parents removed to Illinois when he was a school boy. In 1861 he enlisted in the 15th Illinois Infantry, serving through the war. He was wounded at the battle of Shiloh, and afterwards promoted to Captain of his company. After the war he studied law and entered upon its practice at Galena. He came to Iowa in 1881, settling at Hampton. In 1885 he was elected a representative in the Legislature. He was re-elected in 1887, and was one of the leading members of the House. He was elected Railroad Commissioner in 1890, and re-elected in 1893. A faithful and efficient public servant, he was highly esteemed by all who knew him.

JOHN GARAGHTY, a well known pioneer of Fort Dodge, died in Kansas, July 3rd. He was born at Lancaster, Ohio, in 1811. He was admitted to the bar in 1835, and in 1836 married Rachel A. Clark, a niece of Hon. Thomas Ewing. They removed to the new frontier town of Fort Dodge, Iowa, in 1855, where Mr. Garaghty entered upon the practice of his profession. He was was one of the founders of the Catholic church and school at that place. Governor C. C. Carpenter writes of Mr. Garaghty: "He was a playmate and boyhood friend of General Sherman and John Sherman. He was a poet and well-read lawyer, but lacked the aggressive force necessary to fight his way in the court room. But in the preparation of cases and orderly arrangement of papers, he had no superior at the bar. He was devoted to his family, loved his church, was a true patriot and an honest man."

MRS. ELIZABETH S. HENN died at Fairfield August 7th. She was born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1820, and when a young girl came to Burlington, Iowa, with an uncle. Here she grew to womanhood and was married to Bernhardt Henn at the home of General A. C. Dodge, August 6, 1841. Her husband was elected to Congress in 1849, serving four years. Mrs. Henn was in her earlier days a leader in society and charitable work in Burlington. She was one of the founders of the public library at Fairfield, having made the first subscription for its establishment. The prominence of her husband in early Iowa history and politics together with her own fine personal qualities, gave Mrs. Henn a state-wide acquaintance.

ELIAS JESSUP, who died in California, December 14th, was a prominent member of our State Senate, 1874-8. He was nominated for Governor by the Prohibition party in 1877, receiving about 10,000 votes. He removed to Oregon in 1880 and two years later was elected to the Senate of that State. He settled in California in 1887.

THE VERY REVEREND ANDREW TREVIS, V. G., died at Mercy Hospital, Davenport, November 3, at the age of 70 years and 3 months. He was born in France, and educated in seminary and college for the Catholic priesthood. Rt. Rev. Matthias Loras, the first Catholic Bishop of Dubuque, had returned to France in 1849, in the hope of bringing back a number of young priests to aid him in his field of labor, which included the early settlements along the Mississippi and 30,000 Indians in Minnesota. Young Trevis volunteered for the work, and reached this country the following spring. From that time until his death he was an earnest worker for his church, distinguished for his benevolence and Christian charity. During this long period he re-visited his native country, spending some time there in church work. He was several years ago chosen Vicar General of the Diocese, which position he held at the time of his death, being closely associated with Bishop Cosgrove. The *Democrat* and *Leader* of Davenport both paid the highest tributes to the memory of the aged priest.

WILLIAM H. HOLMES who died in Neligh, Nebraska, on the 13th of December, was for many years a prominent state official in Iowa. He was a native of the state of New York where he was born in 1828. He came to Iowa in 1851, settling on a farm near Wyoming, Jones County. In 1861 he was elected to the State Senate for the full term of four years. Upon the organization of the Senate, in 1862, he was made chairman of the committee of Ways and Means. At the next election he was chosen State Treasurer, and re-elected, serving four years. In 1865 he was one of the Trustees of the State Agricultural College, and President of the Board. He removed to Nebraska many years ago.

The recent death at Washington D. C. of RICHARD H. SYLVESTER, removes one of the most vigorous and graceful writers of early Iowa. Mr. Sylvester settled at Iowa City in 1854. He became one of the editors of the old *Capital Reporter*, then the leading Democratic paper in Iowa. On this paper he did most effective work for his party, the Capital city, and the State, for six years, attaining high rank as an editor and most accomplished political writer. Though not a public speaker, he was yet one of the influential leaders of his party. He was affable, genial, and popular, making friends everywhere. His political writing was never marred by personal abuse, and many of his warmest friends were his political opponents. He removed to Washington many years ago, and was an editorial writer on the daily *Post* of that city, up to the time of his death.

DR. G. M. STAPLES one of our most eminent physicians and surgeons, died at Dubuque, September 7th, at the age of 68. He came to Iowa in 1856, settling at Dubuque, where he at once entered upon his life-work as a physician. In November, 1861, he was commissioned Surgeon of the 14th Iowa, commanded by Colonel William T. Shaw. He did excellent service at the battles of Fort Donelson, Shiloh, and in the disastrous Red River campaign. He was promoted to medical director, with the rank of Lt. Colonel. After the war, he returned to Dubuque where he acquired the largest practice of any physician in Iowa. He was an able writer and contributed numerous valuable papers to the leading medical journals of the country.

J. H. WARREN, one of the pioneer editors of Kossuth County, died in September last at the home of his son in Algona. He became editor of the *Upper Des Moines* in 1866, remaining with the paper until 1875. He afterwards established the *West Bend Tribune* in Palo Alto County. Some years later he removed to South Dakota and founded the *Spearfish Mail*, which he was editing up to the time of his death. He was a writer of vigorous English, and seemed to enjoy the hard work, unconventional freedom, and moderate pecuniary rewards of frontier life. He was 75 years of age at the time of his death.

JOEL P. DAVIS, who died in this city Dec. 20, was an old-time abolitionist. He was also during his long and useful life an uncompromising advocate of temperance and woman's suffrage. In these reforms he was an earnest worker from boyhood, never flinching from considerations of policy, and never intimidated by opposition. He was born in Ohio in 1822, coming here in 1860. He was one of the founders of the Unitarian church in Des Moines, of which he was a highly esteemed member.

B. F. G.

POSTSCRIPT.

An unavoidable delay in issuing this number of *THE ANNALS* enables us to make brief reference to Ex-Chief Justice George G. Wright, who died in this city on the 11th day of this month (Jan. 1896) in his 76th year. He had from the first interested himself very greatly in the success of the Historical Department and this magazine. Among other things he was instrumental in procuring a fine oil portrait of his friend, Hon. Edwin Manning. This he had presented, accompanying the gift with the letter printed on pages 321-22. On Monday afternoon, the 6th inst., just before he left his office for the last time, the writer called upon him with the proof-sheet of this letter, upon which he made slight corrections. He did not again leave his home. His protracted ill health ended his life five days later. At our suggestion he had written his recollections of many leading men in early Iowa, one of which is in our hands for publication. The others will doubtless be given to the press in due time. We hope to publish in an early number of *THE ANNALS* a just tribute to his useful, honored and beautiful life, from the pen of one who knew him long and well.

THIRD SERIES.

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APRIL, 1896.

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DES MOINES, IOWA.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

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M. M. Hare

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. II. No. 5. DES MOINES, IOWA, APRIL, 1896. THIRD SERIES.

THE FIRST WHITE MAN IN IOWA.

BY HON. M. M. HAM.

The first white man who lived in what is now the state of Iowa, was Julien Dubuque. He came to the lead mines in the year 1788, and continued to reside there until his death in 1810. He was but 26 years of age when he came here, and was only 48 years of age at the time of his death, a comparatively young man. He was never married; he possessed a good education; was a sharp, shrewd, intelligent man; evidently a keen reader of human nature; a natural leader among those with whom he was associated; and altogether a not unworthy founder of the great state in which he was the first to cast his fortunes. The first thing that impresses one who attempts to study his life is, how little is known of him. As for records, there are practically none; and even the traditions are not only vague, but scarce and of little value. This comes in part from the fact that he left no family, no connections, no papers, no business relations, none of those things that usually keep alive the memory of a man. But little is really known of Dubuque, and even what little there is has never been sifted out from the rubbish, and put in shape

for preservation. So far as I am aware, no one has ever attempted a sketch of his life, even of the most meager proportions. Within the past year I have gathered together a number of facts about him not generally known, and it may not be entirely without interest to group them together in a connected manner. It is a fact that some of the plainest facts about him are still matters of dispute among the people who dwell in the city which bears his name, and who would naturally be thought to know the most of him: whether he was a native of France or of Canada; whether he spelled his name Dubuque or Du Buque; whether he had one or more Indian wives and children, or none at all; and whether at his death he left a large estate, or a small one, or none. It is believed that such facts as are herein presented are entirely reliable, and can be substantiated by proper authorities.

Julien Dubuque was born in the village of St. Pierre les Brecquets, county of Nicolet, on the south bank of the St. Lawrence river, about fifty or sixty miles above Quebec. He was of Norman origin; and the records show that his ancestry spelled the name variously as Dubuc, Dubucq and Dubuque; but he himself always adhered strictly to the latter form. His great grandfather, Jean Dubuque, came from the parish of Trinity, diocese of Rouen, France, and was married to Marie Hotot at Quebec in 1668. His son, Romain, was born in 1671, and was married to Anne Pinel in 1693. His son, Noel Augustin, the father of Julien, was born in 1707, was married to Marie Mailhot in 1744, and died in 1783, about the time his son left home for the west. Meanwhile, the Dubuque family had removed from Quebec to the district of Three Rivers, where Julien was born in the village and county named, on the 10th of January, 1762. He was well educated for those days, probably in the parish schools and at Sorel, and was always able to express himself intelligently and even fluently both by speech and in writing.

He early turned his thoughts and soon his steps to the west. As early as 1785, when only 23 years old, he was established at Prairie du Chien. He was soon engaged in trade with the Indians across the river, at or near where McGregor is now situated, along with Basil Giard and Pierre Antaya. More than twenty years after this, in the year 1808, Dubuque presented a claim to the United States government for 7,056 acres of land where he had traded in 1785, and where McGregor is now situated. He claimed that he had bought this land in May, 1805, from Francois Cayolle, who had obtained a grant for the same from Don Carlos Dehant Delassus, Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana. He brought two witnesses who affirmed that Cayolle had cultivated this Clayton county land for many years; but the government commissioners, to whom claims of this character were referred, promptly threw it out and refused to recognize it.

It is a rather remarkable fact that of all Dubuque's French Canadian companions, the name of Basil Giard is the only one preserved in all this section, so far as I am aware. One of the townships of Clayton county adjoining McGregor, is named Giard. After Dubuque obtained his concession from the Indians in 1788 to the lead mines, he immediately removed here, and took with him as laborers ten Canadians who resided at the mines with him until his death. But, so far as I know, the name of no one of them is preserved either in the geography of this section or in any of the old families. It is probable that some of these were persons who signed his Indian contract as witnesses in 1788, as Teren, Quirneau, Fontigny, Antaque, and afterwards the witnesses to his alleged purchase from Cayolle. Bellisime and Perrant. Col. Forsyth, who established Fort Snelling in 1819, mentions an interpreter by the name of Lucie, who was absent from Canada for more than twenty-five years, and spent a good share of this time in the lead mines as an employe of Dubuque. None of these

names are preserved in any way in this section, although among the oldest families are many of French names, but these for the most part seem to have come originally from Missouri. Dubuque's white companions were all driven away from the mines immediately after his death; and if any of them had married Indian wives these latter with their half-breed children staid with the Indians, and must have gone with them when they abandoned the mines in 1828. The children, if any, went with the savages, instead of the whites; and at least never made any claim to property hereabouts acquired through their Canadian fathers.

Dubuque obtained a valuable concession from the Fox Indians, giving him the sole right to work the lead mines. This was obtained from the Fox chiefs and braves at a council held at Prairie du Chien, and signed on the 22nd of September, 1788. It is probable that Dubuque had visited the lead mines after his arrival at Prairie du Chien in 1785; and with his usual shrewdness appreciated the full value of the important concession. The Foxes, from whom he obtained the grant, were originally a powerful tribe in Canada, but were always turbulent, quarrelsome, and at war with their neighbors. They had been driven first to the vicinity of Mackinaw, afterwards to Green Bay and along the Fox river that bears their name, and finally at the time of the advent of Dubuque, they were settled along both banks of the Mississippi between Prairie du Chien and the Rock River. Their principal villages were two at Rock Island, one at Dubuque, and one at the mouth of the Turkey river. Of these the village at Dubuque was one of the largest, consisting of fourteen lodges and one hundred and fifty souls. When Schoolcraft, the celebrated explorer among the Indians, visited the village in 1820, he said the village consisted of nineteen lodges built in two rows, pretty compact, and had a population of two hundred and fifty souls. He also summed up the

character of the Foxes in a single sentence, when he said: "They still retain their ancient character, and are constantly embroiled in wars and disputes with their neighbors, the results of which show that they have more courage in battle than wisdom in council." In 1788 they did not have, all told, over one hundred warriors.

These were the men with whom Dubuque was to pass the rest of his life. After the treaty was signed in 1788, he removed at once to the mines, taking with him ten Canadian followers, full of adventure and spirit as he was himself. He established himself at the Indian village, called the village of the Kettle Chief, from the name of its principal man. Dubuque himself was known among the Indians as Little Cloud. This village was at the mouth of the Catfish creek, called by some of the early explorers the Black river, where it empties into the Mississippi. The point is well known. It is about two miles below the present city, and now is an open field without a single resident upon it. It is just at the southern limits of the incorporation, just below the valley where the Illinois Central Railroad turns west from the river, and its front street along the Indian lodges is now traversed by the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad on its way down the right bank of the river. It is a curious fact that Julien Dubuque never lived on the site of the town which bears his name. He often traversed it, in going back and forth to his mines, some of which were included within the present limits of the city, and especially the famous Peosta mine. But Dubuque himself always made his home at the mouth of the Catfish, at the Fox village of the Kettle Chief. He made improvements upon the land, cleared a farm, built fences, constructed a house for his own use, as well as a horse-mill, dug lead, and erected a smelting furnace on the north side of the point now known as the Dubuque Bluff, on which he was buried, and which furnace was alongside of the present Illinois Central track, and

close by the Lorimier furnace well known to all the early settlers.

Dubuque acquired great influence among the Indians, as great, in fact, it is believed, as was ever possessed by any white man who ever lived among them. He made himself familiar with all their superstitions, and it must be acknowledged that he did not hesitate by means of ingenious artifices and what he called magic conjurations, to impose upon them to such an extent that he became to them a veritable idol, and his ascendancy over them exceeded that of their own sorcerers and medicine men. He claimed to possess an antidote for the bite of poisonous snakes, and handled them without fear. One of the local traditions about him is that on a certain occasion when he had got into some controversy with the Indians, and they were not disposed to concede his demand, he threatened if they did not he would set the Catfish on fire! He had one of his men empty a lot of oil into the river above the bend, and by the time it had floated down to the village he applied some fire, and away went the whole surface of the stream in a big blaze. This terrified the Indians, and they at once conceded to such a great magician all he asked, and more too. It is certain that he acquired a tremendous influence with them, however obtained, and he exercised it to his own advantage throughout his life. At the same time, he was just to them, deciding their disputes with fairness and justice, or he would soon have lost his power. His influence extended both to the Winnebagoes on the east side of the river, and to the Foxes on the west side, and as a result their disputes were largely referred to him for settlement, and from his decision they took no appeal.

His life during the twenty-two years he resided among the Indians was for the most part uneventful. He was a trader and miner. He sold goods, trinkets, beads, and such things as the Indian taste craved; and at the same time con-

ducted his mining operations, exchanging his goods for mineral. His ten white companions were teamsters, overseers of the mines, smelters, helpers in the store, woodsmen, and river men. The mining was done entirely by the old men and women among the Indians, the warriors and young men considering it beneath them. The work at the diggings was of the most primitive character. No shafts were sunk, and the windlass and bucket were unknown. They ran drifts into the hills as far as they could conveniently go, and brought the mineral out in baskets, in which they took it to the smelting furnace. They employed the hoe, the shovel, the crowbar, and the pickaxe, but no gunpowder.

Twice a year Dubuque went to St. Louis with his mineral, which he exchanged for goods for his Indian trade. It would take two or three of his boats to carry the heavy loads, and of course several of his Frenchmen to man them. Sometimes he was accompanied by the chiefs and great warriors. His arrival in St. Louis, usually in the spring and fall, was a great event in that frontier village, and he was treated with distinguished consideration by the leading men of the town, for he was one of the great traders from up the country. Up to a few years ago there were two aged men living in this vicinity, Thomas McKnight of Dubuque, and James G. Soulard of Galena, who recollected distinctly of seeing and conversing with M. Dubuque in St. Louis, when they were boys. Mr. McKnight at the time was a clerk in Chouteau's store, where Dubuque did most of his trading; and Mr. Soulard was the son of a prominent citizen of the place. Mr. Soulard told the writer once that he recalled Dubuque very distinctly. He described him as a man below the usual stature, of black hair and eyes, wiry and well built, capable of great endurance, and remarkably courteous and polite, with all the suavity and grace of the typical Frenchman. To the ladies he was always the essence of polite-

ness. Mr. Soulard said he well remembered that on the occasion of one of his visits, a ball was given in his honor, attended by all the prominent people of the place. It was held in a public hall, in the second story of a building, and he as a small boy had crowded in to see the sights. At one point of the festivities, M. Dubuque took a violin from one of the performers, and executed a dance to the strains of his own music, which was considered a great accomplishment, and was received with tremendous applause.

But with all his business activity, Indian trading and monopoly of the mining, he was not a successful business man. The Chouteaus evidently could drive a better bargain than he; so that in October, 1804, he conveyed to Auguste Chouteau seven-sixteenths of all the great tract of land that he claimed to own, with a provision that at his death all the balance should go to Chouteau. His affairs, instead of improving, grew no better, so that at the time of his death in 1810 he was pronounced a bankrupt, and entailed a long, expensive and vexatious litigation upon those who were to come after him.

This lawsuit in its day was one of the most celebrated in the whole United States, because it involved the title to all the land in an entire city, and its terrors are well remembered by all early settlers. It was the only legacy Dubuque left the people who were to come after him, except his name. He made claim to all the land not only where the city stands, but for seven leagues up and down the west bank of the Mississippi river and for three leagues back. This is a distance of twenty miles in length and nine miles deep; and included all the lead mines, all the farms and homes of the people settled upon it. It was a source of great vexation and annoyance, and so continued for twenty-three years after the first settlement, and until it was finally settled by a decision of the supreme court of the United States in 1853, in favor of the settlers and against the Dubuque claim.

Without entering too much into detail and a recital of legal complications, the main facts of the claim may be briefly given. On the 22nd of Sept., 1788, Dubuque, then a young man, obtained from "a council of the chiefs and braves of the Fox Indians," as they describe themselves, a permit or concession to mine for lead at this point. This instrument, in French, is still in existence. The council was held at Prairie du Chien, where Dubuque resided for three years. Being a shrewd man he appreciated the value of the mines. He afterwards claimed that he paid the Indians full value in goods at the time; but, if so, nothing is said of it in the written document. The Indians always claimed that it was simply a permit to mine, and as soon as Dubuque had died they drove off all his white companions.

After he had resided here for eight years, he came to believe that this permit to mine was in fact a full transfer to him of all the realty—a deed, and not a permit. Accordingly in October, 1796, he presented to the Baron de Carondelet, governor of the territory of Louisiana, at New Orleans, a petition asking him to confirm to him the title to all the domain he had received from the Indians. In this petition he sets forth his claims, but they include many things not mentioned in the council with the Indians. He says he "bought the tract of land;" that it was a tract of seven leagues up and down the river by three leagues back, "from the margin of the little river Maquanquitoris to the margin of the Mesquabysnonquis," names of streams emptying into the Mississippi on the west, the former now known as the Little Maquoketa, and the latter the Tete des Morts, and about twenty miles apart. In the petition he refers to himself in a modest manner: calls the tract "the Mines of Spain," in memory of the government represented by Carondelet; and ends up with flattering allusions to his excellency and to his good health, all of which shows that Dubuque was not only shrewd, but a diplomatist of no mean ability. These two documents and their proper legal

interpretation furnished the entire basis of the great suit. The question with which commissioners, congresses, cabinets, and courts had to contend for forty-eight years was this. —Was the grant which Carondelet confirmed to Dubuque in 1796, a complete title, making the land private property, and therefore exempt from the territory of Louisiana conveyed to the United States by the treaty of Paris, on the 30th of April, 1803? The supreme court said, "No."

In the course of time Dubuque became largely indebted to Chouteau; and being pressed for a settlement, in October, 1804, conveyed to Auguste Chouteau of St. Louis, seven undivided sixteenth parts of this body of land, said to be about 73,324 acres. It was also provided that at the death of Dubuque, all the remainder of this tract should become the property of Chouteau or his heirs. In 1807 Chouteau sold one-half of this to John Mullanphy of St. Louis, it is said for \$15,000. On the 17th of May, 1805, Dubuque and Chouteau as his assignee, jointly filed their claim with the government for possession. Thereafter for a period of forty-eight years the claim was knocked about before councils, commissions, cabinets, congresses and committees of the same, the courts higher and lower. the decisions sometimes being one way and sometimes another, but none of them ever agreeing at the same time. It was finally put in the shape, by agreement, of a suit of ejectment against Patrick Molony, a farmer of Table Mound township, who held his land by patent from the United States. This suit was tried before that learned jurist, Judge John J. Dyer, of the United States district court for Iowa, and judgment rendered for Molony. The case was appealed to the supreme court of the United States, where in March, 1853, it was finally decided. the judgment of the lower court being affirmed. This opinion, an elaborate and able one, was delivered by Judge J. M. Wayne of Georgia. Chouteau was represented by able attorneys from St. Louis, and by Reverdy Johnson of

Maryland; while the Dubuque settlers were represented by T. S. Wilson, Platt Smith and attorney general Caleb Cushing. All the members of the court at that time, all the attorneys, all the claimants, are now dead, the last one being Judge T. S. Wilson, who died less than two years ago.

The decision turned largely upon the old Spanish land laws, which were discussed in full, and which the court construed against Dubuque and Chouteau. Another point, over which the attorneys wrangled a good deal, was the proper translation of the grants from the Indians in 1788 and again from Carondelet in 1796, both in French. The court of last resort determined that Dubuque's contract with the Fox Indians was a grant of the right to work the Peosta mine, with its appendages, and with the privilege to search for other mines throughout these coasts, in the event that ore was not found in that mine; and that the order of Carondelet was not intended to secure him the ownership of the land. Dubuque held from the Indians a permit to mine, but not a title to the realty. In this connection it may be stated that letters are frequently received to this day from people in Canada, in France, and in the United States, claiming to be descendants and heirs of Julien Dubuque, inquiring about their claims in his estate, which has been represented to them to be of vast extent. Of course there are no such valid claims, for Dubuque had no descendants, and the supreme court of the United States has given decision against the only claim he had, and even that had been transferred to Chouteau.

There was great rejoicing in Dubuque when the news of the favorable decision of the supreme court reached the town. The bells were rung; bon-fires were kindled; the orators congratulated the people; and all felt glad, for now for the first time, all the settlers felt that their homes were their own.

One of the most accurate pieces of information we have of Dubuque, does not come from him direct, but from

Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike who conducted the expedition up the Mississippi river in 1805. It will be recalled that at the time Jefferson sent Lewis and Clark on the exploration up the Missouri river and down the Columbia to the Pacific, to ascertain all possible relative to this portion of the Louisiana purchase, he at the same time organized another party to the head waters of the Mississippi, which like the other started from St. Louis, and got off shortly after Lewis and Clark had taken their departure. Among the matters on which Mr. Jefferson gave Lieut. Pike definite instructions, was an order to find out all he could relative to M. Dubuque, his life among the Indians, the extent and situation of his mines, the amount of lead produced, and the like. Pike arrived at the mines during the forenoon of the 1st day of September. Dubuque doubtless knew of his coming, for he received him with distinguished honor, including a salute from a small field-piece that belched forth a noisy welcome as the boats pulled up at the landing; the Indians and the miners were on hand, and Dubuque gave the representative of the government a most cordial greeting, in which he showed himself to be the keen diplomatist he was.

Lieut. Pike notes in his report all these profuse demonstrations in his honor; but at the same time while acknowledging the hospitalities shown him, did not by any means lose sight of the information that was wanted. But Dubuque, wary and polite, under one excuse and another, deferred the furnishing of the facts desired. Pike urged, and Dubuque with many bows and compliments evaded the answers. Pike was told that the principal mines were five or six miles distant up the Catfish, nearly due west and in and near the valley up which the Illinois Central Railroad now winds in its ascent from the banks of the river to the prairies beyond; while other of the mines, including that discovered by the wife of Peosta, were about the same distance north, in what is now the northern

part of the city. Dubuque pleaded that he had no horses; that the mines were a long distance; and as Pike was suffering from a malarial fever he, perforce, submitted to Dubuque a series of questions in writing, and announced that he must depart up the river the day following. When he left, Dubuque fired another salute, made many protestations of fealty and friendship, and accompanied him in boats up for several miles. When ready to leave and return to his village, Dubuque handed to Pike what he said were the answers to his questions. After his effusive and polite host had gone, Pike opened the slip of paper, and here is what he found. The questions of Pike and answers of Dubuque are given in full:

1. What is the date of your grant of the mines from the savages?

Ans. The copy of the grant is in Mr. Soulard's office, at St. Louis.

2. What is the date of the confirmation by the Spaniards?

Ans. The same as to query first.

3. What is the extent of your grant?

Ans. The same as above.

4. What is the extent of the mines?

Ans. Twenty-eight or twenty-seven leagues long, and from one to three broad.

5. Lead made per annum?

Ans. From 20 to 40,000 pounds.

6. Quantity of lead per cwt., of mineral?

Ans. Seventy-five per cent.

7. Quantity of lead in pigs?

Ans. All he makes, as he neither manufactures bar, sheet-lead, or shot.

8. If mixed with any other material?

Ans. We have seen some copper, but having no person sufficiently acquainted with chemistry, to make the experiment properly, I cannot say as to the proportion it bears to the lead.

J. DUBUQUE.
Z. M. PIKE.

Lead Mines, 1st September, 1805.

It will be no source of surprise now at this late date that Pike referred in his official report to the proprietor of the mines as the "polite but evasive M. Dubuque."

Dubuque as early as 1796 gave to his diggings the name of the Mines of Spain, as he declared in his petition to the Baron Carondelet, asking him to confirm his title to the grant from the Indians. He stated in his petition that he had so named them in memory of the government to which he belonged and of which Carondelet was the representative. But as these mines belonged to no less than three governments during the twenty-two years in which Dubuque lived there, that of Spain, France, and of the United States, this name was very soon an evident misnomer, although Dubuque stood by it to the last, and had it inscribed upon his tomb. Soon after his death, however, the name was dropped and that of Dubuque's Lead Mines took its place. This was soon abbreviated to Dubuque's Mines, and Schoolcraft who visited here in 1820, says they were then known by that name. After the settlement of the place in 1832-3 the name was still further abbreviated by dropping the word Mines, and calling the village simply Dubuque, and such it has been ever since.

The common spelling is just as he always signed his name. At first many were inclined to use the "Du" as the ordinary French prefix, and wrote the word Du Buque; but this by general consent has been dropped as incorrect, for Dubuque himself never used it. The names of Julien and Dubuque are naturally very common in this vicinity. The principal hotel of the city is the Julien; and so of one of the principal avenues, as well as one of the suburbs; and of one of the townships. Dubuque has been appropriated by the county, the oldest with Des Moines of any in the state; by one of the outlying townships, and by the city itself. There is also a Dubuque Bluff, and various other cases where it is used geographically. And then for commercial and business purposes, there is no end to the use of the name. Between four and five pages of the city directory are used up by business concerns which have appropriated the name, until it is

prefixed to building and loan associations, insurance companies, furniture and manufacturing establishments, banks, schools, opera houses, packing and malting companies, musical institutions, saw-mills, street railways and all kinds of incorporations. No name is so common here as that of the first pioneer of the place; it is Julien here and Dubuque there, and very appropriately too.

Dubuque continued to work actively at his mines until death suddenly surprised him in the early spring of 1810. He died on the 24th of March of that year, it is said from pneumonia or lung fever, induced by exposure and a severe cold. His death produced a veritable consternation among the Indians. They regarded him as a friend, a counselor, protector, a great medicine man, who had gained their unalterable affection. They treated his remains with the most distinguished honor, and their burial ceremonies were of the most elaborate character. His obsequies were held with extraordinary pomp. They gathered from all sides to attend, and their most distinguished chiefs and warriors disputed with each other for the honor of carrying him to the grave. They were followed by hundreds of men and women, who advanced with slow and measured step to the sound of their funeral chants. At the grave their greatest chiefs and orators vied with each other in paying their tribute of praise and admiration, and his virtues were eloquently recited in the ornate and figurative language always employed by them. After the funeral orations were finished, they sang the death-song of a brave, and then betook themselves silently and mournfully to their villages. The Indians kept his memory alive among them as long as they remained in the country that had known him. The Sacs and Foxes made it a duty to visit his grave every year; and other tribes at least once in a lifetime. It was a pilgrimage to Mecca, and the pilgrims threw small stones upon his grave as a mark of respect to his memory. Many of them believed that some day he would reappear and be their guide.

The place of burial was well chosen. It was near the point of a precipitous bluff, 200 feet above the river and close to its edge, so that a stone can be easily cast from the spot into the bosom of the Mississippi below. The bluff is immediately to the north of the Kettle Chief village, across the Catfish, and two miles or more below the city. It is one of the most conspicuous points around Dubuque: before it lie three great states of the Union, and its summit is easily seen from every train and steamboat and almost every road that leaves the city. There is talk of erecting a lofty monument over the grave in memory of Dubuque, and it certainly should be done. The tomb over his remains was an elaborate affair, partly of rock, partly of wood, and the whole surmounted by a cedar cross, with this inscription graven in large letters: "Julien Dubuque, miner of the Mines of Spain, died March 24, 1810, aged forty-five years and six months." Near the tomb was the grave of a principal chief, who had asked to be buried near his friend. George Catlin, the celebrated writer on the Indians, says the tomb and inscription were prepared not by the Indians, but by Dubuque before his death, and this is not at all improbable. It will be seen that the inscription places his age at 45 years and 6 months, which would have made the date of his birth in the year 1764. But the baptismal register in Canada places the date of his birth on January 10, 1762, and I have followed this as more probably correct. This would have made his age 48 at the time of his death, instead of 45.

DUBUQUE, IOWA, MARCH, 1896.



Yours very truly
Charles W. Richmond

AN EPOCH IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN SCIENCE.

BY CHARLES ROLLIN KEYES, PH. D.

Man's great achievements form the mile-stones of human history. The deeds of a chosen few delimit the periods in a nation's existence. As each of the developmental stages of the world's progress has its culmination in the unusual ability of some one person, so also in every department of knowledge do the various sections of the cycle begin at the magic touch of some great personality. Physics has its Newton; biology its Darwin; and now dawns a new epoch in the history of an American science.

Few persons living in the great Mississippi valley are aware that one of the most important scientific works ever produced in this country has recently been completed in their very midst. Still fewer Iowans there are, who will not be greatly surprised when informed that the material which served as the foundation for this truly great work was obtained largely within the boundaries of their own State. Yet no contribution to the natural history of the State, of the United States, or of the western hemisphere has surpassed it in importance. Few old world undertakings of similar nature rival it. It stands as one of the master-pieces of American science.

A WORK OF IOWA SCIENTISTS.

For more than a quarter of a century, for nearly an entire generation, a work has been quietly carried on within the borders of our commonwealth, slowly, steadily, laboriously, despite of accident, the elements, and ill-health, under unpropitious circumstances, and in face of difficulties well-nigh unsurmountable and obstacles that would have made less courageous hearts to quail. Even men of science

have only beheld occasional glimpses of the investigation which was being pursued with tireless energy. To the people of the State which has given birth to this work of genius, it has remained unknown. Even the nearest neighbors knew not, much less fully appreciated, what an inquiry was being conducted under their very eyes. Yet with the extreme modesty which seems to grace only the truly great, with the patient toil so characteristic of all grand achievements, and with a philosophic insight which few possess, a scientific treatise has been constructed that will stand a monument for all time to come. The production of one such book each century would be sufficient to keep any star of the Union ever in the rank of those of the first magnitude.

The work to which reference is made is on the North American Fossil Crinoids. It was written by Charles Wachsmuth and Frank Springer. When fully completed it will probably form several large quarto volumes, consisting of plates, of illustrations and letter-press. Of these, the first portion, comprising two large volumes of text and one of plates, has just been issued. The Museum of Comparative Zoology of Cambridge has undertaken to publish the work.

The Crinoids form a group of strange and remarkable organisms which are closely related to the star-fishes and sea-urchins. They differ from these however, in usually being attached by a long stem, or stalk, to objects on the sea bottom. Popularly called "feather-stars," they are among the most beautiful of animals. They closely resemble plants in general shape, and the fossil species are hence widely known as "stone lilies." At the present day only a few forms exist and these are of rare occurrence. In past geological ages, however, they were among the most abundant forms of life. Iowa and the adjoining states were at one time the home of the stemmed feather-stars. At a period just before the coal deposits were formed, a broad,

shallow, mediterranean sea covered all this portion of the American continent, and throughout its warm, congenial waters, the crinoids flourished in lavish luxuriance. Crinoid life was so prolific at times, that the disjointed skeletal remains formed great beds many feet in thickness and many square miles in extent. One bed in particular which is made up almost wholly of these remains, is one hundred feet thick, and extends unbrokenly in a broad belt a dozen to fifteen miles in width, from central Iowa to western Arkansas, a distance of more than five hundred miles. Some of the layers are hard and compact, while others are incoherent, full of small cavities, and have very little fine or cementing material. Throughout are disseminated the broken and shattered bodies, or calyces, fragments of arms, and portions of stems. In the massive, compact beds, the organic remains have been more or less completely comminuted by the grinding action of moving waters. Yet frequently these layers are separated by clayey or sandy material. Here, lying partly imbedded by the hard limestone are often myriads of stone lilies, perfect as on the day when they were entombed, forms of wondrous beauty and rare delicacy, gracefully and intricately intertwined like rich flowing arabesques. They depict clearly the conditions of their environment at the time when they moved slowly to and fro in the secluded depths of a great interior ocean.

Southeastern Iowa abounds in the beautiful fossils and it is these that have occupied the attention of our Iowa savants for so many years. But it is not alone the description and illustration of these objects that gives the work its great merit and value. It is the vast advance which the study has produced in our knowledge of the structure and of the genetic relationships of the organisms that lend the special scientific charm. It is the great contribution to evolution that the results have brought forth, that places it in the front rank of scientific achievements. It is the

importance that the group has in the morphological bearing upon the related groups, that raises it to the high plane of philosophic consideration.

For the study of evolution no class of organisms is better adapted. All the changes in structure can be clearly traced from one species to another, from genus to genus, and even from family to family. As the skeletal parts are composed of regular plates, definitely arranged, and frequently highly ornamented, the crinoids have recorded all the marked changes in the physical conditions of their surroundings, both as regards time and space.

The monumental work which has just been published is the out-growth of studies begun under the encouragement and guidance of Prof. Louis Agassiz, and carried on continuously ever since. Geologists from every part of the world have contributed material, until it may be said, without the least fear of contradiction, that the collection of crinoids which are now housed in Iowa, is the largest, most complete and best in existence. So valuable has it become that a large fire-proof building was erected a few years ago to contain it. If a money value could be placed upon it \$100,000.00 would doubtless be a small estimate of its worth. So famous has it become that it and its modest owners are perhaps better known in all the centers of learning and culture in this country and in the old world, than in the city that claims them as residents. It may be of interest, too, that aside from the cost of the collections and the time of the authors, the expense of publishing the work, for making and reproducing the drawings and printing the plates and text, was over \$20,000.00.

The state of Iowa may well be proud of this great achievement. The entire work may be regarded as essentially an Iowa production in every sense of the word. Almost all of the material upon which it is based was obtained within the borders of the State. Both the authors



NATURAL POSITION OF CRINOIDS AS FOUND IN ROCK LAYERS.

are Iowa men, the senior one a resident for more than thirty years, the junior one a native of Louisa county. All the work, from beginning to end, was done in the State, at Burlington. It is to be regretted that Iowa could not have the pride to give birth in print to the grandest scientific and philosophic offspring she ever conceived. A distant state, less slow to perceive the spark of genius, snatches from her the one great honor of a century.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF PROF. CHARLES WACHSMUTH.

Charles Wachsmuth, the senior author, was born September 13, 1829, in the city of Hannover, Germany. He was the only son of a lawyer of considerable reputation, who was a member, in 1848, of the German Parliament at Frankfurt. From early childhood he was always in feeble health. It was the wish of his father that he should study law, and he was accordingly sent at an early age to the High School of his native place to receive a classical education; but to his father's great grief and his own, he was obliged, at the age of sixteen, to give up all studies on account of failing health, and on the advice of the attending physician to enter a mercantile career.

In 1852 the subject of our sketch came to this country, having been sent to New York as an agent of a Hamburg shipping house, in which capacity he served for a period of over two years. This gave him an excellent opportunity to see the great West, which made upon him a very favorable impression. As the climate of New York did not agree with him, he concluded, after barely recovering from a severe attack of pneumonia, and while still very feeble, to try to find relief in the West, by a change of climate. At the suggestion of friends it was decided to go to Iowa, then a young but promising state. The town of Burlington was finally selected as his future home, but without the slightest suspicion of the treasures which were there in store. In 1855 Mr. Wachsmuth was

married, and in the same year embarked in business on his own account. The dry western country did not induce the expected improvement in health, and the consulting physician advised that as much time as possible should be spent in the open air, and that for exercise fossils should be collected. It did not take long for him to develop into an enthusiastic collector, so that days at a time were spent in quarries and ravines around the city, his wife often looking after the store. The new mode of life at once produced a wonderful improvement of health. In the course of a few years a fine collection of crinoids had been brought together. It reached such dimensions that it attracted the attention of eastern scientists. Prof. Louis Agassiz came to see it on his lecturing trip to the West, and Meek and Worthen asked the loan of specimens for description in the geological reports of Illinois which were then being prepared.

In 1865, Mr. Wachsmuth closed out his business and accompanied by his wife made a trip to Europe. On his way he visited Cambridge, upon invitation of Professor Agassiz, and saw the large collections in the Museum of Comparative Zoology. Until then he had seen very few crinoids aside from those found at Burlington. His delight knew no bounds as he studied in Cambridge the fossils crinoids from other localities, and a number of specimens of living types. In Europe all sorts of invertebrate fossils were collected and visits made to the principal museums. When England was reached it was a great surprise to find that the reputation of the Burlington collection had already preceded him.

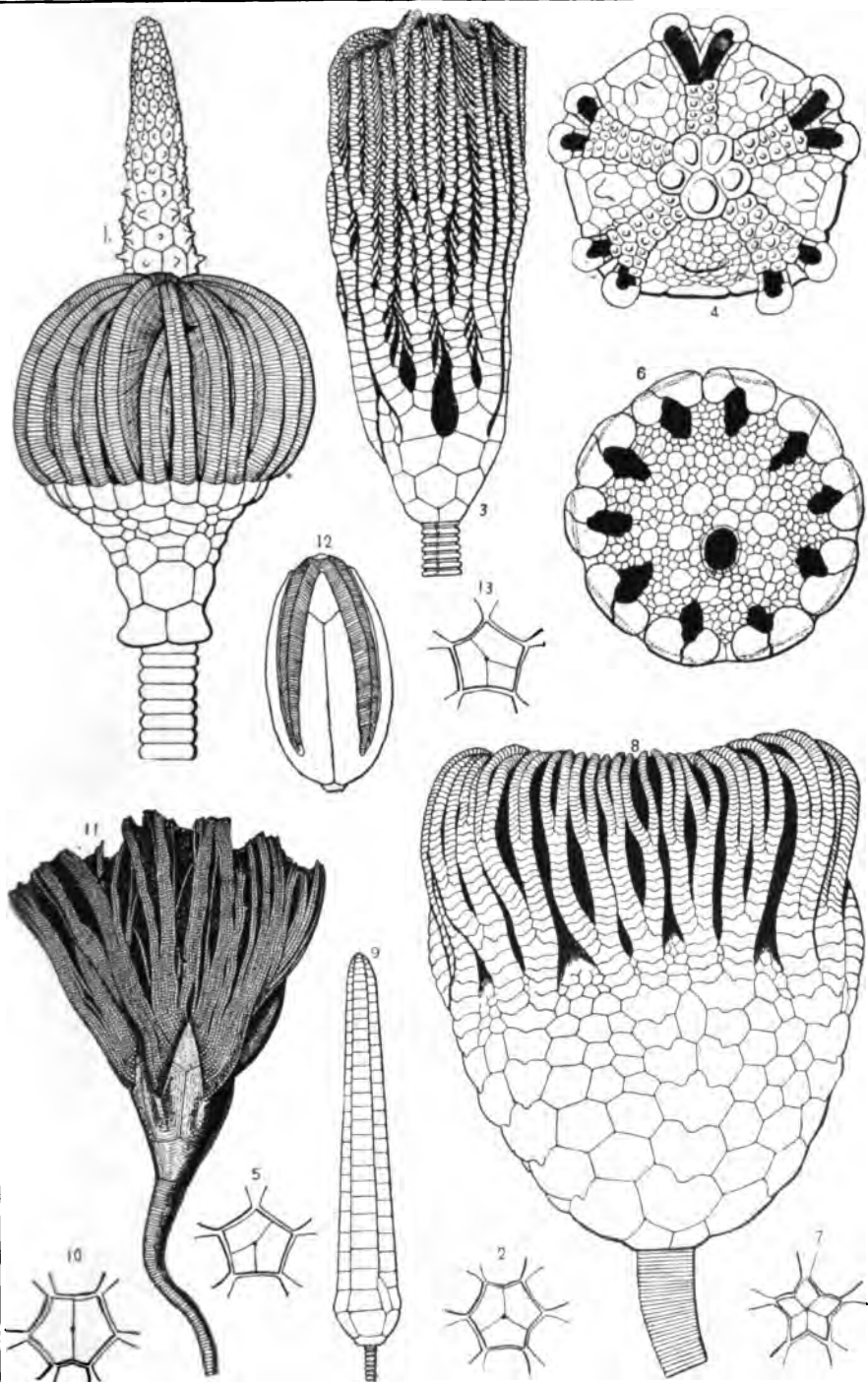
On returning to Burlington, after an absence of almost a year, Mr. Wachsmuth resolved to devote the rest of his life to scientific pursuits, and to direct his whole attention to the crinoids. Living far off from any of the scientific centers, and not having access to the literature, he had to depend for study largely upon his own specimens. This,

however, proved afterwards an advantage rather than a draw-back, for independent thought and original research. The various state reports to which access could be had gave a superficial knowledge of the principal genera, but they did not throw much light upon the morphology of the class, in which the greatest interest centered. Of great help was a visit of Mr. F. B. Meek, who came to Burlington in the interest of the Illinois Geological Survey to study the collection. During the preparation of the fifth volume of that organization several unique structural specimens were found which seemed to throw light upon the character of the mouth and ambulacra of the ancient forms. The specimens aroused Mr. Meek's interest in a high degree, as proving conclusively that at least in some of the older forms, mouth and ambulacra were subtegminal.

It was in 1873 that Professor Agassiz, on his return from the Pacific coast, paid a second visit to Burlington. He was greatly surprised at the enormous growth of the collection since he had last seen it, and, struck by the beauty and perfection of the specimens, he intimated that he was anxious to procure the collection for Cambridge, at the same expressing a desire to have Mr. Wachsmuth go with it and take charge of all of the crinoids in the Museum. The negotiations were soon completed, and a few months later Mr. Wachsmuth was installed in the Museum of Comparative Zoology as an assistant. It was Professor Agassiz who induced the new assistant to publish the results of his observations under his own name, on the ground that he was doing a great injustice to himself by placing them in the hands of others. The position, which was held until the death of Professor Agassiz, gave ample opportunity for Mr. Wachsmuth to become fully acquainted with the literature on the crinoids, and it was here that the foundation was laid of a classification which divides all Paleozoic crinoids into three primary groups, based chiefly upon the structure of the tegmen. These groups were sketched out

in 1877 in a paper "On the Internal and External Structure of Paleozoic Crinoids," and they are now recognized as primary divisions with the rank of order.

On returning from a second trip to Europe and a visit to the Orient, in 1874, Mr. Wachsmuth had not a single specimen in his possession. It took only a few years to make up another collection that was larger and much superior to the first. A year or two later he made the acquaintance of Mr. Frank Springer, then a young lawyer at Burlington, and an enthusiastic student of the natural sciences. A friendship soon sprung up between them. They studied together, and from 1878 the results of their researches were published under joint authorship. In the following years the collections increased rapidly by extensive purchases. From a trip to Europe Mr. Springer brought home a fine selection of Dudley crinoids, embracing nearly all of the species of that locality, and a large assortment of the Carboniferous species of England and Ireland. Among his acquisitions were also rare forms from Belgium, a majority of the Eifel species, fine specimens from Russia and Bohemia, and a large amount of material from Mesozoic and later formations. The collection was enlarged further by extensive exchanges with collectors in this country and Europe, and by having collectors in the field. Liberal purchases for the library were made, and when work was commenced on the monograph, nearly the whole crinoidal literature, from the time of J. S. Miller to date, was at hand. By examining the titles of their publications it will be noticed that Wachsmuth and Springer took very little pride in describing new species, their attention being directed mainly to the morphology with a view to classification, and to the revision of the work of the earlier writers. As the work of the monograph was nearing completion, Prof. Alexander Agassiz, the present director of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, offered to publish it, in the best style possible, as one of the memoirs of the



PRINCIPAL TYPES OF THE STALKED FEATHER STARS, OR CRINOIDS.

museum, and in this series it now appears, a model of typographic art.

Mr. Wachsmuth is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, of the Geological Society of America, the Davenport Academy of Sciences, and the Iowa Academy of Sciences. He was at one time vice-president of the latter. He is also a corresponding member of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, and a member of the Imperial Society of Natural Sciences of Moscow, Russia. For many years he has carried on an extensive and intimate correspondence with leading scientists of this country and Europe. That which passed between Dr. P. Herbert Carpenter, the most eminent European authority on Echinoderms, and Mr. Wachsmuth during the past ten years would alone fill a large volume.

For many years Mr. Wachsmuth has been in such delicate health that he has been obliged to spend the winters in the South. The early spring has been passed in the mountains of Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky, where immense collections of both crinoids and blastoids have been brought together. On all of these trips he has been accompanied by his faithful wife who is herself an excellent and indefatigable collector, an enthusiastic worker, and an admirer of all that pertains to fossil crinoids. Indeed, it may be questioned whether she has not found as many and as rare specimens as the savant himself. Were it not for her tutelary presence the monograph of American crinoids might never have seen the light of day.

Since these pages were sent to press we are called upon to mourn the sudden departure of our friend from the field of his activity. His demise took place on February 7, 1896. By the death of Charles Wachsmuth American Paleontology loses one of its brightest lights. Notwithstanding the fact that he was compelled to lead a retired life and was seldom seen at public gatherings, no one per-

son did more to raise to the high plane, that it now occupies, the department of knowledge which he represented. The world's final judgment as to his true worth to the science must be based upon the monuments he has left.

Although possessing, as already stated, from early childhood a delicate constitution which continually threatened to give away, Mr. Wachsmuth withstood the inroads of an organic disease long enough to nearly complete the allotted span of human life, of three score years and ten. During the last three years his health gradually failed until for several months past herculean efforts were necessary to enable him to work even for a short time each day. His last illness covered only a few days; and even the iron will, which had so often before overcome a long-standing ailment, finally had to give up to the physically weak heart. To within a day of his demise, with a zeal that is begotten only of a love for the sublime, he continued to apply himself to the finishing stages of the crowning glory of his life—the Monograph on the Fossil Crinoids. The first half only was written and the final proofs were barely read when the angel of death beckoned him. The triumphant joy of beholding the completed structure of a noble life's work was not his lot. Deprivation of what he held dearest took the place of conquering satisfaction in the very hour of victory. Inscrutable laws we seek to comprehend, and seeking, seek in vain.

No better estimate of the Iowa savant could be given than that pronounced, at the gathering to pay the last tribute of respect to his memory, by his intimate friend and long-time collaborator, one who knew him best.

“Many years ago, when recovering from serious illness, our lamented friend expressed a hope that when his time for final parting should come, I, as his friend and associate, might speak some farewell words. I attempt that melancholy duty now, with mingled feelings of sadness that the occasion for it has come, and of thankfulness that it has

been so long deferred. For, ever since that time, indeed during much of the quarter of a century over which our friendship has extended, he has been fighting against pain and disease in many forms. More than once have we seen his life trembling in the balance, when it seemed as if a feather's weight would turn the scale one way or the other, for hope or despair. The example he has furnished through that protracted struggle, of patient suffering and cheerful fortitude, of high courage, and of iron will which rose superior to his physical infirmities in order that he might leave to science a worthy memorial of his mature and brilliant intellect, is simply sublime.

“There is little need for me, in the presence of these friends who gather around his bier, to speak in words of eulogy of our departed friend. Nothing that I might say could add to the estimation in which he will be held by those who are left behind. The record of his life is before us, and speaks for itself. His personal characteristics which endeared him to every friend, are photographed upon the hearts of all who had the privilege to know him well.

“A man of warm and generous nature ; of unyielding fidelity to his convictions of right and truth ; tenacious of his opinions, bold in avowing and sturdy in defending them, yet always ready to surrender a theory and accept the proven fact ; scrupulously exact in regard to all his obligations towards his fellow men ; his life among you has been an honor to this community, and to the state to which it belongs. It has been a quiet life, without ostentation or display of any kind, even in things of which he had a right to be proud. Most of it for the past twenty years has been spent in the field and the museum, devoted exclusively to the study of Nature and to the solution of problems which she laid before him. Aside from this his chief enjoyment was found in the society of a few congenial friends, by whom the charm of his conversation, the product of his

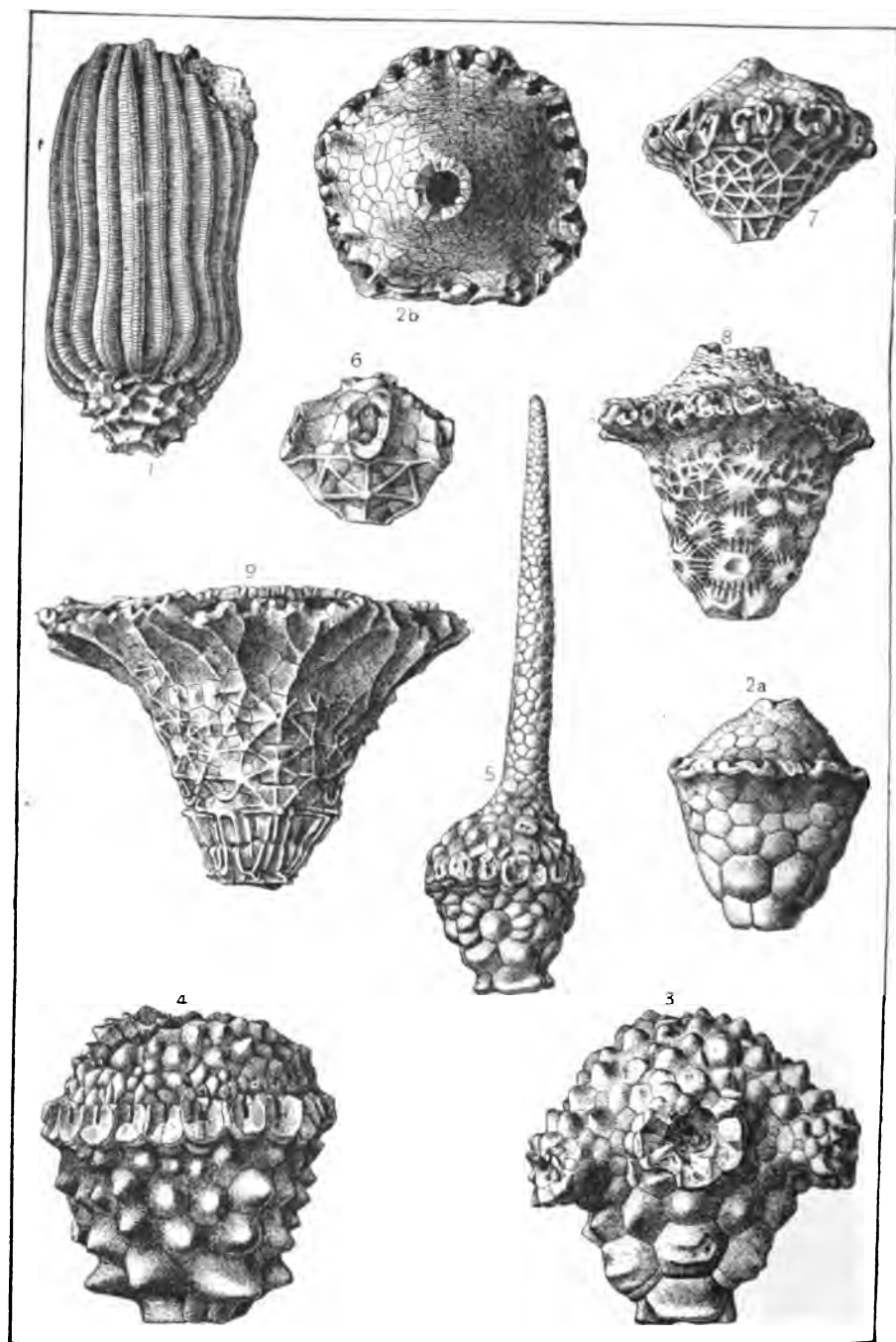
rich and varied learning, a fine artistic sense, keen power of observation and a broad and liberal mind, will not soon be forgotten.

“Yet this modest student, in this quiet way, has been erecting a monument which will perpetuate his name in honor and distinction so long as science holds a place among the studies and pursuits of men. A work, too, let me say, that will cause the name of Burlington to be known and spoken in more, and more distant parts of the world, and by more people of diverse nationality and language, than any event that has happened in her history.

“The thought that comes first to every one of us at this time is that it would have been a kind thing in Fate to allow him to remain a little longer, that he might enjoy the well-earned reward that would come with the completion and distribution of his work, and with the knowledge of its warm reception by the scientific men of the world.

“But the decrees of Fate are inexorable. question them as we may, and from them there is no appeal. The hour for him has struck, but while thus he passes out of our lives, he leaves behind the legacy of his example for our instruction, our encouragement and our emulation. And many a time hereafter, when the tender hand of Time has healed the wounds that bleed to-day, among friends and amid scenes where we know he loved to be, sweet memory will bring him back.

“In this sense it is, my friends, that we may keep him with us yet, until our time is come to cross the mystic river, and explore for ourselves that great mystery which lies upon its far and unseen shore. Let us hope, when that hour shall come that it will find us ready to answer the call with as little fear as he who lies before us. What the future was to be he knew not. He knew that there is a boundary beyond which the human understanding does not pass; that there are infinities of the unknowable of



FOSSIL REMAINS OF TYPICAL IOWA CRINOIDS.

time and space, and force, in whose contemplation human thought is simply swallowed up and lost ; that life, death and immortality are mysteries which belong to these, and about which all the researches of science, the speculations of philosophy and the prayers and belongings of men since primeval man first saw the smile of his gods in the sunshine, and in the storm their wrath, have taught us nothing more than to say, we do not know.

“But he believed in the universal order of nature, and that death is simply one of its phases. Whatever might be the power that is above us, he was willing to trust it. And so, having discharged with fidelity his duty to his fellow men, and having done upon earth what his hands found to do, according to the full measure of his talents, he was ready to face the mystery of that future with as calm a confidence as when, at evening, one lies down to pleasant dreams, and awaits the dawning of another day.

“It was written upon the pavement of the temple of Isis : ‘I am all that has been, that is, and that shall be ; and none among mortals has yet lifted my veil.’ Perhaps it is this riddle that we go hence to solve. And let us therefore believe that when death comes to summon us, he does not come in sable garb and with awful countenance, but rather as a smiling messenger from our good old Mother Nature, who takes us to herself again, lifts for us the veil, and with gentle benediction gives us peace and rest.”

At the February meeting of the Davenport Academy of Sciences the following was placed upon the minutes:

Resolved, That the Academy has heard with profound regret of the death of Prof. Charles Wachsmuth, an honored member of this Academy, and a valued contributor to the proceedings.

It is fitting that while we record our sense of the loss we have sustained, we should express our appreciation of the great work he has wrought for science in that particular department to which he devoted his life—a work accepted at home and recognized abroad by naturalists engaged in the same and similar research as one of the most important in the history of geological and paleontological investigation.

As we call to mind the amount of conscientious labor he performed through a score of years, we wonder how it could have been accomplished while so often battling against disease, with patient suffering, his strong will overcoming physical infirmity and nerving him to fresh devotion to his work.

We may note a marked characteristic of this student of nature. The treasures he gathered at such vital cost to himself were distributed freely and generously to others. All were encouraged to come to him for assistance.

His work accomplished, he passed quietly away in the very locality whose surroundings had at first awakened his early enthusiasm. Remembering the happiness of his home, his affectionate and devoted wife, fit sharer in his labors, and encourager in his work, we extend to her our warmest sympathy in her great affliction.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be placed upon the minutes, and copies be sent to the family of the deceased and the press.

REV. W. H. BARRIS,
DR. C. H. PRESTON,
Committee.

The following are the principal scientific works that have been published by Mr. Wachsmuth chiefly in joint authorship with Mr. Springer:

- 1866. Evidence of Two Distinct Geological Formations in the Burlington limestone. (Am. Jour. Sci., (2), Vol. XLII, pp. 1-7, 1866.)
- 1877. Notes on the External Structure of Palæozoic Crinoids. (Am. Jour. Sci., (3), Vol. XIV, pp. 115-127 and 181-191, 1877.)
- 1877. Revision of the Genus *Belemnocrinus* and Description of two New Species. (Am. Jour. Sci., (3), Vol. XIV. pp. 253-259, 1877.)
- 1878. Transition Forms in Crinoids. (Proc. Acad. Nat. Sci., Phila., 1878, pp. 224-266, 1878.)
- 1879. Revision of the Palæocrinoidea; Pt. I, *Icthyocrinidæ* and *Cyathocrinidæ*. (Proc. Acad. Nat. Sci., Phila., 1878, pp. 226-379, 1879.)
- 1881. Revision of the Palæocrinoidea; Pt. II. *Sphaeroidocrinidæ*. (Proc. Acad. Nat. Sci., Phila., 1881, pp. 177-414, 1881.)
- 1883. Remarks on *Glyptocrinus* and *Reteocrinus*, two Genera of Silurian Crinoids. (Am. Jour. Sci., (3), Vol. XXV, pp. 255-268, 1883.)
- 1883. *Hybocrinus*, *Hoplocrinus* and *Bærocrinus*. (Am. Jour. Sci., (3), Vol. XXVI, pp. 365-377, 1883.)
- 1883. Description of Fossil Invertebrates. (Illinois Geol. Sur., Vol. VII, pp. 339-345, 1883.)

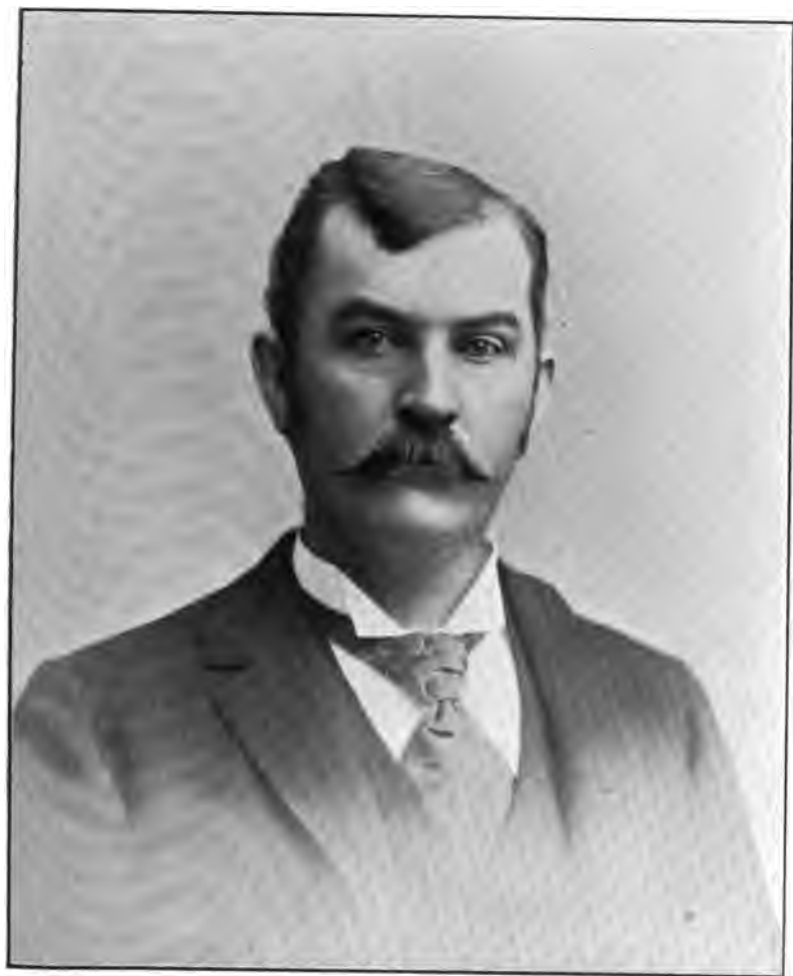
1883. On a New Genus and Species of Blastoids. (Illinois Geol. Sur., Vol. VII, pp. 346-357, 1883.)
1885. On the Challenger Report on the Stalked Crinoids. (Science, Vol. VI, pp. 138-139, 1885.)
1885. Description of a New Crinoid from the Hamilton Group of Michigan. (Proc. Davenport Acad. Sci., Vol. IV, pp. 94-96, 1885.)
1885. Revision of the Palæocrinoidea, Part III, Section 1. (Proc. Acad. Nat. Sci., Phila., 1885, pp. 225-364, 1885.)
1886. Revision of the Palæocrinoidea, Part III, Section 2. (Proc. Acad. Nat. Sci., Phila., 1886, pp. 64-226, 1886.)
1887. Summit Plates in Blastoids, Crinoids and Cystids, and their Morphological Relations. (Proc. Acad. Nat. Sci., Phila., 1887, pp. 82-114, 1887.)
1888. Discovery of the Ventral Structure of Taxocrinus and Haplocrinus, and Consequent Modifications in the Classification of the Crinoids. (Proc. Acad. Nat. Sci., Phila., 1878, pp. 337-362, 1888.)
1888. Crotalocrinus; its Structure and Zoological Position. (Proc. Acad. Nat. Sci., Phila., 1888, pp. 364-390, 1888.)
1890. Perisomic Plates of the Crinoids. (Proc. Acad. Nat. Sci., Phila., 1890, pp. 345-392, 1890.)
1890. New Species of Crinoids and Blastoids from the Kinderhook Group of Le Grand, Iowa. (Illinois Geol. Sur., Vol. VIII, pp. 157-251, 1890.)
1892. Description of two New Genera and Eight Species of Camerata Crinoids from the Niagara Group. (American Geologist, Vol. X, pp. 134-144, 1892.)
1895. Monograph of the Crinoidea Camerata of North America. (Memoirs of Museum of Comparative Zoology, 2 parts, 800 pp., 83 plates comprising 1500 illustrations, 1895.)

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF THE HON. FRANK SPRINGER.

The junior author, Mr. Frank Springer, is a native Iowan, having been born at Wapello, in Louisa county, June 17th, 1848. Graduated from the Iowa State University in 1867, he immediately began the study of law in the office of Hon. Henry Strong at Burlington. The following year he matriculated with the senior law class in the State University, and was admitted to the bar in 1869. He took up his residence at Burlington, and entered upon the practice of law in the counties of Des Moines and

Louisa, for which district he was soon after appointed special prosecuting attorney and given charge of most of the criminal prosecutions during the following two years. It was at this period that Mr. Springer was entrusted with the trial of, and successfully conducted, two noted murder cases; *State vs. Lawrence*, and *State vs. Morphy*, in both the District and Supreme courts, which, with several important civil cases in which he was engaged, are reported in the Iowa Reports.

In 1873, being interested in the proposed extension of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad, then building through Kansas, Mr. Springer removed to the territory of New Mexico, then far beyond railroad communication, and established his residence at Cimarron, a small town in Colfax County. The panic of September, 1873, destroyed all hope of railroad extension for the time, and the construction of the Atchison into New Mexico was postponed for five years. He remained there, however, being employed as attorney for the Maxwell Land Grant Company, a corporation owning a valuable Mexican grant of nearly two million acres of land in New Mexico and Colorado, which afterward became the subject of a famous litigation against the Government in the United States Circuit and Supreme courts, and which was stubbornly contested for many years. The successful conduct of that case, in view of the importance of the question and the magnitude of the property involved, gained for Mr. Springer an enviable reputation at the bar, and his argument in the Supreme court of the United States won for him the personal commendation of the late Justice Samuel F. Miller, both publicly and privately expressed. In 1883 he removed to Las Vegas, where he has since resided. During all the time he has been counsel of the Maxwell Company, and since 1891 has been its president. He has also been counsel for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad company ever since it entered New Mexico in 1878.



Manfred
Franklin

Mr. Springer's position and standing at the bar are shown best by the following authoritative statement furnished by the secretary of the New Mexico Bar Association:

Hon. Frank Springer, of Las Vegas, has been a lawyer in New Mexico since 1873, when a very young man he cast his lot in a remote part of the Territory, in Colfax county, confident in his ability to grow up with the growing country. His confidence in himself was not misplaced: as a lawyer he has far outgrown his adopted land, and now stands in the front rank of lawyers in the nation while New Mexico lingers far in the rear of the sisterhood of states. Mr. Springer is almost the only lawyer in New Mexico who has escaped politics. He has never held a political position, except one term in the legislative council, but has devoted his time, brilliant talent and untiring energy to the profession of the law. Mr. Springer first came into prominence as a lawyer through his connection with the "Maxwell Land Grant" cases, which in one form or another have been before the District, Territorial Supreme Court and Supreme Court of the United States, for the past twenty years, in all of which litigation he has been uniformly successful, gaining a very important suit growing out of the Maxwell cases, at the last term of our Supreme Court, which has been taken on appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Springer's practice is almost entirely in large cases and before the Territorial Supreme Court and the Supreme Court of the United States. His counsel is sought on all legal questions of importance, and his advice on constitutional law and private land claims, is almost authoritative. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1889, and contributed largely to the moulding of that most admirable public paper. In the same year, he was elected President of the Bar Association of the Territory, and his retiring address as such officer is referred to now by searchers for light on land grant law.

While the bar in New Mexico has in proportion to its members as able and brilliant a membership as any within the Union, there is no member who, as a lawyer, citizen and gentleman, in all that those terms imply, is superior to Mr. Springer in the opinion of the bench, bar and people of New Mexico.

From his youth Mr. Springer has been an ardent lover of natural science, and he has managed to find time, in spite of the requirements of an exacting and laborious profession, to keep up the studies begun in early life. It is with this phase of his career that the present sketch has chiefly to do. His taste for scientific studies was formed while a student at the State University, as a pupil of Dr.

Gustavus Hinrichs, with whom a warm and intimate friendship grew up, and to whose influence, instruction and encouragement he has in later years often expressed his great indebtedness. His special interest in geology and paleontology dates from a lecture and field excursion given to the students of the University by Prof. Louis Agassiz. The personal charm of Agassiz, and his unrivaled facility of explanation, filled the mind of the young student with a desire to understand the science as presented by the great exponent. The facilities for geological study or instruction in Iowa were then of the most meagre description; but in 1866, the headquarters of the state geological survey, under Dr. White, were established at the University, and the collections were brought there for study. Thanks to the kindness of Dr. White and his accomplished assistant, Orestes St. John, Mr. Springer was given access to the collections and the scientific libraries, and became a student of geology and paleontology outside of his regular university course. A strong personal friendship was formed with both these gentlemen, and when they went into the field the following season Springer was left in charge of the state geologist's rooms and collections, and there he passed all his spare time, studying by himself, without instruction, until his graduation. He made a collection of the Devonian fossils of the Iowa City region, and after leaving the University spent considerable time in the field, studying the Lower Carboniferous formations of Louisa county, where he found his noted deposit of fossil fish remains, many of which are described by St. John in volumes VI and VII of the reports of the Illinois Geological Survey. During the preparation of these descriptions, he spent some time in the Illinois State collections at Springfield where he also had access to the great private collections of Professor Worthen.

Upon locating at Burlington, the rich crinoidal fauna of that famous locality naturally attracted his attention.

and he became an ardent collector, gradually accumulating a large and valuable collection. Here he met his friend Wachsmuth, whose collection of crinoids was then the finest that had ever been made. From collecting they soon began to study together, and thus laid the foundation of the collaboration which culminated in their present work. In the winter of 1872 Mr. Springer visited Cambridge, and was given by Professor Agassiz access to the splendid collections of the Museum of Comparative Zoology. It was chiefly owing to the personal encouragement received from Agassiz at this time that he was led to keep up his paleontological studies after leaving Burlington. During his residence in New Mexico he was able to revisit Burlington at frequent intervals, spending his vacations there. Thus he kept up, in connection with Mr. Wachsmuth, the studies they had begun together. These led to the publication of occasional papers jointly, then to the "Revision of the Palæocrinoidea," published by the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Science. They consolidated their collections and libraries, built a large fire-proof museum to contain them, and from time to time afterwards made great additions to both by exchange, purchase, personal collection, and the employment of collectors in different localities; all being done with a view to ultimately bringing out a monograph of the crinoids. Artists were employed for several years making the drawings; and thus the work steadily progressed, until it assumed such proportions that it had to be limited to one division of the group.

In 1887 Mr. Springer spent some months in Europe, where he succeeded in obtaining by purchase valuable and much needed material for the work, not obtainable in the United States. He also visited several of the most important collections, especially those of the British Museum, in London, by the authorities of which he was most cordially received.

In 1890 he went to Cambridge and placed before Mr. Alexander Agassiz the original drawings for the proposed monograph so far as then completed, together with an outline of the plan of the work. After examining them Mr. Agassiz offered to undertake the publication of the work as a part of the Memoirs of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, and placed at the disposal of the authors the entire collections of the Museum, with liberty to remove to Burlington whatever portions of them might be desired. It is well known that Memoirs of the Museum at Cambridge are recognized the world over as containing nothing but original investigations of the very highest order and authority. The fact that the results of the long labors of these Iowa scientists are given to the public under such auspices is the highest evidence of their importance.

The principal scientific writings of Mr. Springer are in collaboration with Mr. Wachsmuth and a list of them is given in connection with the first list.

THE NAMING OF HENRY COUNTY.—Much interest has lately arisen in regard to the origin of the names of Iowa counties. Among others attention has been attracted to Henry County. It has been stated that it was so named in honor of General Henry Dodge, first territorial governor of Wisconsin. This is doubtless an error. Hon. Alvin Saunders, one of the very early settlers at Mt. Pleasant, a member of the Iowa State Senate from 1854 to 1861, and later on governor of Nebraska and United States Senator, has lately stated that the county was so named in honor of General James Dougherty Henry, of Illinois. General Henry was not only a prominent actor in the Black Hawk war, but well known and very popular in the west. It is said that he could have had any office in the gift of his state, but that he lost his health from exposure during the war with the Indians and died from consumption in New Orleans, in 1834, having gone south in quest of health. He left no descendants.—Condensed from *The Daily Iowa Capital*, November 6, 1895.



*Your brother,
Saml. Storrs Howe*

SAMUEL STORRS HOWE.

BY FREDERICK LLOYD.

[The writer wishes to here acknowledge his obligation and extend his thanks to Mrs. Laura S. Huff, (Mr. Howe's niece,) of Washington, Iowa, for kind assistance rendered him in the preparation of this sketch by supplying the notes relating to Mr. Howe's career before his coming to Iowa, and to his genealogy, all of which, as here recorded, was compiled by her, and much of it is given in her own phraseology.]

The first family of the name of Howe came from England, as we are informed by old manuscripts still in the possession of the Iowa family of this name. John Howe settled in Sudbury, Massachusetts, in 1640, and was the first-made "freeman" to vote. His father, another John Howe, was a direct descendant of the Howe family of Hadinghall, Warwickshire, England. This John Howe was connected with Lord Charles Howe, Earl of Lancaster, in the time of King Charles I.

About thirty years after the formation of the Massachusetts Colony the Howe descendants emigrated to Marlborough and became "selectmen" to keep order in the church. In May, 1656, of thirteen persons signing a petition to the General Court to incorporate the town the second name is that of John Howe. The town was incorporated in 1660 by the records, and the Indian deed to the Howe family for lands bears date June 12, 1684. John Howe died in 1668, leaving a large family in Marlborough, there being twenty-eight voters alone of that name. In 1711 four of the twenty-six garrisons were commanded by Howes. David Howe built in 1776 at Sudbury the "Howe Inn," whose sign was the "Red Horse," immortalized by the poet Longfellow in the "Tales of a Wayside Inn." The coat-of-arms, a copy of which was presented to the

Worcester Society, bore on its scroll the words, "By ye name of Howe." We quote from the verse of Longfellow a description of the landlord and his coat-of- arms.

"But first the landlord will I trace:
Grave in his aspect and attire;
A man of ancient pedigree,
A Justice of the Peace was he,
Known in all Sudbury as 'The 'Squire.'
Proud was he of his name and race,
Of old Sir William and Sir Hugh,
And in the parlor, full in view,
His coat-of-arms, well framed and glazed,
Upon the wall in colors blazed;
He beareth gules upon his shield,
A chevron argent in the field,
With three wolf's heads, and for the crest
A wyvern part-per-pale addressed
Upon a helmet barred: below
The scroll reads, 'By the name of Howe.'
And over this, no longer bright,
Though glimmering with a latent light,
Was hung the sword his grandsire bore
In the rebellious days of yore,
Down there at Concord in the fight."

Of such ancestry sprang Samuel Storrs Howe, who was born in Shoreham, Vermont, June 20, 1808. His father was a son of Captain John Howe of the Revolutionary army. His uncle, Abner Howe, died in the same service, and the Worcester Society has erected a monument to his memory. The father of our subject was Job Lane Howe, born in the town of Brookfield, Massachusetts, who married Deborah Barrows, of Mansfield, Connecticut, and removed to Vermont in 1796, when it was quite a wilderness. He bought a farm at Shoreham, about three miles from Lake Champlain, and helped to build roads, leaving fine shade trees, some of which still remain on the "Cream Hill" road. He was an architect, a builder, a wheelright, a millright and a ship-builder, and had a contract to build the first "meeting house." Rev. Daniel O. Morton, whose son, Ex-Vice President Levi P. Morton, was born there, was one of the first pastors of this primi-

tive Congregational Church. Under his preaching our Howe in 1821, when thirteen years old, was one of the many converts. The first American missionaries to foreign lands were sent out from this little inland town. Probably few of the newspaper critics who were wont to fling their poisoned political arrows at the former Vice President of the United States for complicity in the *Shoreham* hotel management at Washington knew the derivation of the name.

Of this branch of the Howe family, which by the records was the sixth generation in America, there were four brothers and one sister, of whom Samuel Storrs was the youngest. He and the oldest brother were thought too delicate for the farm or a trade and were sent to college. The eldest, after his graduation at Middlebury, Vermont, became Principal of Castleton Academy in Vermont, and in 1821-2 Samuel Storrs was fitted for college under this brother's instruction, and entered Middlebury College in 1825. His health was delicate, but he was graduated third in his class August 19, 1829. In 1829-30 he pursued his studies at Andover Theological Seminary, Massachusetts, and taught for a few months in the Castleton Academy. His father had extended his business into Crown Point, and built the Church and some stores there which are still in good condition. So thoroughly was the work done and so durable was the material that it was not necessary to renew the shingles for fifty years. His parents are buried near the church. His brother, Professor Henry Howe, having accepted the position of Principal of the Canandaigua Academy, New York, Samuel Storrs acted as his assistant during the year 1831. It was then and still is one of the leading institutions of the State of New York. The distinguished mathematician Robinson was graduated under their instruction, and the still more famous statesman Stephen A. Douglas was also their pupil. The unfortunate young Philip Spencer, who, as a midshipman of the U.

S. Sloop-of-war "Somers," was sacrificed in the relentless cause of naval discipline and executed by Captain Alexander Slidell Mackenzie for mutiny, was also one of their students.* Indeed, students from all over the Union and even from Mexico, sought their tutorship.

Samuel Storrs, from the end of 1831 to August, 1834, was pursuing his theological studies, first at Andover, and finally at Princeton, latterly under the preceptorship of Professor Robert B. Patten, spending the vacation seasons teaching Greek and Sacred History, and to beginners Hebrew. August, 1834, he was licensed to preach on the recommendation of the Professors of Edgeville Seminary by the Middlesex Union Association, and was graduated September 10th of the same year. In 1835 he was appointed Tutor in Middlebury College, Vermont, but resigned the following year to take charge of the Classical Department of Cambridge Academy, New York, where he remained two years.

* This event produced a great sensation, for Spencer's father, John C. Spencer, was Secretary of War at the time, and the vessel was only a few days' sail from a United States port. The commander's conduct was justified but not approved, and he was never given command of a ship again. Young Spencer was a mere lad, rash and adventurous but not malevolent. When told of his fate he said, "This will kill my mother." A village society organized by him now counts many thousand members. Mackenzie was a brother of that Slidell, who with Ex-U. S. Senator Mason, was overhauled at sea by Capt. Wilkes of the U. S. Steamer San Jacinto, and taken prisoner from a British vessel, the Trent, while on their way to Europe in 1861 as envoys from the Confederate States. Mackenzie had taken this name which, as a *sine qua non*, went with a rich Scotch estate. One of his sons, General Ranald Slidell Mackenzie, was a brilliant young Union officer during the war, and when subsequently as Colonel of the fourth U. S. Cavalry he was seemingly on the point of promotion, his mind became deranged and his death soon ensued. It is thus that genius and insanity are so closely allied. The Spencer family is one hardly less brilliant than the Slidells or Mackenzies. They are scattered from one side of the continent to the other and even across the Pacific, and many of them have been distinguished. The third President of our State University was Oliver M. Spencer who afterwards was U. S. Consul at Genoa, Italy, and later U. S. Consul General at Melbourne, Australia, where he died in August, 1895. George E. Spencer, of another family, was Secretary of the Iowa State Senate of 1858; during the war he was Colonel of a loyal Alabama regiment, and after the war was elected U. S. Senator from Alabama.

In 1838 he accepted a call to preach at West Dresden, Yates county, New York, and in 1840 settled at Painted Post, New York. It was soon after this that, contemplating entrance into foreign missionary work he took a short course of practical medical instruction. In the summer of 1842-3 he preached in Ticonderoga,* New York, near Lake George, and from 1843 to 1846 he officiated in Brashear Falls, New York, very acceptably, having been installed Pastor of the Presbyterian Church formed under his ministry, but resigned in 1846 to accept the Secretaryship of the "Western Educational Society" at Auburn, New York.

In June, 1849, he accepted a call to the Presbyterian Church of Iowa City, and was installed Pastor by the Presbytery of Des Moines.

Mr. Howe, in the course of his work in the ministry was tractable to the advice of his friends. On account of the delicacy of his health he at one time desired to enter the foreign missionary field. It was Rev. Lyman Beecher, father of Henry Ward Beecher, who dissuaded him from this course.

On coming to Iowa City, he found what is now locally known as the "Old Stone Church," in a partially finished state, and set himself about collecting funds for its completion. His name is therefore doubly associated with this "venerable pile, so old it seemed only not to fall," for here the State Historical Society, (of which Samuel Storrs Howe was corresponding Secretary and the first editor of its quarterly publication, *THE ANNALS OF IOWA*.) had its Cabinet and Library from 1868 to 1882. For more than fifty years its grey walls have turned the hurricane and blizzard, its vaulted dome trembled with pulpitish appeals

* Recently workmen while digging near a grave in Ticonderoga found an old decayed box and near by a grave stone roughly inscribed "*Ye I' Howe*." Rev. Joseph Cook, of Boston, the famous lecturer, who examined it with others, has expressed his conviction that it was the grave of Lord Howe, who was killed in that locality, although it was supposed he had been buried at Albany. Thus have two collateral descendants of the same ancestry been honorably associated at the same place in their antipodal capacities, one in war and one in peace.

and the resonance of prayer and anthem. But before being deserted by the Historical Society it had become the haunt of mice and rats which have left their impress on many a newspaper file and book-cover.

In 1862 Mr. Howe was elected Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society. He saw the importance of the Society having a publication of its own as a medium of exchange with other similar societies, and the result was the issue of *THE ANNALS OF IOWA*, the first number bearing date January, 1863, a quarterly, at first of forty-eight pages, but later enlarged to eighty pages. Its forty-eighth number, dated October, 1874, was the last of this series published. (It may be here stated parenthetically that for the years 1868 and 1869 Dr. Sanford W. Huff, who in 1870 married the niece and protegee of Mr. Howe, Miss Laura S. Nickerson, was the Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society and the editor of the *ANNALS*.)

It was about this time that Mr. Howe was interested in the collection of Indian relics for the Smithsonian Institution, and it was in this way that the thought which he cherished of preserving the early pioneer and Indian history of Iowa had form and effect, until now it has become a subject sufficiently important in the minds of our people to secure the approval of the Legislature for the establishment of a second organization for its promotion.

His work was rather desultory and perhaps lacking in method, for he was a scholar and student and was unversed in business formulas, and for this reason the good that he effected being scattered over a large field is hard to aggregate and present in its totality. He was still more careless of his own personal interests. With considerable opportunity to acquire wealth he died destitute. No suggestion of misappropriation could ever apply to him. He was a mathematician, a classical scholar, a student whose field of research was not bounded by a curriculum.

He was a bachelor. A cross in love in early life cast a shadow over his path, but it was not one which the sun of Christian hope could not dispel when it shone upon it. The vows he took on entering the ministry were faithfully kept. No scandal ever soiled his gown. He was chaste as one feeding on the vitex berry. Though standing for Presbyterianism he was no bigot. He said the most comforting sacrament he had ever taken was administered by a priest of the Protestant Episcopal Church whilst he kneeled between two lady parishoners. Orator, teacher, author, antiquary—"all things by turns," although capable if not eminent in all, he has left little distinctively impressive of his personality except in the memory of his friends.

One of the last roles in which Mr. Howe appeared was as editor of "Howe's Annals," a faint revival of the old periodical, the first number of which appeared in 1883, and was continued at irregular intervals for three years, when failing health compelled its abandonment.

Mr. Howe was a kindly, genial man with his friends, and he had that faculty of adapting himself and his discourse to fit his company which is not given to every one. Like the toad, locked in the rock of ignorant companionship he seemed dull and shriveled, but when liberated into the enlightened sphere of educated society he expanded into the dimensions of a genius.

In the autumn of 1887 Mr. Howe was invited to Castleton, Vermont, as the last living member of the Academy of his class, it being the centennial celebration of the institution, at which he was able to deliver an address.

Mr. Howe's health continued gradually to fail till October 26, 1888, when he died at his home in Iowa City, in his eighty-first year.

IOWA CITY, OCTOBER 10, 1895.

STATUTORY ADOPTION OF THE COMMON LAW
IN THE WEST, AND HEREIN OF ITS
INTRODUCTION INTO IOWA.

That American legal and political institutions everywhere bear the stamp and breathe the spirit of the Common Law of England is a leading phenomenon in the development of the New World, and one that has not escaped observation. Students of American Politics have not failed to note the cause of this striking phenomenon: the Bar admires it for the "even-handed and enlightened justice it has dispensed;" while others wisely venerate where they "are not presently able to comprehend."

And what is true of American institutional development in general is true of the more particular development that has taken place in Iowa; for the institutions of this commonwealth appear as sequences in that broader development which is termed American. That is to say, a leading phenomenon in the Law and Politics of Iowa is the presence of the spirit and principles of the Common Law of England.

America was colonized largely by Englishmen. And during the period of institutional infancy it was under the political control of the Mother Country. Indeed, America was then a part of England and the inhabitants were Englishmen by law as well as by birth. As a consequence "the supreme law of the land" was from the beginning the Common Law supplemented by the Statutes of Parliament. Magna Charta was pleaded in the courts. *

The Declaration of Independence swept away the supremacy of King and Parliament so far as the colonies

1 "The Laws and Jurisprudence of England and America," by John F. Dillon, p. 136.

2 Bowman v. Middleton, 1 Bay (S. C.) 254.

were concerned. But that declaration did not (could not) disturb the fundamental principles of Law and Politics: everywhere they continued to exist, being perpetuated through (1) constitutions, (2) statutes, and (3) judicial decisions. The legislator continued to formulate "general rules of conduct" along the old lines and in accordance with old models. While the judge, always more or less bounded by the written letter of the law, went on interpreting the "general rules" in the light of "judicial precedents." It is significant that legislator and judge have co-operated in the work of infusing into our legal and political institutions the spirit and principles of the Common Law. That the infusion has been wide-spread and thorough is evidenced both by statute law and by case law.

It is, however, to the statutory adoption of the Common Law in the Great West, and herein of its introduction into Iowa,¹ that I desire to make special reference in this connection. Now it is well known that the famous Ordinance of 1787 was the leading statute through which the principles of the Common Law were transmitted and guaranteed to the West. Subsequent acts of Congress providing for the organization and government of the Territories followed more or less closely the outline of the great Ordinance. And here it must not be forgotten that *congressional legislation was supported by local legislation* in the Territories and Commonwealths. The influence of the Ordinance and of the other acts of Congress has been repeatedly observed and noted by jurists and students of American History. But little or no mention is made of that local legislation which best illustrates, as it seems to me, the thorough and almost unconditional adoption of English Law.

With special reference to the History of Iowa there are two statutes which bear out the thought above ex-

¹ See "The Introduction of the Common Law into Iowa," by Chancellor McClain.—*Iowa Historical Lectures*, 1892. p. 70.

pressed and clearly illustrate the wholesale adoption of English Jurisprudence. The one is a statute of the General Assembly of the Territory of Missouri, enacted in the year 1816.¹ It reads as follows:

“The common law of England, which is of a general nature, and all statutes made by the British parliament in aid of or to supply the defects of the said common law, made prior to the fourth year of James the first, and of a general nature, and not local to that kingdom, which said common law and statutes are not contrary to the laws of this territory, and not repugnant to, nor inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the United States shall be the rule of decision in this territory, until altered or repealed by the legislature, any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding, *provided however*, that none of the British statutes respecting crimes and punishments shall be in force in this territory, nor shall any person be punished by common law, where the laws and statutes of this territory have made provision on the subject, but where the laws and statutes of the United States and this territory have not made provision for the punishment of offenses, the several courts may proceed to punish for such offenses; *provided*, the punishment shall in no case be other than fine and imprisonment, and the term of imprisonment shall not exceed two months; and the fine shall not exceed one hundred dollars.”

“2. The doctrine of survivorship in cases of joint tenants shall never be allowed, in this territory. The doctrine of entails shall never be allowed, and in all cases where any real estate shall be entailed, the whole of the right and interest of, in, and to the same, shall vest in fee simple in the person having the first reversion or remainder in said estate, after the life estate is determined in said estate.”²

¹ The geographical area of the Commonwealth of Iowa was at that time included within the Territory of Missouri.

² Shambaugh's "Documentary Material relating to the History of Iowa," No. 2, p. 41.

The other statute which is aptly illustrative of the adoption of the Common Law in the West, and herein of its introduction into Iowa, was enacted by the Governor and Judges of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio in the year 1795. This statute adopted from the statutes of Virginia reads :

“The common law of England, all statutes or acts of
“the British parliament made in aid of the common law,
“prior to the fourth year of the reign of King James the
“first (and which are of a general nature, not local to that
“kingdom) and also the several laws in force in this terri-
“tory, shall be the rule of decision, and shall be considered,
“as of full force, until repealed by legislative authority
“or disapproved of by congress.”¹

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH.

*State University of Iowa,
Iowa City, Iowa.*

DES MOINES FIFTY YEARS AGO.—A correspondent of the *Miners Express* of Dubuque, September 15, 1847, in an article descriptive of the “New Purchase”, (Iowa), thus describes the future capital of Iowa: “A short distance above the junction of the Raccoon and Des Moines rivers is the old Fort, or Fort Des Moines, as it is called. This Fort was evacuated by the United States Dragoons on the 10th of March, 1846. Since that time a town has sprung up numbering within its limits some one hundred and fifty inhabitants. There are few countries that present more inducements to emigrants than this. Excellent claims may be had in Polk county for the trouble of staking them out and putting up a cabin. The population of the county is estimated at 1,500.”

¹ Shambaugh's “Documentary Material relating to the History of Iowa,” No. 3, p. 48. For a statute of the Territory of Michigan repealing the statutes of Parliament, see “Documentary Material, etc.,” No. 3, p. 74.

GENERAL ED WRIGHT.

BY CHARLES ALDRICH.

The writer prepared a paper on the late General Ed Wright, which appeared in the supplement to the proceedings of the Pioneer Law Maker's Association for 1894. That paper with sundry corrections is herewith presented as the tribute of a friend of almost forty years to the memory of this distinguished gentleman, who died on the 6th of December, 1895.

In August, 1856, the people of Cedar county elected to a seat in the Legislature a young farmer, who during the intervening thirty-nine years has come to be one of the best known men in our State. It was but a few weeks after that body opened its memorable last session in Iowa City, before the people of Iowa began to hear of Ed Wright, and they have known him well and in many useful capacities from that time until now. Few men anywhere have been more continuously in office, and yet there is nothing in his character, or in his daily walk or conversation, to suggest or countenance the idea that he was an office-seeker. There is nothing demonstrative in his action or methods. His ways are very quiet, his manners eminently genial and pleasing, as become a man with a Quaker ancestry. Any idea of management, or acting for effect, is wholly foreign to his nature or to a fair understanding of the man. Moreover, no one is more outspoken or positive in the expression of his opinions. None of his utterances are of a doubtful nature or admit of dubious constructions. But he has, all these years, been in active politics, and almost continuously in public office. There must be some reason unusual and extraordinary for such a successful career. But to those who know him intimately and



Ed Wright

well there is no fog or mystery connected with his success. One simple rule has governed his course through life, and that is, to do well and with all his might whatever his hands have found to do. The belief in his integrity, and that he is a perfectly safe and always judicious and reliable man—adequate to the performance of any task that he would undertake or any responsibility he would assume—is universal. The man to whom that kind of reputation seems to attach as a natural consequence, to be part and parcel of his make-up, and who possesses the equally rare gift of contentedly biding his time, is pretty apt to be in demand, to be wanted. He will stand like a pillar in a community, while even greater men may fall by the wayside—"die and make no sign."

When he took his seat in the legislature the first subject to which he gave his attention was that of parliamentary law and the rules of the House. There were plenty of old, cultured, professional men in that body—men who, like Col. Crockett, could speak eloquently upon any occasion or upon none whatever!—but in a very short time Ed Wright possessed a better knowledge of the rules and precedents governing deliberative bodies than all the old stagers combined. When knotty questions arose during his long legislative career even Speakers would appeal to him to straighten out the kinks. He was listened to as one who spoke by authority, and he generally had his finger upon the section or clause in Cushing's great Manual of Parliamentary Law which rendered his position unassailable. He easily acquired the confidence of every body—those with whom he was associated intimately as well as the public at large. When he was chairman of the Committee on Claims, in the House of Representatives of 1861, he personally acquainted himself with the merits of every account brought against the State. If he recommended or opposed the payment of a claim, that settled its fate at once and finally.

But with all his great but quiet popularity, he is far from being an easy going person, without opinions or prejudices. He is one who does his own thinking. He has never been any man's man. In fact, he has at times provoked the deepest hostility in influential quarters because he would submit to no domination. His standard of justice and right is his own, and from this, mere outside influence never swerves him. And now, at the age of nearly sixty-eight, and close upon the time when the infirmities of years, and the exposures of a soldier's life, will necessitate his abstention from all responsibility and care, he is still in the harness, at a post of arduous duty to which he was called because his services were needed, looking as carefully after every detail, and as scrupulously guarding the public interests, as at any time in his long, laborious and most useful career.

Ed Wright—and that is his whole name—not Edwin or Edward or Edgar—was born in Salem, Ohio, June 27, 1827, and is therefore at this writing (September, 1894) fairly entered upon his 68th year. His ancestors were Quakers. He was raised on a farm, acquiring his education at a district school, with a short term at the Atwater Academy, Portage county, Ohio. Upon leaving the Academy he taught school winters up to 1849, spending the summers of 1846 and 1847 in acquiring the trade of carpenter and mill wright. He was married in 1848, to Miss Martha Thompson, a lady of good education and unusual good sense and intelligence, who is remembered with great kindness and respect by hundreds of people in Cedar county and Des Moines.

He resided in Ohio until 1852, when he emigrated to Cedar county, Iowa, where he became a farmer. He was elected a member of the Iowa House of Representatives in 1856-57 and '59.

In 1862 he was commissioned Major of the 24th—"Methodist"—regiment of Iowa Infantry Volunteers, serv-

ing until the end of the war. It would afford the writer, who confesses to a high admiration of General Wright, great pleasure to follow his military career somewhat minutely, and narrate many incidents of his service, but the limitations of space will not permit.* He participated in the memorable battles of Champion Hills, Port Gibson, Winchester, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek. He was severely wounded at Champion Hills and slightly at Cedar Creek. At Winchester his favorite horse, "Old Jack," was killed under him by a solid cannon shot, while he sat upon his back, hurrying to the front with a box of cartridges. When the old horse fell, "the Major" shouldered the box and hurried to the advanced line where the cartridges were badly needed.

He won the reputation of a brave, efficient, vigilant, steady, resourceful officer, and was there, as everywhere, a favorite of those with whom he was associated. Returning from the war with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and the brevet of Brigadier-General, he resumed his avocation as a Cedar county farmer.

In the autumn of 1865, he was again chosen to the Iowa House of Representatives and elected Speaker. He was a very successful presiding officer—the equal of any man who has ever occupied that position in our State—and the superior of most of them. I was that winter Clerk of the House, and I do not recall an instance in which he was disconcerted or baffled for a single moment. He was thoroughly informed upon every point of parliamentary

*A history of Gen. Wright's Regiment, the 24th Iowa Volunteer Infantry, was commenced in the first number of Vol. I. of this Series of THE ANNALS, and completed in No. 1. of the present volume. It was partly written by Mr. Thad. L. Smith, who died before he was able to complete his task. The work was finished by Mr. Chas. L. Longley. These gentlemen served as private soldiers in that regiment—comrades-in-arms with Gen. Wright. He also commanded the regiment in the battles of Sabine Cross Roads, Opequan, Winchester, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek, and his reports were printed in full in the Report of Adjutant General N. B. Baker, for 1864-5—pp. 1144-63. To these sources the reader is respectfully referred for full particulars of Gen. Wright's military career.

law, and kept the House and himself well in hand. In the autumn of 1866 he was elected Secretary of State, which distinguished position he filled six years. In this, as in every other place to which he has been called, he won the most universal commendation. Retiring to private life in January, 1873, he was chosen Secretary of the Board of Capitol Commissioners, and Assistant-Superintendent of Construction, serving until 1884, when he became Custodian of the new edifice. This is a laborious position, requiring a man of good business habits, who, to be practical and efficient, should come very near being "Jack-of-all-trades." General Wright discharged its duties so satisfactorily that he was reappointed for each succeeding biennial period, as a matter of course, until the election of Governor Horace Boies. He was then succeeded by a Democrat.

The Executive Council, almost immediately after he was relieved from the duties of Custodian of the building, placed him in charge of the improvement of the Capitol grounds, for which the legislature had made an appropriation of \$100,000. He served until the following winter, securing plans for the work and getting it fairly commenced. He then resigned, recommending that the engineer who had been in his employ should be placed in charge of the work. This recommendation was adopted by the Executive Council.

When the Columbian Fair was in progress a chief of the bureau of information was needed—and who so well qualified as General Ed Wright? If he did not have an answer to any possible question at his tongue's end, he knew where to find it promptly. He was invited to take this place, remaining till the close of the Fair, and as usual winning "golden opinions" from his large and hourly changing constituency.

In April of the current year (1894) he was appointed Member of the Board of Public Works of the city of Des Moines, which place he occupies at this writing.

During the summer of 1895 it was noticed by the intimate friends of General Wright that his health was gradually failing. But he continued to discharge the arduous and often perplexing duties of his position as a member of the Board of Public Works of the city of Des Moines, until about four months before his death. When the end came after a lingering and distressing illness, which was borne with his characteristic patience and fortitude, the Executive Council adopted resolutions expressive of the deep sense of loss which filled the public mind, asking that the remains of the citizen, soldier and statesman should lie in state in the rotunda of the Capitol, and that the funeral should be a public one. The family acceded to this request which was conveyed to them by Gov. Frank D. Jackson. It was most fitting that he should be buried from this magnificent edifice, not only because of his long and most honorable public service, but because of his connection with it during the time of its construction and as its custodian for many years. Private funeral services were held at his late residence Sunday morning, December 9th, after which the casket was borne to the State House where the remains were viewed by thousands of the people. At 2:30 the public funeral services concluded these tributes of respect. It was the first instance in the history of Iowa in which such distinguished public honors had been paid to the memory of any man. The action of the State authorities met with universal approval. From the addresses made at the funeral we select for presentation here the remarks of his long-time friend, Ex-Governor Cyrus C. Carpenter, which have not hitherto appeared in print:

I suppose the reason I have been requested by the daughters of General Wright, to make a few remarks on this occasion, is because I had known him for many years, and for four years was very intimately associated with him. My first acquaintance with General Wright was in January, 1858. I came to Des Moines as a member of the first General Assembly which met in this city. He was also a member of that Assembly, and had been a member of the previous General Assembly which met at Iowa City. We were both young men, I perhaps two or three years the younger. During that winter I saw much of him and learned to respect his character. For the next ten or twelve years I only met him occasionally. But in January, 1872, I became associated with him as a member of the Executive Council, and during the following two years, which were the closing years of his administration as Secretary of State, my association with him, in official life, was

constant and intimate. I learned in those two years, more than ever, to respect his judgment and admire his character.

Soon after the close of his official career as Secretary of State, a vacancy occurred in the Secretaryship of the Board of Capitol Commissioners. By virtue of my office I was a member of that Board. Upon consultation among the Commissioners it was their unanimous judgment that General Wright was the man for the position. He was accordingly appointed, and was also made assistant Superintendent of Construction. His thoroughness in every thing he undertook, together with the fact that he had been a mechanic in his early life, made his appointment a most fortunate choice. I have frequently said, and it was scarcely an exaggeration, that he saw every brick and every stone that went into that immense superstructure. I see Mr. Dey and Mr. Finkbine, who were members of the Commission sitting upon my left—Mr. Finkbine being the Superintendent of Construction—and I know that he will bear me out in saying, that General Wright was his right arm in the great work of his superintendency; and I am glad to bear witness that he was both hands and feet to the Capitol Commission.

I need not speak of his career as a soldier. The records in the Adjutant General's office tell that in camp and on the battle-field he showed the same fidelity to duty, and the resolute manhood that characterized him in civil life. And the monument crowning the hill above us, will preserve his portrait to future generations as one of the heroes of the war of the Rebellion.

Before closing I must speak of another element in his character. I refer to his domestic life. He was a prince in his home. He probably never saw a well day after coming to Des Moines. But he never took his illness or his head-aches into his home. Notwithstanding his shattered health I doubt if any member of his family ever heard

him utter a peevish word, or a fretful word, or a complaining word. He had a wife worthy of such a husband. Between General Wright's family and my own, there was a sincere and unchanging friendship. It afforded me opportunity to see him in his home. I have often wondered how two such strong characters, with such absolute self-control, happened to become husband and wife. This was an ideal home in its simplicity and its genuine Americanism. General Wright was never spectacular in private or public life. With him it was all plain business. I remember many years ago, after I left Des Moines, coming back upon a brief business visit. It was while Mrs. Wright was upon her death-bed. Before leaving the city I was invited into the room to take her by the hand and bid her good-bye. As I took her hand I knew it was the last time I should ever look into her face this side the grave. But notwithstanding the dark shadow hanging over that household I was the only person in the room unable to talk. I have frequently thought that if any person who had not known me personally while living, should feel sufficient interest in me, after I am gone, as to imagine what manner of man I was, I should like to have my friends able to say: "That he was a sincere man, he was a faithful man, he was a patriotic man, in brief he was in all respects a true man." All this can be said of General Wright. What need I say more?

We copy the following articles for the reason that they so tersely and fittingly express the popular estimate of the deceased.

The death of General Wright removes one who was long a familiar and important figure on the streets and in the life of Des Moines. No man in the State was more highly esteemed and none more deservedly so.

His years in Iowa stretched over the long span which extends from 1852 to 1895, but six years less than the existence of Iowa as a State, and during this long career if he did aught ill either in public or in private the most rigid scrutiny never revealed it. He was one of the men

who made Iowa. As a member of the legislature, as one of the volunteer soldiers of the Union, as brave as he was patriotic, as speaker of the house, as Secretary of State, as one of the builders of the beautiful capitol building, whose erection was without extravagance or scandal, as custodian of the building for many years, and, finally, as a member of the most important municipal board in the city of Des Moines, it was given him during nearly all his life to serve the public in some capacity. He came to these various offices not because he was a vulgar seeker after official position, but because his fitness for the public service was patent and because demand was made of him. His character was of that sturdy, honest type which is the best claim of America on the attention of the world. Faithful to every trust confided to him he passed away at the end of a long life full of honor and leaving the blessed heritage of reputation which was without blemish. He was a simple and manly man who did well his appointed part and the end was beautiful and serene.

No better wish for the Iowa of the future can be expressed than that the conditions of its citizenship shall be such that men of the type of General Wright will be those to whom the people will unconsciously turn for public service.—*Des Moines Leader*, December 7, 1895.

The corner stone of the new Capitol was laid November 23, 1871, and formal possession of the building was taken by the State in January, 1884, when an inauguration address was delivered before the assembled legislators and state officials by Honorable John A. Kasson, in the course of which he said:

Our first prayer beneath this high dome is that here the moral and political foundations of this imperial State may be so deeply and so wisely laid that remote generations shall recall and celebrate the wisdom and the virtues of their ancestors who in the nineteenth century erected and occupied this solid mansion of the State.

It is for us all a source of profound gratification that from the day when the present commissioners assumed control, with their accomplished superintendent of construction, the legislative bodies have

never withdrawn from them their confidence. Not one act of peculation or spoliation, not one coin wasted or vainly spent, has defaced the bright record of their administration. It shall be a part of the legacy we leave to our children that all these vast and durable walls have been laid in the cement of honesty and built by the rule of fidelity. More proud of this legend are we than of all these classic columns and brilliant domes which please the eye and gratify the taste.

These noble words were true at the time, and they are true to-day, for the capitol building was practically finished quietly and without ceremony, and the commissioners who had watched over the interests of the State in this great undertaking for many years turned to other duties of this life without any self praise or ostentatious display. The part that General Wright took in this work was larger than is generally known. He had served his State and his country faithfully, and the board of capitol commissioners secured him for secretary and assistant superintendent of construction. He took personal charge of the office of the commission on the grounds and was, in fact, during all the period of the building in personal charge of the work. Every contract and every bill came under his personal inspection. He almost saw every stone turned before it was put in its place. He knew the thickness of every wall, the length of every pipe, the size of every window, the history of every column and decoration. After the commission had been discharged he was continued by the governor as custodian for several years. In all this General Wright was ever mindful of the interests of the State and the commissioners under whose direction he acted gave to him the confidence which he so well deserved.—*Sioux City Journal*, December 8, 1895.

At the close of their regular biennial reunion on the 13th of February, the Pioneer Law Makers' Association of Iowa, adopted the following resolution.

Resolved, That in the death of General Ed Wright this association mourns the loss of one of its founders and most eminent and beloved members, who was greatly distinguished through forty well-spent years in Iowa—as a

heroic volunteer soldier, who carried to his grave the scars of many battles; a conscientious and influential legislator, who left his impress on the laws of our State; a state officer of rare efficiency, whose name was a synonym for integrity; a pure and upright man of whom in life and death only good could be spoken.

VAN CALDWELL.

BY THE LATE HON. GEORGE G. WRIGHT.

Solicited to give my impressions of some of those prominent in Territorial times—not especially in political circles, but plain men and entitled to deserved praise for their work in the development of our commonwealth, I have selected for this brief paper my long-time and esteemed friend whose name appears at the head of this article.

Van Caldwell was born in Ohio county, Virginia, March 5, 1799, and died at his home on the Des Moines River in Davis county, October 8, 1856. He was the son of John and Sarah (Mulligan) Caldwell—the former a native of Scotland, the latter of Ireland. So it will be seen that he was of as pure Scotch-Irish stock as any Wallace, Scott or Cassady, or of any one either of Ulster or elsewhere. And sure I am that neither Scotland, Ireland, Virginia, or any land, need be ashamed of him or feel otherwise than complimented by the blood of this man who was a very nobleman in appearance and deportment—for he was six feet, two and one-half inches in height, turned the scales approximately at two hundred pounds, had a carriage to his last days as straight as an Indian, perfect in his proportions, with an air of manhood and inexpressible dignity which denoted the truest nobility of nature. In any assembly he commanded attention, and with strangers and friends alike that involuntary respect which such a bearing inevitably and always exacts. With him often in political

and other assemblies, traveling over our new lands in early days on horseback and by other methods, at the cabins of the early settlers and primitive hotels, I knew him well, and may be allowed to say that few if any men had a more commanding figure, or one better calculated to impress those with whom he was brought into contact, than this Virginia mountaineer.

Coming to Iowa in 1836, he first settled in Bentonsport, in Van Buren county, but in a few months removed to a farm two miles north of that place. Within a year he "tackled the wagon of the wilderness" and with his family and worldly goods went farther into the country acquired by the "Black Hawk purchase," and settled on the "claim" which was his home to the time of his death. He, however, soon met with difficulties in this new land in finding that he in common with many other adventurous spirits was within that part of the "purchase" still reserved to the Sac and Fox Indians. The settlers were therefore ordered by the Government under the guidance and compulsion of the regular troops, to leave the reservation; and all did leave, I believe, except our friend, who was permitted to remain under the following circumstances:

The Indian Agency, under the charge of that grand old Virginian, Joseph M. Street, was located near what is now Agency City. Those connected therewith needed a mill to grind their grain and provide them with needed lumber; and to meet these wants a mill was erected on Soap Creek south of the Des Moines River. As the river had to be crossed to reach the mill from the Agency, and hence, when there was water enough in Soap Creek to run the mill the river was not fordable, it was arranged by the agent, under the authority of the War Department, that the subject of this sketch could remain upon his "claim" if he would establish a ferry across the river. Under this contract he provided a ferry, being the only one in that region for years, and thus he held his "claim" and enabled the Agency

and other people to reach the place where they obtained, as they could not at any other, at least some of the necessaries of life. And this instance, by the way, serves to illustrate, as many others might, the resourceful nature of the man, the hold he always had upon those in authority and their confidence in his ability and worth.

In politics he was the most earnest and enthusiastic Whig of the Henry Clay school, that I ever knew. And though a Virginian he was as thorough and enthusiastic in his devotion to the new organization, before his death, in the campaign of 1856, as any anti-slavery man in Iowa. I need not add that had he lived he would have been a Republican without guile and among those most loyal and patriotic in the support of the Government during the struggle which involved the nation's life in 1861-65. He was emphatically of that old school who never would see anything good in "Jackson Democracy," but felt he was doing his highest duty when opposing their candidates and policies. This passing incident will serve to illustrate his intense political enthusiasm. In April, 1854, I think it was, the Whig candidate for State Superintendent was overwhelmingly defeated, but one county (Henry) giving him a majority. Stopping at Caldwell's house soon after to spend the night, he met me in his usual hospitable manner and almost at once said: "Well, they beat us again, but by ginger if a dog from Henry County should come along I would feed him on peaches and cream for a month." He never sought office, nor as far as I know held any; and yet he was a most prominent figure in our political conventions and a very valuable aid to his friends in any cause he espoused.

His name was but another for hospitality throughout the Des Moines Valley, and indeed the entire State. Those of all classes and conditions, if entitled to respect, whatever their politics or religion, and whether rich or poor, always found in his humble home a welcome. Governors Robert Lucas, John Chambers, James Clarke, Stephen Hempstead,

J. W. Grimes, R. P. Lowe and J. H. Gear; Judges Charles Mason, Joseph Williams, J. C. Hall, J. C. Knapp, Cyrus Olney, Samuel F. Miller, S. C. Hastings, T. W. Clagett, Edward Johnstone, H. H. Trimble, H. B. Hendershott, W. H. Seevers—distinguished lawyers, such as Chas. Negus, Alfred Rich, H. T. Reid, C. W. Slagle, Henry Starr, W. D. Browning—ministers, such as Samuel Clark, Milton Jamison, Daniel Lane, M. F. Shinn—prominent state officials, represented by such men as Shepherd Leffler, Jesse B. Browne, G. W. Teas, W. H. Wallace, I. N. Lewis, S. B. Shelledy, W. W. Chapman, Bernhart Henn, Gen. S. R. Curtis—these and scores of others, among the most prominent as politicians and otherwise in the Territory and State, spent many enjoyable hours with him at that home on the Des Moines River, where he was never so happy as when surrounded by them or like friends; and none happier than they when resting, it may be, upon freely furnished beds upon the floor and enjoying his hospitable if not most sumptuous table. So keenly did he enjoy these and other friends that I doubt if he ever felt well treated if they passed his house whether in summer's heat or winter's cold without a call, and utterly regardless of the hour, night or day. Then, too, when I add that no man however poor was ever turned from his house needing food or lodging, or raiment even, if within his power to supply his wants, we can measure somewhat his generosity and hospitality. One result was that he never accumulated much of this world's goods; but he did have a supreme consciousness of doing his duty, and if he died leaving fewer dollars than some others, he nevertheless led a happy and blameless life and left a name which his children and friends can ever cherish with the greatest pride and satisfaction.

Of his family, though there were others—and all an honor to his name—I have time only to mention Samuel T., a successful merchant and banker at Eddyville, and

who twice represented, and with distinction, Wapello county, in our state legislature; another Benjamin F., for years a prominent business man in Wheeling, Va., and lately mayor of that city—the third Henry C., known to all the people of Iowa, for years a leading lawyer of our State, a member of our legislature, distinguished in military service during the late war, United States District Judge, and now as Circuit Judge of the Eighth Judicial Federal Circuit. If he was blessed in his home he surely was in his noble and successful children. And in this connection I remark that few worshipped their children with a sincerer devotion, and this was returned with interest most usurious and constantly compounded. And well they might for he had the brains to know the right and the honesty to do it. Of him it may be said he had “courage without whistling for it and joy without shouting to bring it.” He was one of those who believed that the only religion which can “save a man is that which makes him a good man.” And I believe he tried to so live as to be honest with his neighbors and his God. “and hence did not need a big income to make him happy.”

Thus lived and died Van Caldwell, one of the best and highest types of Iowa's pioneers. It is true he was not learned as of the schools, but he was strong in vigorous common sense. Though not polished as society goes, he had a face so genial, and a natural courtliness of manner, which, with his imposing presence made him ever welcome in the cultured circle or the most promiscuous or mixed assemblies. Such men helped make Iowa what it is in all its greatness and glory. Give us of this class now and for all time, and years will but add to her splendor. Blessed with such men fifty years since, so we are, as I believe now, and as I hope will be for all time. Confident of this, let us hope as the past is secure, so of the future no one need be afraid.

DES MOINES, IOWA, 1895.

THE OLD CAPITOL AT BELMONT.

BY DR. J. L. PICKARD.

The cut of the first Capitol of Wisconsin and Iowa which is given in the January number of *THE ANNALS OF IOWA*, carries me back to November, 1846, when my eyes first rested upon that notable structure. As my home was but six miles away, it became a very familiar object. At the time mentioned and for some years after there stood near it its exact counterpart, which was occupied by Territorial officers. This last was transformed into a dwelling-house of respectable appearance, but has long since suffered demolition.

The Capitol which your artist has so accurately delineated suffered a worse fate and stood for a long time as a way-side inn, whose bar was its chief attraction. The railway left the little village of Belmont isolated, and the plow-share has furrowed the site.

Belmont was doubtless named from the picturesque mounds near the village. These were three in number—the two larger about two miles apart, and covered with trees, and in places by a dense undergrowth. The third mound, much smaller, was entirely barren of trees and covered with grass to its pointed summit. Its shape was almost a perfect cone. During the palmy days of Belmont, a race-track was constructed around the base of the mound exactly one mile in length. The sides of the mound became a natural “grand stand.” The spectators could easily follow around the mound and have fine view of every part of the track below them. It was an ideal track, but lost patrons with the removal of the Iowa part of the Capital to Burlington, and the Wisconsin part to Madison.

The view from the mounds was very extensive, reaching into Illinois at the south and Iowa upon the west. I have counted from the top of the west Mound over twenty reapers at work upon as many farms upon the half-circle at the south with a radius of twenty-five miles. No fairer land lies beneath the sun, though with a suitable elevation a like view might be obtained in the country east of Iowa City.

IOWA CITY, February, 1896.

EMIGRANTS TO IOWA.—There is a ferry across the Mississippi some five miles below here called "Junction Ferry," and a ferry plying between the lower town of Prairie du Chien and McGregor. There is still another ferry here which plies between our upper steamboat landing and a point below the mouth of Yellow River, called the "Upper Ferry." Each of these ferries employs a horse-boat, and is crowded all the time with emigrants for Iowa. Sometimes the emigrants have to encamp near the ferry two or three days to await their chance of crossing in the order of their arrival. They come in crowds a mile long; they come with wagon-loads of household fixings, with droves of cattle and flocks of sheep—they come from every land that ever sent adventurers westward, and the cry is, "still they come!" The emigration to the northern part of Iowa this year exceeds anything in the way of inland emigration we ever saw or heard of, except perhaps, the first stampede across the Plains to California. The instances we have mentioned are only indices to what is passing on every road leading into upper Iowa, to say nothing of the multitudes brought up by the boats.—*Crawford County (Wis.) Courier, July, 1854.*

FIRST THINGS IN IOWA.

BY L. F. ANDREWS.

The first white man set foot on Iowa soil June 25, 1673.

The first white settlement was near Dubuque in 1788.

The first territorial organization was July 3, 1838.

The first territorial governor was Robert Lucas, 1838 to 1841.

The first State governor was Ansel Briggs, 1846 to 1850.

The first court is believed to have been held at Burlington in April, 1835.

The first territorial chief justice was Charles Mason, 1838 to 1847.

The first state chief justice was Joseph Williams, 1847 to 1848.

The first capitol was located at Burlington in 1838.

The first territorial legislature convened at Burlington in November, 1838.

The first state legislature convened at Iowa City, the second capital, November 30, 1846.

The first legislature convened at Des Moines, the third capital, January 11, 1858.

The first speaker of the territorial House of Representatives was William H. Wallace, of Henry County.

The first president of the territorial Council was Jesse B. Browne, of Lee County, who was also the first speaker of the House of Representatives of the state legislature.

The first President of the State Senate was Thomas Baker, of the Fifth District.

The first State Constitution was framed in October, 1844, but was rejected by a vote of the people at an election held August 4, 1845.

The first State government was organized Dec. 28, 1846.

The first organized counties were Dubuque and Des Moines, which embraced the entire State, then a part of Michigan territory.

The first church was built at Dubuque in 1834. There are now in the state, 4,427, valued at \$14,987,694.

The first school house was built at Dubuque in 1833. There are now 13,613, valued at \$15,645,543.

The first newspaper was issued at Dubuque, May 11, 1836. There are now 915 in the State.

The first post office was established in 1833 at Dubuque.

The first white male child born in the State was John H. Ludlow, where Muscatine now is, September 30, 1831.

The first white female child born in the State was Eleanor Garland, at Ft. Madison, in 1830. Her father was an army surgeon.

The first railroad was laid at Davenport, in May, 1854, and the first locomotive entered Iowa there, in that month.

The first locomotive crossed the State to the Missouri river at Council Bluffs in February, 1867.

The first locomotive that reached Des Moines was the "Marion, No. 11," August 28, 1866, on the Des Moines Valley road.

The first woman to be given a seat on the floor of the House of Representatives by a vote of that body, was Mrs. L. F. Andrews, as a press reporter, in 1866.

IOWA CREDIT.—A few years since, the State of Iowa, which by its Constitution cannot at any time borrow or owe over \$100,000, was in want of a sum of \$60,000, which was endeavored to be raised in Wall Street, the State offering to redeem the loan in ten years and pay eight per cent. per annum interest. The loan was effected without limitation of time, in Philadelphia, at eight and ten per cent. per annum, payable half yearly. The State would now be glad to pay it off, but cannot without giving twenty per cent. premium.—*New York Evening Post*, Jan. 18, 1851.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

HON. M. M. HAM.

The frontispiece of this number of THE ANNALS is a very good portrait of Ex-Senator M. M. Ham, long the editor of *The Dubuque Herald*. Our leading article—which presents clearly and succinctly about all that is known in regard to Julien Dubuque—"the first white man in Iowa"—is a valuable contribution from Mr. Ham's pen. Whether additional information may ever be obtained in regard to that famous, if but little known pioneer, may well be doubted, though we believe that long-hidden business or official papers are likely some day to be discovered, which may throw further light upon his busy and romantic career. Mr. Ham has presented our readers with a most readable article covering the entire case in the present condition of information. We are sure that this communication will be widely read, while it possesses permanent historical value. This mention affords the opportunity to add that, since the organization of the Iowa Historical Department in 1892, Mr. Ham and his co-partner, Mr. D. D. W. Carver, have been among its most liberal supporters and contributors. They early presented 107 bound volumes of the leading journal known at various times as *The Express and Herald* and *Dubuque Herald*, running back almost continuously for forty years, including also files of *The Western Democrat and Common School Journal*, published at Andrew, Jackson County, from 1849 to 1852, by Col. J. B. Dorr. These volumes are among the most valuable historical treasures owned by the State of Iowa, covering as

they do several years concerning which but little other data is in existence. Mr. Ham has made many studies in genealogy and local history, of which the results may some day be published, should he regain his health which for some time has been very precarious.

THE PASSING OF OLD IOWA.

The deaths during the past twelve months of Ex-Senator James F. Wilson, Ex.-Judge Geo. G. Wright, Gen. Ed Wright and John G. Foote, have drawn renewed attention to the fact that the pioneers of our State are not only rapidly going hence, but that they are nearly all gone. The thought comes home to the writer with added emphasis for the reason that from two of them—long-time valued personal friends—we had received promises of articles for THE ANNALS which will never be written. Senator Wilson was a prominent actor—though at the time a young man, at the threshold of his illustrious career—in the Convention which framed the present Constitution of our State. He expected to write his recollections of the leading men of that body, and had health and life been spared would no doubt have presented the people of this State with many interesting reminiscences of that far-off time. That he did not live to do this precious work our readers will as deeply regret as do we. Judge Wright had given some time during the last three years of his useful and honored life to recording his recollections of distinguished Iowans whom he had known intimately and well, with many of whom he had been closely associated. A

few of these sketches we have published, but many more exist among his manuscripts, from which we hope hereafter to draw valuable materials for these pages. It may have been in his thoughts some day to include these in a book. It is a great loss to the meager data of Iowa history that these two distinguished men were not spared to write what they knew of early Iowa—"all of which they saw and part of which they were." Each could have written a most valuable autobiography.

Of the men able and willing to write of our early days, how few are with us! Of the earliest comers only Theodore S. Parvin remains. Just entering upon his eightieth year, his pen is still active in setting down what he remembers of early Iowa. A later comer was the versatile and accomplished Dr. William Salter, who is doing every thing in this direction that his years and the condition of his health will permit. Ex-Governor C. C. Carpenter, one of the earliest residents of Fort Dodge, though an invalid, still has hopes of recording many things which will have great value. That these three useful men may be spared to add to our historical records, is most devoutly to be hoped. H. H. Bancroft, the distinguished historian of the Pacific States, avers that the most reliable and valuable materials for history are the recollections of men—even of common, uneducated observers—eye-witnesses of events of which it is desired to make permanent record. With this view of our conditions it is most unfortunate that greater efforts have not all along been made to gather and perpetuate this knowledge which is so rapidly "fading into the azure of the past." But of old Iowa little now remains, and very soon he who would know anything of early Iowa history will have to grope for it almost in the dark, studying the collections of neighboring States, and drawing his conclusions largely from our early laws. The old are rapidly yielding their places to a generation to which even the war of the rebellion is ancient history.

THE NAMING OF FLOYD COUNTY.

Hon. P. M. Casady, a resident of Des Moines at the date of this publication, was a State Senator in the year 1850, and at the regular session at Iowa City, commencing on the second day of December, a member of the committee on New Counties. On the eleventh day of that month he introduced "Senate File No. 5, a bill for an act to establish new counties, and defining their boundaries." Of the consideration and final passage of this bill—under the provisions of which no less than fifty counties in the western half of the State were named and their boundaries defined, Mr. Casady presented an interesting account in a paper read before the Pioneer Law-Makers Association of Iowa at the Biennial Re-Union held in Des Moines, February 14th and 15th, 1894. An abstract of Mr. Casady's paper was copied on pp. 195-202 of this volume of THE ANNALS. In this he sets forth that Floyd County received its name in memory of William Floyd, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, of the State of New York, though it had been suggested that the present county of Woodbury should receive the same name in honor of Sergeant Charles Floyd of the Lewis and Clarke Expedition, who died near Sioux City, August 20, 1804. His statement seemed clear and sufficient, but a great degree of interest having recently arisen in relation to Sergeant Floyd, the question of the naming of the present county which bears that name came again under discussion. There seemed to be four claimants for the honor, viz: William Floyd the Signer, Sergeant Charles Floyd, John B. Floyd the Confederate General, and one William Floyd, a civil engineer, who lived in Sioux City long ago.

The matter thus appearing to be in much confusion, Prof. Elliott Coues, of Washington, D. C., who has edited the Journal of Sergeant Floyd for publication, wrote to a

friend in Des Moines to learn, if possible, the exact truth in regard to it. In compliance with this request Mr. Casady made the following statement:

"It was at first in contemplation to name the present county of Woodbury in honor of Sergeant Charles Floyd, and that territory was so designated in the original bill, which I introduced. But this was not agreed to, and the Indian name, Waukaw, was substituted for that of Floyd. The county bore the name, Waukaw, three years, when it was changed to Woodbury, as it stands to-day. Later on in the session the present county of Floyd was so named in honor of William Floyd, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence from the State of New York. This I am certain was done at the suggestion of some member of the House of Representatives who had come from the Empire State. There was a disagreement over some section or sections of the bill, and it went to a committee of conference, undergoing first and last considerable discussion upon several of the suggested names."

In this State there are no stenographic reports of the debates and discussions in the Legislature, and the early Journals of the House and Senate are very meager. Much of the general consideration of the measure occurred in committee of the whole of which no records whatever were kept. John B. Floyd, was then a young man and unknown. So was Floyd, the civil engineer. Neither of these men were mentioned in that connection. There is no positive written or printed contemporary record of this matter in existence. We take Judge Casady's recollection to be final and conclusive, and accept it the more willingly because we heard him make the same statement many years ago. Much confusion has arisen over the subject through the lapse of years, and from the similarity of names, but we have no doubt Mr. Casady sets forth the exact truth. Hon. George G. Wright, Ex-Chief Justice of our Supreme Court, and Ex-United States Senator, was still living in Des Moines (1895) when this matter was again investigated. He was a State Senator with Judge Casady in 1850. While his more immediate attention was given to other subjects of legislation, he strongly supported the statement of Mr. Casady, expressing himself as having no doubt of its absolute correctness. These facts were carefully put together and sent to Dr. Coues, upon receipt of which, he

wrote as follows to his friend who had looked the matter up: "Thank you very much for the information about the naming of Floyd County. The evidence you present is conclusive, and I shall consider it final."

In all probability, therefore, these facts will be incorporated in Dr. Coues editorial notes, and so be accepted, forever ending a controversy which might be protracted but for the evidence of those two clear-headed witnesses—Messrs. P. M. Casady and George G. Wright of Des Moines.

THE INCEPTION OF IOWA RAILROADS.

The Rev. William Salter, D. D., of Burlington, has sent many interesting documents to our Historical Department, but none more so than the following letter by Gov. and United States Senator James W. Grimes. In the year 1852 there was not a mile of railroad in the State of Iowa. In fact, none even reached the eastern bank of the Mississippi until two years later. The legislature had convened at Iowa City, on the 6th day of December, 1852. The representatives from Des Moines County, in the House of Representatives, were James W. Grimes, Justus Clark, W. Seymour and J. Wilson Williams. Gen. Augustus Cæsar Dodge was one of our United States Senators, and at his post of duty at Washington. During the third week of the session Mr. Grimes wrote Gen. Dodge on railroad questions, as follows:

HOUSE OF REP'S, IOWA CITY, Dec. 24, '52.

DEAR SIR:—I have supposed that you might desire some information in relation to the present condition of railroad matters in this city. You may obtain information from other sources, and if so you will pardon me for troubling you. The project of a road from Dubuque to Keokuk is entirely dead. It has only twenty-one friends in the House to forty-two against it, and the disproportion is about the same in the Senate. Memorials passed are for three roads:

1st. A road from Burlington to the Missouri River, at or near the mouth of Platte.

2nd. A road from Davenport *via* Muscatine to Kaneshville (Council Bluffs.)

3rd. A road from Dubuque to Fort Des Moines.

No other memorials will pass this winter, and the above may be regarded as the settled policy of the State. I will endeavor to have the memorials forwarded to you as soon as they shall be enrolled.

Yours truly, etc.,

JAMES W. GRIMES.

In view of the immense development of railroads in Iowa, this letter would indicate that the ambition of the people of the State at that day, in this direction, was very moderate. The principal object for which Mr. Grimes became a member of that legislature was to start a movement in behalf of building railroads, and in this he succeeded admirably. He introduced the memorial for a grant of land by Congress to aid in the construction of the Burlington and Missouri railroad, and without doubt was friendly to the other lines mentioned, which were endorsed by the legislature.

“THE UNCONSIDERED NOW.”

The following article from the pen of Hon. S. M. Clark of the Keokuk *Gate City*, in a style at once clear and convincing, sets forth the idea which underlies the work of historical collecting, not only in this State, but everywhere else. We commend it to our readers as affording an excellent illustration of the efforts of the Historical Department of Iowa, the chief work of which is the preservation of the data for the history of the State and its people—those facts which, however much they may be “unconsidered now,” will in future days be worth a thousand fold more than all they cost. It has been a con-

stant surprise to us to see how naturally people come to obtain facts from our collections, and it has been highly gratifying to be able to aid so many of them, notwithstanding the work is not yet four years old. But read what Mr. Clark says:

The late Judge Edward Johnstone was talking to us about how unconsciously people live history and take no account of it and throw its records into the waste basket and think nothing about it. After a while that which was such a commonplace present becomes the past and history, and you want the records of it and they are gone—thrown away as unconsidered trifles. Thus, he knew very well a man living in a neighboring town. He met him often and talked with him often and got letters from him sometimes and threw them away after reading. After a time that man was dead in a tragic way and his name was known to certain of his adherents and many other people over the world, for it was Joseph Smith, founder of the Mormon religion, canonized now as a prophet in the thought of thousands of his co-religionists. Many times afterwards Judge Johnstone would have been glad to have written of his own personal knowledge of Joseph Smith and to have had his letters to show the manner of man the prophet was and how he wrote, yet the letters had been dissolved in the dust-heaps of long past years, because we seldom think now that the now can become history.

In the like manner that Judge Johnstone was speaking of, how we let history and biography escape us in an unconsidered way! In those palmy days of Keokuk in the fifties, when a canal for the commerce that never was, was being made by the state of Iowa along the Des Moines river; when the oak and elm thickets, and groves here where Black Hawk and Keokuk and their bands had lounged about in the Indian fashion had been cut down over night to make room for a palatial home and a street alongside of it of such deadly depth of yellow clay that sometimes an unwary lady who had ventured abroad had to be taken home on a dray as the only possible form of transportation; in those days of myth and memory there was a young man idling about his brother's job-printing office in Keokuk, setting types a little, making pretense of reading law a little, writing himself down as an "antiquarian" in the bran-new first directory the ambitious young city ever had, swapping yarns in a drawling way with the other fellows. Of course they paid no more attention to his yarns than to the other fellow's yarns, if so much. How could they know until they took up the *New York Herald* years afterwards and were put into a glow with the matchless fun of "The Innocents Abroad," that that drawling "Antiquarian" of the job office and the old Billings house was "Mark Twain?" And that the yarns and jokes he had drawled out to them would be worth \$100 a page after awhile, when written out as literature that stands well at the head of American letters in its way?

PROFESSORS WACHSMUTH AND SPRINGER.

Dr. Charles R. Keyes, State Geologist of Missouri, whose home is in this city, presents our readers an interesting historical account of the labors of the Iowa scientists whose names stand at the head of this article. This is all the more appropriate just now, from the fact that while the article was in preparation for the press, Prof. Charles Wachsmuth died at his residence in the city of Burlington. Dr. Keyes pays a just tribute both to the deceased naturalist and to his surviving associate. Their labors in paleontology—largely within our own State—have been surpassed by few men of their time—doubtless by none in any one special field. All this is admirably told by Dr. Keyes, but he modestly omits all mention of his own important share in the production of this forthcoming work. He was himself long employed in making the drawings from which the plates copiously illustrating this great monograph were engraved. To this extent he becomes a joint author in its production. Some time may yet elapse before this monumental work will be issued from the press. But its completion is fully assured. It is a matter which Iowa people may ever contemplate with pride, from the facts that it was the inspiration and production of our own citizens, and based upon materials largely drawn from Iowa rocks. It is greatly to be regretted that the magnificent, priceless collections of Charles Wachsmuth and Frank Springer are not to remain in our State. This great loss to Iowa is likely to be better appreciated in the future.

THE LAUNCHING OF THE IOWA.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., March 28, 1896.—At the launching of the new battleship Iowa at Cramps' ship yards this afternoon, the following stirring poem by Major S. H. M. Byers, of Iowa, was read, each stanza being enthusiastically applauded:

Wake, giant of oak and steel,
Asleep by the yellow sand,
And give to the sea thy keel,
And bid farewell to the land.
At the touch of beauty arise,
At the words that shall bid thee move,
At the hand that shall thee baptize,
And give to the sea its love.

Sail, sail, O ship that is ours,
New warrant that peace shall be,
Whatever the cloud that lowers,
O ship of the western sea!
To every land of the earth,
To seas that are fair and far,
Bear thou the message of worth
That peace is better than war!

But guard thou ever our fame,
From gulf to the utmost bay,
And keep forever thy name
As fair as it is to-day.
And if ever grim war should come,
In spite of the mien we bear—
With the sound of the hurrying drum,
And the wail of death on the air—

Then open thy sides of steel,
And fight with thy thousand men
Till the ships of the foe shall feel
There are giants abroad again;
And thunder with all thy guns,
And smite with thy lightning stroke,
Nor stop though thy bravest sons
Lie bleeding in battle's smoke.

Cry out to them Perry's name,
Remember how Lawrence fell,
And the flag that's above the flame,
In spite of the fires of hell.
And if ever a foe should bid
Thee yield to a haughty hand,
Tell him what our Morris did
When he sank with the Cumberland.

Far better the ship go down
And her guns, and her thousand men,
In the depths of the sea to drown,
Than ever to sail again
With the day of her promise done,
Or the star of her glory set,
Or a thread from the standard gone,
That never has yielded yet.

Then wake, O giant of steel,
 That sleeps by the yellow sand :
 Arise from thy dreams and feel
 The thrill of a nation's hand !
 Sail, sail to many a main,
 Strange lands and to trackless ways,
 But ever come back again
 New crowned with the victor's bays.

Your colors already we know—
 The colors our hearts adore,
 The sea wave's white and wine's red glow
 And the blue sky bending o'er.
 Sail, sail, O sail,
 But come to us at the last,
 If from the battle, or from the gale,
 With the old flag at the mast.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

GEORGE W. BASSETT who died at Elsinore, California, on the 6th of February, was an old-time resident of Iowa, and for many years a well known and prominent citizen. He was born in Canada West in 1827. His maternal grandfather was a soldier of the American Revolution and a member of Congress during Washington's administration. He lost an arm at the battle of Bennington. Mr. Bassett's parents returned to the United States when he was a child and settled in the West. He entered Wabash College when a young man, earning money by manual labor to pay his way while pursuing his studies. After finishing his course at Wabash, he entered the law-school at Cincinnati. After graduating there he came to Des Moines in 1856, and entered the law office of Hon. John A. Kasson. In 1858 he went to Fort Dodge and formed a law partnership with Judge W. N. Meserve which continued until he enlisted in the Union army, in 1861, in a Fort Dodge company, which was attached to the 11th Pennsylvania Cavalry. He served in the army of the Potomac as a Lieutenant of his company. He was twice wounded in battle, and so disabled that he was mustered out in 1862. His service as a soldier was performed as every other duty by him, faithfully and conscientiously. Though in poor health, he never complained, and was always ready to do his utmost for the noble cause in which he had enlisted. He returned to Fort Dodge, and in the fall of 1863 was elected to the State Senate, representing the 43rd district which then embraced twenty-eight counties of northwestern Iowa—more than one third of the entire territory of the State. His District extended from the east line of Hancock county west to the Missouri river at Sioux City, and from the south line of Harrison county to Minnesota on the north. He served with marked ability in the Tenth and Eleventh General Assemblies, representing the varied interests of his district to the satisfaction of his widely extended constituency. He was for nearly twenty years general agent for the lease and sale of the lands embraced in the Agricultural College grant to Iowa, and conducted that business successfully, handling more than 200,000 acres to the satisfaction of the State and the College. Several years ago his failing health required a milder climate, and he removed to California, marrying late in life. He leaves a widow and a bright little girl of five. A close friend of Mr. Bassett writes of him: "As student, soldier, public

official or business man, no influence that was not wholesome and beneficial ever came from him. His integrity knew no temptations. His conduct and career were not guided by considerations of passing interest or policy, but by principles of life to which he was true without calculation or debate."

HON. JOHN G. FOOTE, of Burlington, died at his home on the 4th of March, at the age of eighty-two. He was born at Middlebury, Vermont, April 21, 1814. He came to Iowa in 1843, settling at Burlington where he carried on the hardware business for thirty-three years. He was one of the promoters of the Burlington and Missouri River railroad, the first built into that city, and was treasurer of that company for some time. He was a director of the Peoria and Carthage and Burlington railroads, and also a director of the first telegraph line in Burlington. He was one of the organizers of the First National Bank of Burlington, and for many years one of its directors. In 1861 he was elected on the Republican ticket State Senator, serving in the Ninth and Tenth General Assemblies. As a legislator he ranked among the ablest financiers of the Senate, and won the confidence and esteem of its members. In 1872 Mr. Foote was appointed one of the Commissioners to superintend the erection of the new State House, and acted as manager of the finances until the building was completed in 1886. Under his administration \$2,876,300 were expended during the fourteen years in which the Capitol was in progress of erection. It is but justice to say that not a dollar of that large sum was misappropriated, and that the State got full value for every dollar expended. The splendid State House is an enduring monument to the ability and fidelity of the commissioners who erected it. Mr. Foote's associates in Burlington truly say of him: "Receiving and holding the confidence of all men, important trusts were committed to him, always to be administered with intelligence and fidelity. In the city of Burlington he upheld the honor of a merchant, and in the commonwealth of Iowa, as a representative and commissioner, raised the standard of the public service."

THEOPHILE BRUGUIER, who died at Salix, Woodbury county, on the 18th of February, was the first white settler in that part of the State. He was born in France, in 1807. His father was a Captain in the British army. Young Brugulier went to New Brunswick and was employed in a store for a few years. But the spirit of adventure soon took him to the far west, beyond civilization, and among the Santee Sioux Indians. He soon adopted their habits and dress and learned their language. He married two daughters of the great chief War Eagle. It was in 1835 that he first settled near the mouth of the Big Sioux river. At the time of the Santee treaty the government gave him 400 acres of land for each member of his family. At one time he owned 30,000 acres, which he divided among his children. For many years he was largely engaged in trading with the Indians and furnishing supplies to the government for the frontier army and forts in the Indian country. For a generation he was the best known man in Western Iowa.

DR. JOHN NEWMAN, who died in Des Moines on the 27th of January, was one of the oldest ministers in the service of the Methodist church in the State. He was also one of the ablest, and a man who had done much for the upbuilding of that denomination in Iowa and the west. He was a most genial and kindly gentleman of the old school. True

politeness marked his intercourse with all. He was an intelligent, lovable old man, a most beautiful character. He frequently called at the State Historical rooms and the state library where it was his especial delight to pore over works of genealogy. He had interested himself in tracing out the genealogy of the great Newman family, and the discoveries he had made in regard to his own ancestry were many and most interesting. Dr. Newman was a man of every pleasing quality: a man whom it was ever a delight and pleasure to honor—one who loved those about him as he was beloved by them and whose every word and act were characterized by kindness.

DR. FREEMAN McCLELLAND, a member of the present Legislature from Linn County, died at his home in Cedar Rapids on the 13th of February. He was born November 28, 1830, in Westmoreland county Pennsylvania. He graduated from a medical college in Philadelphia in 1855. In 1862 he came to Iowa, settling at Cedar Rapids. In 1864 he was appointed assistant surgeon of the Sixteenth Iowa Infantry, and served until the close of the war. He soon after became the editor of *The Times* at Cedar Rapids, finally purchased an interest in the establishment and made journalism his chief occupation for the remainder of his life. In 1895 he was elected on the Republican ticket to a seat in the House of the Twenty-sixth General Assembly. His health was not good at the opening of the session, and on the 9th of February he went home to die. The end came very soon, and our State lost one of its most useful and honored citizens.

CHRISTIAN CONRAD, of Delaware county, died at his home in Coffin's Grove, on the 5th of March at the great age of one hundred and sixteen years. "He was the oldest man in the United States. He was born in Pennsylvania in September, 1780, and was thirty-two years old and living on a homestead when the war of 1812 broke out. He enlisted in the war and saw Colonel Miller's charge on Queenstown Heights. He was in the battle of Fort Erie and saw Commodore Perry's victory on the lake. After the war he operated boats on the Erie canal till 1845, when he removed to McHenry county, Illinois. In 1860 he removed to his present farm, where he has lived in a two-room log house ever since. His wife aged eighty, is left after sixty years of married life. She had eleven children."

COL. RICHARD B. WYCKOFF, a member from Jackson county of the first Constitutional Convention, which assembled at Iowa City, Oct. 7, 1844, more than fifty-two years ago, died in Lyons, on the 25th of January. He was an influential member of the Convention, serving on the Committee on county organization. He was born in Delaware county, New York, in 1816. He removed to Michigan in 1836, and when Iowa Territory was organized in 1838, he came further west, settling in Jackson county. After his service in the Constitutional Convention of 1844, he was elected a member of the Third General Assembly—1850-51. He held various county offices, during his residence in Jackson county, among which were recorder, treasurer and probate judge. In 1872 he removed to Lyons which was his home up to the time of his death.

MARTHA ANN KELLEY, of Sioux City, died at her home on the 28th of February. She was the oldest daughter of Colonel S. G. Hill of Muscatine, who was killed while gallantly leading a brigade at the battle of Nashville, December 15, 1864. Martha A. Hill was for several

years a valued assistant in the office of the clerk of the Supreme Court at Des Moines. In May, 1878, she married John C. Kelley, then one of the editors of the *Des Moines Leader*. A few years later Mr. Kelley purchased the *Sioux City Tribune*, and they had since made that city their home. She was a lovely girl, a noble woman, esteemed by all who knew her. Her brother, Fred. Hill, was killed in the service at Yellow Bayou, La., in 1864.

LUCIAN Q. HOGGATT, an old settler of Story county, died at Ames, on the 11th of March, at eighty years of age. He was a native of Indiana, was a farmer and flat-boatman in early life. He had but a limited education, never attending school after he was thirteen years old. He was a lieutenant in the Mexican war and took part in the battle of Buena Vista. He served one term in the Indiana Legislature. In 1860 he came to Iowa and bought and settled on a tract of wild prairie near where Ames was afterwards built. He served four years as sheriff of Story county, and one term in the Iowa Legislature, as a member of the House in 1874. In 1878 he was the greenback candidate for Congress against Gov. C. C. Carpenter, who defeated him by 4,151 majority.

FRANKLIN FOLLETT, one of the old settlers at Big Rock, Scott county, died recently from paralysis. He was born at Worthington, Massachusetts, in 1835, and when eighteen years of age came with his parents to Big Rock. When the rebellion broke out he enlisted in the Second Iowa Cavalry, and served three years and three months in that famous regiment. He was a gallant and patriotic soldier, always cheerfully doing his whole duty. As a citizen he was faithful and trustworthy, a modest, industrious farmer, typical of thousands of Iowa's noblest young men who left their homes in 1861-2 to risk their lives in defence of their country.

MRS. CELIA WRIGHT CLEVELAND, eldest daughter of the late Gen. Ed Wright, died at her home in Des Moines on the 29th of February. She was born in Cedar county April 16, 1855, and came with her father and mother to this city in 1867. She was married to D. P. Cleveland in 1874, and they removed to Newark, Ohio, soon after. Her husband died there nine years ago, and in 1894 she returned to her father in this city with her two children. A sad sufferer during the illness of her distinguished father, she out-lived him a little more than two months.

LYMAN CLARK, one of the pioneers of 1856, died at Webster City on the 8th of March, at the age of sixty. Mr. Clark was a brave soldier of the 32nd Iowa Infantry and a most praiseworthy man. During his army service he contracted the disease from which he suffered until relieved by death. He was a successful business man, of the strictest integrity, and was highly esteemed by a wide circle of acquaintances.

REV. DR. ALEXANDER MARSHAL died at Marion, on the 3rd of February. He had been pastor of the Presbyterian church there for more than forty years. He died esteemed and beloved by all who knew him. His entire mature life was devoted to the interests of his church, while not neglecting his duties as a citizen of the State he loved so well.

B. F. G.

THIRD SERIES.

VOL. II. NO. 6.

JULY, 1896.

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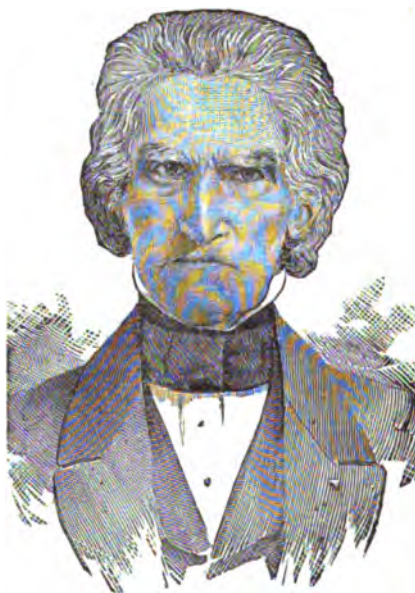
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Robert Lucas

GEN. ROBERT LUCAS,
First Governor of Iowa Territory, 1838-41.

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DES MOINES, IOWA, JULY, 1896.

THIRD SERIES.

GENERAL ROBERT LUCAS.

First Governor of Iowa, 1838-1841.

—
BY HON. T. S. PARVIN,
Private Secretary, 1838-39.
—

I have contributed (by special request) this paper to the ANNALS OF IOWA in the hope that thereby I may add not only a chapter to the early history of the State, but present more fully, and from a personal standpoint, an estimate of the personal character and great services to Iowa of her first governor, General Robert Lucas. Beside myself there remain, among the living, but two, Gen. Geo. W. Jones and Dr. Gideon S. Bailey, both very aged and feeble, who had any personal or official relation with my old friend.

Of all the pioneers of the early and formative period in our history, who "made Iowa," which, largely through their efforts and services, has become the observed of all observers for all the elements of a true and noble statehood, no one rendered more conspicuous and valuable services and no one has been so little understood as the subject of this sketch. It has ever been the light of "the rising rather than the setting sun" that attracts the attention of the multitude.

By an act of Congress, approved by President Van Buren June 17, 1838, the territory of Wisconsin west of the Mississippi river, called "Iowa District," was separated

from Wisconsin and created into an independent territorial government to take effect on the 4th of July following. Immediately upon the approval of this act, President Van Buren, upon the recommendation of the Hon. Thomas L. Hamer (one of the ablest representatives Ohio ever sent to the national Congress and who later in the Mexican war distinguished himself as a valiant soldier in the field), appointed the Hon. Robert Lucas, of Ohio (who had but recently retired from his second term of service as governor of that State), governor of the new territory. President Van Buren was further moved to this appointment by his own personal knowledge of and friendship for the appointee. General Lucas, as he was then known, had presided over the national convention, which, at Baltimore, in 1832, had nominated Martin Van Buren, known as the "little magician" of New York, for vice-president, to serve with General Jackson (whose nomination was a foregone conclusion), during his second term in the presidency. A wiser or better choice could not have been made. It was clearly a case of the exception, which should be made the rule, in which "the office sought the man" and not "the man the office," as it came not only unsought, but as a surprise to the recipient in his farmer-home on the banks of the Scioto, where he had lived for more than a third of a century.

As the territory was to be organized on the nation's birthday—to become henceforth also the anniversary of the birth of Iowa as a political organization—it became necessary for the newly appointed governor to make prompt preparations for his departure for the "new country" as it had been called, or the "Black Hawk purchase" as it was then known, a *terra incognita* to him who was soon to become its ruler and its chief builder.

I had but recently been graduated from college and had a classmate by the name of Stephen Hulse, whose father had been sheriff of Hamilton county, of which Cin-

cinnati is the county seat, as well as the commercial capital of the State. The elder Hulse was at that time keeping a hotel on Front street in the city. Calling upon my young friend one evening he asked me if I would not like to meet the old governor of Ohio, who had but recently been appointed governor of Iowa—the creation of which as a territory I had just read in the daily papers in connection with the governor's arrival in the city. Of course I was like another boy of whom I had read, anxious to see a "live governor," and so I cheerfully accompanied my young friend to the parlor where I was introduced to General Robert Lucas.

He was of tall and spare form, with hair even then tinged with grey, the foretop turned upwards very much like that of President Jackson, whose portrait is so familiar to every school boy. He was a very quiet and reserved man, and while of but few words he was yet courteous and agreeable, and it seemed very much with us, as the story goes, that it was a case of "love at first sight," for the governor evidently, after hearing very briefly from both the father and son—whose guest he was—of my history, at once tendered to me the appointment of "private secretary," and invited me to accompany him to the new territory, of whose geographical position we were so ignorant that we really thought at that time we were going to make our new home on the east, rather than the west, side of the Mississippi river. The tender of the appointment came so unexpectedly and was such a surprise that I asked until the next day to consider the subject, when, after due reflection, I called upon him in the morning with my acceptance of the honor he had tendered me, an honor I have ever since appreciated, as it brought me into personal acquaintance and relationship with one whom the more I knew the more I learned to love, and to appreciate not only his past services to the public in Ohio, but those which he later rendered to the people among whom he was to make his fu-

ture home. It was also the means, or the cause rather of my removal to the new territory, and becoming, as I ever since have been, so thoroughly identified with its history and people.

The biography of Governor Lucas for the next eight years would constitute very largely the early history of the territory of Iowa.

It has been well said that the time and place of a man's birth, and especially his early surroundings, exert a great influence upon his future character and destiny in life.

And, while it is the purpose of this paper to present the peculiar characteristics of the subject of this sketch as viewed by observing men of the period, it becomes quite necessary that I should, very briefly at least, present some sketches of his early life, education and pursuits, to the end that we may the better appreciate the services of the man whose career we are to consider.

A poetic writer has said, that "the romance of *frontier life* with all its hardships has peculiar charms for the imagination. The log house; the primitive forest crowded with game of every variety; the crystal stream flowing by the door; the boundless prairie at one time a perfect wilderness of bloom, with its flowers of gorgeous hues, again blazing in sublime conflagration, and again covered with the wild deer and the buffalo whose numbers are counted by thousands; the Indian canoe floating like a bubble upon the sea; the bounds of the savage hunters and warriors in their picturesque costumes. All these combine to give attractiveness to men of imaginative mood."

It was amid such scenes as these that Governor Robert Lucas spent his early days, whether in the State of his birth or that to which he subsequently removed and where he spent the best years of his life.

He was born at Shepardstown, Jefferson County, Virginia—a place which had given birth to two, who subsequently became Presidents of the United States—on the first

of April, 1781, a period midway between the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the National Constitution. His father was a descendant of William Penn, the Quaker founder of Pennsylvania, and his mother of Scotch extraction. The father inheriting in common the feelings of both his paternal and maternal ancestry, was a lover of human freedom, and at an early period freed every one of the adult slaves, which had become his possession by inheritance, and made humane provision for them all. This love of freedom was the son's inheritance.

It was at this period that the family removed to the Northwestern territory, which, through the instrumentality of Jefferson, had been organized into a territorial government, two years before the Nation's birth, under the famous Ordinance which bears the name of the year, 1787. The territory was consecrated to freedom, to education and to morality.

The removal of the family beyond the Ohio (the father locating in a small village on the banks of the Scioto) was in the closing year of the last century (1800), and when young Robert was but nineteen years of age. This was two years before Ohio became a sovereign State, and its settlements at that time were few and far between and of limited extent.

The father had given his boy the best education attainable to a man of his means. From a Scotch school-master he had learned the elements of the three "R's"—reading, writing and arithmetic—to which he added some advancement in mathematics, especially that of surveying. Surveying at that early period was an essential accomplishment to a young man, as we have learned from the history of Washington; and it was to the professional labor of a surveyor that the son devoted many of the subsequent years of his life. Being skillful in the line of his work, he found it remunerative, and engaged in the exploration of the unexplored territory about him.

Having secured a sufficient competence for the maintenance of a wife, and when about thirty years of age, in 1810, he married Elizabeth Brown, who died two years later, leaving an infant daughter. In 1816 he married Miss Amy Summers, whose family later removed to Iowa and located in Muscatine County. She was a native of Vermont, and had accompanied her parents in their migration from the rugged hills of New England to the fertile prairies and magnificent forests of the West.

Young Lucas had already for some years filled the position of county surveyor of Scioto County. His elder brother, Joseph, was at the time Associate Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. The younger brother received at the same time a commission as Justice of the Peace for Union Township in Scioto County, and so learned from the discharge of the duties of this important office, the points which he later, in his first message, presented to the Legislature of Iowa regarding its importance and its duties, in a new country.

The trouble with Great Britain was then the uppermost subject of interest to the people of the country, soon to develop in open warfare in 1812. Robert Lucas was of a military turn of mind, and early became identified with the military arm of the public service, and passed through its several grades to that of Major-General, which position he filled for many years, and in which capacity he rendered most valued services to his adopted State. Leading some twelve hundred of his division into service under General Hull, of Michigan, he accompanied him on the expedition into Canada and was a witness to his ignominious defeat and his inglorious surrender. The story has been often told that General Cass was so indignant that he broke his sword rather than surrender it to the foes of his country. So it is related that General Lucas escaped the surrender by putting his sword into his brother's trunk, exchanging his uniform for a citizen's dress and walking into

the town before the British reached it. After taking notes of all that was transpiring, he embarked on a small vessel and reached Cleveland in safety; and in consideration of his valuable services was commissioned as Captain* of the Nineteenth Infantry in the regular army, in March, 1812, and in February following was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the same regiment.

It is not my purpose to accompany him through the war and relate his services, but I have given what may be necessary to show his qualifications for treating military subjects to which he was later called in Iowa, as its Governor and "Superintendent of Indian Affairs."

He became a member of the Ohio Legislature in 1814, and for nineteen consecutive years served either in the House or in the Senate—most of the years as presiding officer of the latter. In 1820 and again in 1828 he was chosen as one of the presidential electors, and in 1832 he was honored with the chairmanship of the national Democratic convention which at Baltimore nominated General Jackson for his second term and Martin Van Buren as Vice-President. The same year (1832) he was elected Governor of Ohio, and re-elected in 1834, declining a third nomination.

The most important subject connected with his administration was that of the "boundary dispute" between the State of Ohio and Michigan Territory, to which we shall refer later in considering the boundary troubles between Iowa and Missouri. Before this, Governor Lucas had removed from Portsmouth, in Scioto County, to Piketon, in Pike County, where he continued to make his residence until his removal to Iowa twenty years later.

Governor Lucas, besides being the Governor of the Territory of Iowa, was, under the organic act, made the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory, a posi-

* The commission of Governor Lucas as Captain is now in the Historical Department of Iowa.—EDITOR OF THE ANNALS.

tion devolving upon him more labor and greater anxiety in the government of the aborigines than that of his executive duties in administering the government over American citizens.

The act creating the Territory of Iowa devolved upon the new Governor the duty of locating the temporary seat of government; the dividing of the Territory into three judicial districts, and the assignment of the Judges newly appointed thereto; and the issuing of a proclamation ordering an election, by the people, of members of the Legislature, to meet the following November.

Secretary Conway had reached the Territory a few weeks in advance of the Governor and repaired to Davenport, where he was closeted with Colonel Davenport and Antoine LeClaire, proprietors of the town, and through their influence had been persuaded that he was the "Acting Governor" under the law. Without waiting the arrival of the Governor or having any tidings in relation to his coming, he had proceeded to issue proclamations settling and defining the matters devolving upon the Governor by the organic act. After spending a few days in Burlington, Governor Lucas, with the writer of this sketch and Jesse Williams, who had accompanied the Governor from Ohio, and who had been a clerk in the Surveyor-General's (Lytle) office, and now appointed, by the Governor, clerk in the office of Indian affairs, made an extended tour through the river counties of the Territory, there being at that time only three or four interior counties. The object of this tour of visitation was to meet the people in their homes, become acquainted with their condition and wants as well as the needs of the Territory, the better to enable him to discharge his public duties, especially in relation to the three subjects we have named.

Returning to Burlington later, he selected that place, then a small village, as the Territorial Capital, until the Legislature should at a later date locate the Capital per-



OLD ZION CHURCH.
Capitol of Iowa Territory, 1838-41.

manently. He also issued his proclamation ordering an election and designating the time when the Legislature should convene—November 12th, following.

He approved and affirmed the proclamation of Secretary Conway (after setting aside his other acts) so far as his proclamation referred to "the division of the territory into judicial districts." This subject was the first cause of trouble, which afterwards grew to considerable magnitude between the Secretary and the Governor. The Governor had taken the ground, no doubt legally and properly, that there was no vacancy in the office and there could be none until such time as he had been qualified and entered upon the discharge of his official duties. The Secretary, in his eager haste and under improper advice, had before the arrival of the Governor presumed to be "acting governor" and proceeded to act upon that conviction. The breach was never wholly healed. The Secretary, however, died at an early period following his arrival.

The citizens of Burlington (I say "citizens," because at that time party lines had not been drawn and party men were unknown) invited the Governor to a public dinner—(this I have treated of elsewhere, under the title of "The First Banquet in Iowa")—at the Burlington hotel, Tuesday afternoon, September 4, 1838. The toasts given and the responses made at this banquet foreshadowed somewhat the subsequent history of the territory, many looking to the early period when the territory would throw off its leading strings and become an independent State.

The Governor, in response to the toast to his honor, after returning thanks, remarked that "the occasion had made a most favorable impression upon his mind." "When he received his commission," he added, that "he had been most favorably impressed with the character of the people whom he had met. He had supposed that here the population was the same as was generally found in frontier settlements—hospitable but rude. During his brief sojourn of

a few months and his journey through a considerable portion of it, he had found himself in this respect most agreeably disappointed. For intelligence and enterprise it was," he said, "his firm conviction, based upon observation, that the people would compare favorably with any of the Western and many of the Eastern States in the high character of citizenship. With people of this character it would be his greatest pleasure," he added, "to co-operate in the forming of laws calculated to secure them in the exercise of their political rights, to develop the resources of their country, and secure the prompt and easy administration of justice." This was the *key-note* to his subsequent acts as Governor of the new Territory.

Sitting beside him at that banquet, and having already learned to know him somewhat, I was impressed with his appearance, as a tall and spare man, in very plain dress, assuming to himself no airs whatever of rank, but plain spoken, truthful in all his utterances, and with little of the adornments of a natural or cultivated orator. Yet his words rang out that clear autumn day with a meaning appreciated fully by all who heard him. At the conclusion of his speech he gave a sentiment characteristic of the man, as follows:

"The citizens of Iowa—hospitable, intelligent and enterprising—may their energies be united in support of such measures as are best calculated to advance the interests of the Territory, promote virtue, increase intelligence, and secure the lasting prosperity and happiness of the people."

More honorable sentiments were never uttered by mortal man. They were a true index of his character and became the watchwords of his official action, the guiding motives of his future conduct in all his subsequent relations with the people whose government he was administering, with whom he became identified in all their interests, and among whom he lived and died.

Notwithstanding these plain declarations of principle, his pathway was not bestrewn with flowers; they bloomed upon the prairies, though far away. There were those, many of them, impatient of all rule and restraint, with little knowledge of men and less knowledge of government, who sought to do things in their own way, and, to use a phrase of later date, "run the machine" after their own desires. The value of a long life of varied experiences in civil and military affairs availed with them but little; yet, strange to say, those who most bitterly opposed him in some of his early views and acts became the strongest advocates of those measures in future years, when they themselves attained to higher positions of honor and trust, and made them the main springs of action in their public life.

No better index of the character of the man or a better presentation of his peculiar characteristics could be given than that presented by himself in his first annual message.

The Legislature, which had convened (pursuant to his proclamation) November 12th, 1838, met in "Old Zion Church," a building which, while it should have been preserved as a relic and a memorial of the past, was, pursuant to the vandalism so universal among Americans, years ago, removed to give place to a more modern building. The Governor appeared in person and administered the oath of office, both to the members of the Council (as the Senate was then termed) and of the House of Representatives; then in Joint Assembly, he delivered his message in person, as Washington and the elder Adams had in the National Congress before him.

In my judgment that message is the most important State document ever issued from the executive department of the Iowa government, Territory or State. It embodies within it more of human wisdom, forethought, and a better presentation of a greater number of important subjects, than can be

found in any similar document of a subsequent date, and while the State has made most commendable progress in its growth and development, physical and social, its advancement would have been still more rapid and still greater had the wise recommendations of its first Governor been then adopted and followed later.

The Governor, while a person of limited education, was yet a man of most profound judgment and varied and extensive knowledge of men. He had been long identified with public interests and was therefore capable of taking a very comprehensive view of public measures, with a judgment unerring and intuitive to suggest wholesome measures for the consideration of the Legislature. Probably no Territory had been organized at that period under more favorable auspices or that commanded more largely the attention of people abroad than Iowa, as is evidenced from an opening paragraph in the message, in which the Governor says:

“When we consider that the eyes of the people of the United States are upon us—that they have an interest in this Territory and feel an anxious solicitude for its prosperity (which must either be advanced or retarded by our acts), and view the immense importance of laying a good foundation of jurisprudence, and preparing a system of laws wisely adapted to our situation and interests, and reflect that the convenience, prosperity and happiness of the people are intimately connected with the local organization of the Territory, in all its various ramifications—we are impressed with a sense of the weight of responsibility imposed upon us, and are led to ask aid from that Providence who has hitherto sustained us.”

The Governor was a Christian man and had, in the opening paragraph of his message, referred to “the intervention of the Divine Providence” through which they had been permitted to convene for the purpose of organizing the Legislative Assembly. He was not ashamed to own

his Christianity; he was a devout Methodist, a regular attendant upon divine service, and often at the close of the sermon, by invitation of the minister, would address the congregation by way of exhortation, and close with a prayer, convincing the people that he was a Christian without guile.

The first and one of the most important recommendations made by the Governor was that relating to the "organization of townships." This he considered of the first importance, and almost indispensable in the local organization of the government. "Without proper township regulations," he said, "it will be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to establish a regular common school system."

This subject he argued at considerable length, and his recommendations have never yet been fully and thoroughly adopted, and as a consequence our "common school system" has failed to reach the high standard it should today occupy. Conflicting sentiments between the people of a New England origin and others hailing from the Western and Southern States have prevented the thorough engrafting of the *township system*, so essential to our civil and school government, even to this hour; but this recommendation of the Governor shows the wisdom of the man and his interests in a great, vital cause. His misfortune was, that he was half a century ahead of his time. It has taken all these years to eliminate from public sentiment opinions adverse thereto, and to assimilate the views of our Legislators to the only system of practical utility.

Here, and in this, we recognize Governor Lucas as a man not only of sound judgment, but as having a thorough knowledge of the subject of government in its best conditions.

The provisions of the great "Ordinance of 1787," under which subsequently the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, were admitted to the Union, were

of such a high character that it was a very wise forethought on the part of General Jones and others instrumental in the introduction and passage of the bill separating Iowa from Wisconsin and creating it into an independent Territorial government, that the essential provisions of that ordinance were secured to the people of Iowa in its organic act. The section reads thus:

“The citizens of Iowa shall enjoy all the rights, privileges and immunities heretofore granted and secured to the Territory of Wisconsin and its inhabitants.”

The third article of that celebrated ordinance declares that “religion, morality and *knowledge* being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, *schools* and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.” This the Governor quoted in his message, and urged upon the Legislature.

In order to carry into effect this wise provision, Congress had granted the new Territory “one section of land in each township for the purpose of schools therein.” It was in order to give greater and more lasting effect to this wise provision that he urged an organization of townships at an early date as essential, preparatory to the creation and establishment of a well-digested system of “common schools.”

The Governor, as I have heretofore stated, had enjoyed in early life only the advantages of a common school education, and in that part of Virginia in which he was born and raised the common schools had not then, if since, attained to the high importance they had in the New England commonwealths. The Governor was not personally favorable to “collegiate education”; indeed, it was his boast that without a collegiate education he had been able to accomplish more than probably I might aspire to with the higher education I had secured. He was inclined, indeed, to look rather lightly upon a collegiate education, and I would retaliate upon him by saying that “had he pos-

sessed my education as a supplement to his great natural ability and good common sense, he might have become President of the United States, instead of the Governor of a new Territory," at which he would laugh and pass it by.

However, he yielded to my suggestion and recommended the Legislature respectfully to "memorialize Congress for a grant of land for literary purposes," referring to a State University, "equal to that made by Congress in a grant at the last session to the Territory of Wisconsin." This memorial was duly passed and presented, and in response thereto Congress gave to Iowa a very liberal grant (some seventy-two sections) of choice land for the establishment and endowment of a "university." And, but for the acts of a subsequent Legislature, when we became a State, authorizing the sale of this land and robbing the University of its just due, that institution would not today be a biennial beggar at the door of the General Assembly, not for appropriations in the common sense of the term, but for the refunding of its honest dues, of which it had been improperly and illegally robbed, through the avarice of members living in the counties where such lands were located. He had no relish for the technicalities of the law and the subterfuges of lawyers; he recommended and urged that the Legislature unite its efforts in simplifying not only the laws, but the rules of practice and proceedings in the various courts of justice in the Territory, and eliminate therefrom, as much as possible, everything of a fictitious or ambiguous character. He further urged upon their consideration, as a matter of great importance to the future prosperity of the Territory, the appointment of a committee of three persons of known legal experience and weight of character, "to prepare a complete Code of laws during the recess of the Legislature," and to report it for consideration and enactment at the ensuing session.

To this recommendation no heed was given, the members considering themselves better able to enact a Code than any three men of the Territory who could be selected. It was not until 1850 that a State Legislature rose to the dignity of giving due consideration to this subject, and the result of their action was the first Code of Iowa—1851—which has become the basis of all subsequent codifications of our laws, to be culminated in that which was reported to the last (1896) session of the General Assembly.

Another recommendation in which he was a century ahead of the times, and one to which it is most unfortunate, indeed, that no heed has been given—for the necessity of such action becomes every day more and more important—was this: “I would recommend,” he said, “and urge upon your consideration the propriety of adopting a general *road system*, defining the manner of laying out and establishing territorial and county roads, and to provide for opening and *keeping them in repair*.” No improvement of a physical character is so important or fraught with such grand results to a country and a people as a well-established system of public roadways. The introduction of the bicycle and of the “horseless carriage” of the present day are making this more apparent than ever.

Governor Lucas was not a man to conceal his views on public measures; he had no fear of offending friends, much less the disaffection of enemies, and neither would keep him from saying what he thought should be done in the way of legislation. In his first message we find severe denunciations of the drunkard-making business, as well as the indulgence of the crime of gambling and other practices most detrimental to good society. In preparing a system of criminal jurisprudence he recommended that punishments be attached to each offence in proportion to its injurious effects upon society, “because,” he said, “we frequently see the most disastrous consequences proceed from practices that in some places are considered as only fashionable vices—*gambling and intemperance*.”



**The Grave of Gov. Robert Lucas, in the Cemetery at
Iowa City.**

"These two vices may be considered," he said, "the fountain from which almost every other crime proceeds," and he argued the question more forcibly than any of the temperance lecturers or moral teachers from the pulpit or rostrum to whom I have listened in later years.

He then declared that "the recent transactions in this city (Burlington) that deprived the Legislative Assembly of one of its members elect, as well as other transactions of a similar character, should meet with the indignant frown of every friend of morality and good order in the community; and the practice of wearing concealed weapons about the person should not only be considered disreputable, but criminal, and punished accordingly. There certainly cannot be a justifiable excuse offered for such a practice; for in a civil community a brave man never anticipates danger, and an honest man will always look to the laws for protection." He looked with disapproval and horror upon mob law and violence, whether instigated by one or many individuals.

These sentiments, however, were not in accord with the public sentiment of *that* day, and the Governor was looked upon as a moralist of extreme views; but his morality was founded upon Christian precepts and measures of the greatest public good.

He was the friend of the "red men," and opposed to every trespass upon their territorial rights, defended them as best he could, protecting them from the vices of the white man, especially from the sale to them of spirituous liquors.

It was upon his recommendation that commissioners were selected to locate the future Capital of the Territory, of whose acts the public is well informed.

While the Governor had not had the advantage in early life of access to books, he was a warm friend of libraries, and especially fostered the organization of a territorial library. Congress having made an appropriation of \$5,000

for this purpose, he commissioned the writer to go east and make the purchase. In his message he suggests the propriety of passing a law to provide for "the appointment of a librarian, to define his duties, and to regulate the library. As soon as the library arrives a catalogue of the books shall be immediately laid before you."

Under that law the writer received the appointment, rented a room, placed the library therein, properly classified, and prepared a catalogue which was published, but which unfortunately has become "lost, strayed or stolen" from public view. The copy I had retained was loaned many years ago to a state librarian and that was the last of it, so far as I know. For a third of a century this library of the State practically received little or no consideration or attention at the hands of the General Assembly. Many of its most valuable works were lost or carried away, and it is only within about ten years that the library has assumed anything like state importance; and even now, its usefulness and value is materially marred from the fact that the librarianship is made a *political office*, the librarian becoming the foot-ball of contending parties or even of Governors of the same party. This should not be. The General Assembly should take the appointment out of politics and place it in the hands of the Judges of the Supreme Court with the Superintendent of Public Instruction as chairman of the board—or some other measure not so thoroughly political as the present practice.

The subject, however, in which the Governor was to come in most serious collision with the peoples' representatives in the first Legislature was that of appropriations. The appropriation made by Congress for "the support of the Government of the Territory of Iowa, paying the salaries of territorial officers and providing for the printing of the laws, taking the census, and the incidental and contingent expenses of the assembly, was \$——" (naming the sum).

"In disbursing this appropriation," the Governor said, "we should avoid parsimony in its application to defray necessary expenses; but at the same time should use *strict economy*, and be careful in our expenditures never to exceed the appropriation made by Congress."

A great political leader of later years has said that "he considered public prodigality (in the voting of public monies) a good thing." In this monstrous sentiment he was anticipated by the prodigal action of Iowa's first Legislative Assembly.

Immediately upon the organization of these two bodies they set at naught this recommendation and proceeded to act upon a different basis. A member declared upon the floor, in my presence, "Uncle Sam (referring to the U. S. Government) is a cow, and we will milk her freely." The friends of the Governor, on the contrary, acting upon his suggestions, said that "in the disbursement of public monies we should exercise the same good judgment and the same discretion we would if we were disbursing our own funds, or if this money was raised by taxation of our own people."

The Legislature at once launched into a system and practice of wild extravagance, which greatly shocked the Governor, and led him to declaim in private conversation somewhat bitterly; for a house of twenty-six members and a council of thirteen, had elected about twice the number of officers that they had in the Legislature of Ohio when he retired from the presidency of the Senate, after the State had passed through a third of a century of its existence; and he thought if a given number could transact, as they did, in a thoroughly satisfactory manner, the business in Ohio, certainly it did not require double that number to transact one-half the business in Iowa. But, his suggestions were not heeded. They even proceeded so far as to make appropriations out of the money that had been appropriated by Congress for the expenses of the *second* ter-

ritorial legislature,—and this evoked the first veto of the executive, at which the members raised a great *howl*, and the war commenced. The result was that when the legislature adjourned they had not only used up all the money appropriated by Congress but had so run in debt, and the members had individually been so improvident, that many of them were compelled to borrow money to enable them to return to their territorial homes—a fact of itself sufficient to show that the wisdom and the good sense of the Governor far outweighed the want of both qualities in the majority of the two houses of the first Legislative Assembly of Iowa.

When Iowa became a State quite a number of those who had been among the most prominent in the early territorial Legislature were elected members of the General Assembly, and then they became as strong and earnest advocates of *strict economy* as ever the Governor of the territory had been, showing most conclusively that they were wrong and he right in the views expressed by him in the message we are considering.

There are other provisions and recommendations in that message worthy of thoughtful attention by every one connected with the administration of public affairs, but we have given enough to show the independence of thought and action of the governor, the very commendable views he entertained upon practical subjects, his resoluteness in presenting them, and his firmness in adhering to them, as he did through life.

When I was revising his message for the Legislature, I asked him why he gave such prominence to the subject of “common schools,” making it the first subject of consideration in his message, adding, that we had no children to educate and no money to spend for their education. The Governor replied, that he made the recommendation from two considerations: First, that a good common school education was essential to the welfare of any people, and that when

children came provision should already have been made for imparting to them that knowledge without which they never could discharge the duties of citizenship. The other was that Iowa was an inviting field for immigration and we must show eastern people that we had started out in our political life with proper views of the great and all-important subject of education,—both of which showed his good judgment and excellent sense.

He also, while a very plain man in dress and in speech, had an eye to the propriety of things and the views of people elsewhere. At that early period almost every citizen wore either an overcoat of fur, generally a buffalo robe, or one made of Mackinaw blanket. The Governor himself wore one of the latter which reached down, like Aaron's beard, "to the skirts of his garment," and at the bottom there was a broad red stripe which made him, with his tall, commanding figure, a very conspicuous object on the street.

I, too, wore an overcoat of the same material at that time, and when I started out on my journey, by way of Chicago, eastward to purchase the library, he enjoined especially upon me that when I reached that city (for I journeyed through Chicago, Cleveland and Cincinnati to Baltimore), I should throw aside the blanket overcoat and purchase one of more fashionable material and make, remarking that—"men will judge very much of the people of Iowa by your appearance among them as our literary representative." Following his advice I procured in Chicago an overcoat of different material and pattern, and so went east, appearing in a garb less like that of a frontiersman, no doubt leaving the impression, as the Governor said, that we were a well-dressed people, of good manners and cultivated intellects. The world will even to this hour judge by appearances and pass their opinions accordingly, and I believe that in the case referred to their judgment was favorable, owing to the sensible advice of Governor Lucas.

In my statement of the Governor's services to the people of Ohio I referred to the fact of the boundary contest between the State of Ohio and the territory of Michigan, over a strip of territory extending from the mouth of the Maumee River, where it empties into Lake Erie at Toledo, westward. That controversy was very bitter and led to the assembling of a warlike host upon the border. Governor Lucas at the head of six hundred men was confronted by Governor Mason of Michigan at the head of a thousand men, and a conflict appeared imminent, when the arrival of two commissioners from Washington, representing the National Government, restored peace, both parties retiring to their homes and leaving the adjudication of the matter to the Supreme Court, which decided in favor of Ohio.

While Michigan lost a strip upon her southeastern border with a lake port at Toledo, she gained very largely by the subsequent liberal act of Congress which ceded to her the "upper peninsula," including the valuable copper mines upon the southern shore of Lake Superior, now containing the great cities of Marquette, Houghton, Ontonagon and others—an accession of far more value to the State than the contested border-land which she lost.

So, too, upon his arrival in Iowa the Governor found himself confronted with a like difficulty and contest. This time he represented a territory in conflict with the State of Missouri, about a strip of some half dozen miles in width from the Mississippi to the Missouri river, upon our southern border.

The Governor in his first message referred to the fact that a commissioner had been appointed under the provisions of an act of Congress, passed the day following the passage of the organic act creating the territory of Iowa, entitled "an act to authorize the President of the United States to cause the southern boundary lines of the Territory of Iowa to be ascertained and marked." Under this

act Albert M. Lea—who afterwards became famous in our history as our *first* historian, and for whom a town in southern Minnesota was named—was appointed U. S. Commissioner and Dr. James Davis, then of Davis County, (not named for him, however), later of the city of Keokuk, was the Commissioner for Iowa. Governor Boggs of Missouri did not appoint a Commissioner, consequently the boundaries were not located and defined by that commission.

Later, the county officers of the border counties of both Missouri and Iowa proceeded to levy and collect taxes in the disputed territory, which led to a conflict of legislative and executive action and came near leading to an open conflict of arms. That event has ever since been termed “the Missouri war,” and is an interesting episode in the history of Iowa, to which we need not refer farther than to say, that, as in the case of Ohio so it was here, due to the determination of Governor Lucas that the Territory of Iowa won the battle. By his firmness and judicious action and great knowledge of men and of public affairs Iowa eventually secured, through the Supreme Court of the United States, to which the matter was referred for final adjustment, the absolute control of the contested strip of territory. If he had rendered no other service to Iowa than this alone he would be entitled to the public thanks of her citizens of today as well as of future times.

The Executive and Judicial officers of the territory had been appointed for four years (in July, 1838), so that early in the administration of President Tyler, who upon the death of President Harrison succeeded to the presidency, their terms of office would expire.

General Lucas had often said to me that he would be the first person removed by President Harrison after his inauguration, which occurred the 4th of March, 1841. Between the Governor and President Harrison there was an

alienation of feeling, bordering upon bitterness. If the Governor ever gave me the particular reasons, I do not remember them. They have passed out of my mind. I only remember full well that the Governor said to me upon more than one occasion that General Harrison was a very much over-estimated man, that he was neither the general nor the statesman he was credited with being. President Harrison, however, did *not* remove him. The statement, which has on more than one occasion appeared in print in Iowa, that his was the first removal, was "father to the thought."

General Harrison of course made many changes during the brief month he survived his inauguration, and Governor Lucas was booked for removal and his successor named upon a sheet which fell into the hands of his successor, Tyler. Acting upon this, President Tyler removed him and appointed in his stead Major John Chambers, of Maysville, Kentucky, who had been a member of Congress from that district, and who was one of the aids of General Harrison in the battle of "Tippecanoe." Another aid of the General at that battle was Colonel Hiram C. Bennett, who became a resident of Burlington before Governor Lucas' administration, and was elected Justice of the Peace for the city, and became the first Master of the first Masonic Lodge (of which the writer was a member) organized in the Territory of Iowa, in November, 1840.

After his removal Governor Lucas took up his residence upon a farm he had entered adjoining Iowa City. He continued to reside thereon, except for a brief period in which he returned to Ohio, until his death, February 7th, 1853.

The Governor was an earnest advocate of the early admission of Iowa into the Union as a State and became a member of the Constitutional Convention, which met at Iowa City in May, 1844, having been elected from Johnson County. In that Convention he was made chairman of the Commit-

tee on the Executive Department of the Government, and a member of the Committee on Boundaries, both positions being especially congenial to him, showing the good judgment of the President of the Convention, Hon. Shepard Leffler, who was the first representative in Congress after Iowa's admission into the Union. Governor Lucas' long experience as an executive officer both in Ohio and Iowa admirably qualified him for the discharge of his new duties in Constitution-making,—and his experience also in boundary matters, which was very conspicuous in both the State and Territory named, secured, so far as his efforts could secure them, the territorial rights of Iowa in her natural limits.

The Constitutional Convention of 1844 adopted the boundaries as suggested by Governor Lucas in his message to the extra session of the Legislative Assembly in 1840, in which he recommended the calling of a Convention to form a State Constitution. The Convention having concluded its labors forwarded to Congress the Constitution with the boundaries it had adopted. Congress materially curtailed the boundaries as defined by the Convention, cutting the new State off from about one third of its territorial limits bordering on the Missouri river, whereupon the Constitution was, on account of its boundaries, rejected by the people both at the spring election in April and again in August, 1845. I assert from a full knowledge of the subject, that the Constitution was rejected by the people solely on account of the curtailed boundaries prescribed by Congress, the people of Iowa being determined that their State when formed should extend to the Missouri river. Two years later they secured the accomplishment of their wishes.

For the rejection of that first Constitution with its boundaries, because the boundaries could not be rejected without the Constitution, the people of Iowa were and are indebted to the late Lieutenant-Governor Eastman, Major

Frederick D. Mills, then young practicing lawyers of Burlington, and T. S. Parvin, another young lawyer of Bloomington (now Muscatine), who stumped the Territory, that is, the first and second of the three districts, in opposition to the Constitution. They were influenced in their actions solely by the consideration of the boundary question. This subject I have fully and thoroughly discussed in my history, which will soon go to press, of the failure and success of Iowa in her efforts to secure admission to the Union as an independent State. That was the last public service rendered by the Governor to the people of Iowa in whose interest and public welfare he manifested a warm feeling through life.

Upon entering upon his public duties in Burlington he took up his abode in the Burlington Hotel, kept by Leander J. Lockwood (whose wife later, as the wife of Jos. T. Fales—Iowa's first auditor—rendered such conspicuous service during the Rebellion as a member of the "Ladies Relief Corps"), and occupied the parlor upon the lower floor, sharing it with his private secretary, so that I was an inmate of his family while filling that position. The Governor's family did not follow him until late the following year, while the eldest daughter, Miss Abigail, joined him the coming spring, and later married Col. Charles Nealey, a leading merchant of Burlington.

During the winter evenings the Governor's office was the general rendezvous of the territorial officers and his friends in the legislature, where they freely met and mingled in general conversation. The Governor was a good talker, a great "home-body," never going out except when specially invited, or to church, so that he had the reputation among the people of being a very reserved man, difficult of approach, neither of which was true. He was pleasant and social with his acquaintances and callers, a man of such general and varied information that his company was always enjoyable. When alone he used often to

amuse himself and instruct the writer by relating incidents in his early history, both in Virginia and Ohio, for his life had been a series of backwoods adventures. While through middle and later life the Governor was a most devout and consistent Christian, he had, like many another, at a more youthful period, "sowed his wild oats," and used often to use such incidents as "a moral to adorn a tale," upon such occasions warning the writer, his youthful protege, against like waywardness.

Showing how trifling circumstances may influence the future conduct of life I will relate the following incident given from his own lips: While a widower, returning from a session of the Legislature at Columbus to his Piketon home, in company with a fellow member (riding as all had to do at that time, on horseback), at the close of the day, they neared a farm house. A sprightly young woman came from the house and hastened toward the barn with a milk-pail in each hand. She would either have to climb over, let down, or jump the bars. The Governor (then President of the Senate) said to his traveling companion (whether in earnest or jocularly he did not state) that "if that young lady sprang over the bars he would marry her." Sure enough, the young lady showed her natural spryness by leaping the bars and entering upon her evening work. The companion laughed and enjoyed what he supposed to be a joke. But they reined up at the front gate. The farmer came to the door, seeing strangers in the highway. They inquired whether they could tarry for the night, and he bade them a cordial welcome, had their horses taken in and cared for, and they were soon seated before the comfortable March fire. The farmer proved a very intelligent and well-read man, and they had an enjoyable conversation on public affairs. When supper was announced the young lady appeared with a clean white apron, clad in other respects as a country girl of her station. She was introduced to—her future husband,

and his companion. After supper the mother and daughter joined the company and the evening passed most pleasantly. Not strange perhaps to relate, at a later hour, when the companion retired to rest, he left his friend entertaining the young lady, who in due time became his wife and the mother of a family of children. A daughter and two sons survive the father and mother. One of the sons subsequently became a member of the Iowa Legislature, the other a member of the Legislature of Nebraska. Neither of them, however, developed into the man of experience, enlarged views and statesmanship, or of general citizenship, that the father had reached by reason of long and laborious services in varied and widely extended fields of public usefulness.

Associated, as I was, for years with the Governor, I learned to know him, as perhaps few others did, to love him as a man, and to entertain for his judgment and his services the highest appreciation. The influence of such a man at that early formative period of my history was of incalculable benefit. He left the impress of his character for uprightness, purity, and enlarged views, upon the generation with which he lived and acted,—and while he did not live to see all his wise recommendations carried into effect, he did witness the consummation of many of his hopes and the good results growing therefrom. Iowa need not in any respect be ashamed of her first Governor; on the contrary, as his character shall become the better known his influence and services will be the more highly appreciated and valued. In life his views were often times misunderstood and his motives impugned, but results have shown the wisdom both of his suggestions and his acts.

“O for a tongue to utter
The words that should be said
Of his worth!”—

And yet, in speaking of him as of others who have passed away, all words of warmest commendation—tributes of praise most worthily bestowed—seem dull and tame:

“What worth is eulogy’s kindest breath,
When whispered in ears that are hushed in death!”

So large an army as the Government has now on foot was never before known, without a soldier in it but who has taken his place there of his own free choice. But more than this there are many single regiments whose members, one and another, possess full practical knowledge of all the arts, sciences, professions, and whatever else, whether useful or elegant, is known in the whole world, and there is scarcely one from which there could not be selected a President, a Cabinet, a Congress, and perhaps a Court, abundantly competent to administer the Government itself.—*Message of President Lincoln, July 4, 1861.*

EACH year that passes adds to the value of all works that depict the pioneer life of the early part of the century. To have set foot in Kansas or Nebraska when the Indians and buffalo alone possessed it, is coming each year to have a greater value.—*Hamlin Garland.*

HOW MEN FEEL IN BATTLE; RECOLLECTIONS OF A PRIVATE AT CHAMPION HILLS.

BY S. H. M. BYERS.

Of the Blue and the Gray it took about fifty thousand men to fight the battle of Champion Hills. In this little random sketch I am going to relate something of the personal experience of just one of those fifty thousand. I am going to do this because it has been often asked of me by the Editor of *THE ANNALS*, though I do it at the risk of being thought of as one talking about himself. As a private soldier's view is very limited in a great battle, however, he must tell of himself, and what he sees with his own eyes, or not speak at all. The little and narrow experiences of the private in the ranks, who stands there in the smoke and fights, kills, and gets killed, are seldom written down. The big volumes are all about the officers, the commanders, and the grand maneuvers.

In my own case it was a strong love of adventure, no less than my patriotism, that led me to enlist in a strange regiment almost as soon as Sumter was fired on; and of adventure, before the war was over, I had gotten my extreme share. Some of the experiences I met with, luckily or unluckily, have been told elsewhere. Here I want to tell only of how a youth of 23 felt who carried a musket in a fight that gave Grant Vicksburg.

After the Union army crossed the Mississippi river at Grand Gulf, it was without a base, pretty nearly without rations, and, in a sense, was running loose over half the State of Mississippi. We made forced marches everywhere, often tramping both day and night, and if we slept any, it was at the roadside, where the dust was "shoe-mouth" deep; the very trees, fences and stones were gray and heavy and



**Private S. H. M. BYERS,
of Co. B., Fifth Iowa Infantry.**

yellow from the dust stirred up by marching armies. The sun shone mercilessly upon us; water was scarce; food scarcer. None of the private soldiers knew what we were about. We only realized that we were far away from our base, and were supposed to be in the rear of the rebel army. But more than once we lay down at the dusty roadside to sleep with the rumor afloat that the rebel army was in the rear of us. But we were too tired and too sleepy to care much for that. So we ran hither and thither, up and down the hot dusty roads, eternally on the "ragged edge" of things—sometimes skirmishing, sometimes fighting battles. So went the fights at Grand Gulf, Port Gibson, Raymond and Jackson.

Then came the sixteenth of May. It must have been about four o'clock in the morning when my company was quietly wakened and told to cook our breakfasts. That was an easy undertaking, considering how scanty the raw material. The 5th Iowa Infantry had absolutely nothing but some poor wet flour at this time. Of this we made little dough balls, and cooked them at the ends of our ramrods over the few bivouac fires we were permitted to kindle. We had no coffee; no water, not even to wash our faces—and yet every man felt jubilant, for it seemed that something great was about to happen. When day broke, we saw thousands of infantry, cavalry, and dozens of batteries of artillery crowding the country roads past our bivouac. At sunrise we too were ordered to join these columns, filling every available place for marching. No bugles sounded, no bands played, no cheers. It was just a great line of dusty, unkempt, hungry, but enthusiastic, Blue Coats, being hurried towards Champion Hills. Shortly we heard cannon booming far in front of us, and we knew what that meant. Our steps quickened, for rumors reached us that our advance divisions ten miles or more away were being annihilated. Early in the morning as it was, it was fearfully hot, and as I was not much used to marching, my

tired feet barely bore me up, with my heavy musket and accouterments. I had been a quartermaster sergeant for the past few months. I had ridden a horse and had had things easy. But, as I said before, I had gone into the army for adventure as well as patriotism, and I was forever trying to get into the lines where the real adventures were going on. I foolishly wanted to see men killed in battle, and to take a real chance of being killed myself. When for the second or third time I had turned my horse and my quartermaster duffies over to a deputy at Grand Gulf, and shouldered a musket, our good old Colonel Matthies rebuked me; but now that I had shared on foot all the hard marching and the fighting from the Mississippi River to Jackson and from Jackson to the camp of that night, he relented and allowed me to carry my gun and fall into any company I pleased. It was very foolish in me, I think now, but as an adventurous youth I wanted to see the worst that war offered. And, anyway, I had not volunteered with a view of lingering behind in safe places when the bugle was sounding at the front.

We were just out into the road that early morning when General Grant rode by, followed by a small staff. He rode through the woods and fields at the road side on a gallop, his horse leaping logs and whatever obstructions happened in his way. Grant was then a perfect picture of fresh strong manhood, and he sat his horse like a sportsman behind the hounds. His hurrying ahead gave us all confidence—but no one cheered. Soon the rays of the sun became more intense, and the terrible dust was suffocating. But the hurried march continued—there was not one moment's rest. Here and there we passed a little puddle of water or a half dried up brook. The columns crowding the road could not stop, of course, but many of us left the ranks a moment, filled our canteens with the muddy liquid, and hurried back into line. For my own part I not only filled my canteen but my stomach as well, with the dirty stuff. Already we could

hear the fierce musketry in the battle now going on in the front. Already the wounded came limping past us to get to the rear. Already we saw little sheds built of branches at the road side by the surgeons and their assistants—and some of the doctors and their aids had their sleeves rolled up and knives in their hands. We knew very well what it all meant.

Shortly we ourselves were on the field. We were in the division led by the brave General Crocker—the heroic Crocker who is at rest in Woodland Cemetery, Des Moines, with these words by Grant himself chiseled on his humble monument: “General Crocker was fit to command an independent army.” Almost in a moment we were wheeled into line of battle at the edge of an open field or meadow that sloped up to wooded hills and ridges where the infantry and batteries of the Rebel army were posted hurling shot, shell and bullets into the Union lines. Our own line stood still for awhile in terrible suspense, not knowing why we were put under fire without directions to shoot. Zip, zip, zip came the Rebel bullets, and now and then a boy in blue would groan, strike his hand to a wounded limb or arm, drop his gun and step to the rear; or perhaps he fell in his tracks, dead, without uttering a word. We too, who saw it, uttered no word, but watched steadily, anxiously at the front. Then General Grant himself rode up and dismounted behind us, and so close to the spot where I stood I could have heard his voice. He leaned against his little bay horse, had the inevitable cigar in his mouth, and was as calm as a statue. Possibly smoking so much tranquilized the nerves a little and aided in producing calmness. Still, Grant was calm everywhere, but he also smoked everywhere. Be that as it may, it required very solid courage to stand there quietly behind that line at that moment. For my own part, I was in no agreeable state of mind. In short, I might be killed there at any moment, I thought, and I confess to having

been nervous and alarmed. Every man in the line near me was looking serious, though determined. We had no reckless fools near us whooping for blood. Once a badly wounded man was carried by the litter-bearers (the drummers of my regiment) close to the spot where the General stood. He gave a pitying glance at the man I thought—I was not twenty feet away—but he neither spoke nor stirred. Then I heard an officer say, "We are going to charge." It seems that our troops in front of us in the woods had been sadly repulsed, and now our division was to rush in and fight in their stead, and the Commander-in-Chief was there to witness our assault. Two or three of us, near each other, expressed dissatisfaction that the commander of an army in battle should expose himself as General Grant was doing at that moment. When staff officers came up to him he gave orders in low tones and they would ride away. One of them, listening to him, glanced over our heads towards the rebels awhile, looked very grave, and gave some mysterious nods. The Colonel who was about to lead us came to the General's side a moment. He, too, listened, looked, and gave some mysterious nods. Something was about to happen. "My time has probably come now," I said to myself, and with a little bit of disgust, I thought of the utter uselessness of being killed there without even firing a shot in self-defense. The suspense, the anxiety, were indeed becoming fearfully intense. Soon Grant quietly climbed upon his horse, looked at us once, and as quietly rode away. Then the Colonel came along the line with a word to each officer. As he came near me he called me from the ranks and said: "I want you to act as Sergeant-Major of the regiment in this battle." I was surprised. "Hurry to the left," he continued. "Order the men to fix bayonets—quick!" I ran as told, screaming at the top of my voice, "Fix bayonets, fix bayonets!" I was not quite to the left when I heard other voices yelling.

“Forward, quick, double quick, forward!” and the line was already on the run towards the rebels. I kept up my screaming, “Fix bayonets!” for by some blunder the order had not been given in time, and now the men were trying to get their bayonets in place while running. We were met in a minute by a storm of bullets from the wood, but the lines in blue kept steadily on as would a storm of wind and cloud moving among the tree-tops. Now we met almost whole companies of wounded, defeated men from the other division hurrying by us, and they held up their bleeding and mangled hands to show us they had not been cowards. They had lost twelve hundred men on the spot we were now about to occupy. Some of them were laughing, even, and yelling at us, “Wade in and give them hell!” We were wading in faster than I am telling the story, and on the edge of a low ridge we saw a solid wall of men in gray, their muskets at their shoulders blazing into our faces, and their batteries of artillery roaring as if it were the end of the world. Bravely they stood there. They seemed little over a hundred yards away. There was no charging further by our line. We halted, stood still, and for over an hour we loaded our guns and killed each other as fast as we could. The firing and the noise were simply appalling. Now, I was not scared. The first shot I fired seemed to take all my fear away and gave me courage enough to calmly load my musket and fire it forty times. Others with more cartridges fired possibly oftener still. Some of the regiments in that bloody line were resupplied with cartridges from the boxes on the dead. In a moment I saw Capt. Lindsay throw up his arms, spring upwards, and fall dead in his tracks. Corporal McCully was struck in the face with a shell, the blood covered him all over, but he kept on firing. Lieutenant Darling dropped dead, and other officers fell wounded. I could not see far to left or right; the smoke of battle was covering everything. I saw bodies of our men lying near me without knowing who they were, though some of them were my

messmates in the morning. The rebels in front we could not see at all. We simply fired at their lines by guess, and occasionally the blaze of their guns showed exactly where they stood. They kept their line like a wall of fire. When I fired my first shot I had resolved to aim at somebody or something as long as I could see, and a dozen times I tried to bring down an officer I dimly saw on a gray horse before me. Pretty soon a musket ball struck me fair in the breast. "I am dead, now," I said, almost aloud. It felt as if some one had struck me with a club. I stepped back a few paces, and sat down on a log to finish up with the world. Other wounded men were there covered with blood, and some were lying by me dead. I spoke to no one. It would have been useless; thunder could scarcely have been heard at that moment. My emotions I have almost forgotten. I remember only that something said to me, "It is honorable to die so." I had not a thought of friends, or of home, or of religion. The stupendous things going on around me filled my mind. On getting my breath a little, I found I was not hurt at all—simply stunned; the obliquely fired bullet had struck the heavy leather of my cartridge belt, and glanced away. I picked up my gun, stepped back into the line of battle, and in a moment was shot through the hand. The wound did not hurt; I was too excited for that. If possible, the awful roar of battle grew more terrific. I wonder that a man on either side was left alive. Biting the ends off my cartridges, my mouth was filled with gunpowder; the thirst was intolerable. Every soldier's face was black as a negro's, and, with some, blood from wounds trickled down over the blackness, giving them a horrible look. Once a boy from another part of the line to our left ran up to me crying out, "My regiment is gone; what shall I do?" There was a little moment's lull in the howling noise; something was going on. "Blaze away right here," I said to the boy, and he

commenced firing like a veteran, and then I heard one of our own line cry, "My God, they're flanking us!" I looked to where the boy had come from. His regiment had indeed given way. The rebels had poured through the gap and were already firing into our rear, and yelling to us to surrender. In a moment we would be surrounded. It was surrender or try and get back past them. I ran like a race-horse—so did the left of the regiment amidst a storm of bullets and yells and curses. I saved my musket anyway. I think all did that—but that half-mile race through a hot Mississippi sun, with bullets and cannon balls ploughing the field behind me will never be forgotten. My lungs seemed to be burning up. Once I saw our regimental flag lying by a log, the color bearer wounded or dead. I cried to a comrade flying near me, "Duncan Teter, it is a shame—the Fifth Iowa running!" He picked up the flag and with a great oath dared me to stop and defend it. For a moment only we two tried to rally to the flag the men who were rushing by. We might as well have yelled to a Kansas cyclone. Then Captain John Tait rushing by, saw us, stopped and recognizing the brave deed of Corporal Teter, promoted him on the spot. But the oncoming storm was irresistible, and, carrying the flag, we all again hurried rearwards. We had scarcely passed the spot where I had seen Grant mount his horse before the charge than a whole line of Union cannon, loaded to the muzzle with grape shot and cannister, opened on the howling mob that was pursuing us. The rebels instantly halted, and now again it seemed our turn. A few minutes rest for breath, and our reformed lines once more dashed into the woods. In half an hour the battle of Champion Hills was won, and the victorious Union Army was shortly in a position to compel the surrender of the key to the Mississippi River. Grant's crown of immortality was won, and the jewel that shone most brightly in it was the blood of the men of Champion Hills. Had that important

battle failed, *Grant's army, not Pemberton's, would have been prisoners of war in an hour.* Where then would have been Vicksburg, Spottsylvania, Richmond, Appomattox?

Six thousand blue- and gray-coated men were lying there in the woods, dead or wounded, when the last gun of Champion Hills was fired. Some of the trees on the battlefield were tall magnolias; many of their limbs were shot away, and they were in full bloom, their beautiful blossoms contrasting with the horrible scene of battle. Besides killing and wounding three thousand of the enemy, we had also captured thirty cannon and three thousand prisoners.

When the troops went off into the road to start in pursuit of the flying enemy, I searched over the battle-field for my best friend, poor Captain Poag, with whom I had talked of our Northern homes only the night before. He lay dead among the leaves, a bullet hole in his forehead. Somebody buried him, but I never saw his grave. Another friend I found dying. He begged me only to place him against a tree and with leaves to shut the burning sun away from his face. While I was doing this I heard the groaning of a Rebel officer who lay helpless in a little ditch. He called to me to lift him out, as he was shot through both thighs, and suffering terribly. "Yes," I said, "as soon as I get my friend here arranged a little comfortably." His reply was pathetic. "Yes, that's right; help your own first." I had not meant it so. I instantly got to him and with the aid of a comrade pulled him out of the ditch. He thanked me and told me that he was a Lieutenant-Colonel and had been shot while riding a gray horse in front of the spot where he lay. I eased his position as best I could, but all that night, with many another wounded soldier, blue and gray, he was left on the desolate battle-field.

Now I realized how terrible the fire had been about us—for some comrades counted two hundred bullet marks on a single oak tree within a few feet of where the left of the regiment had stood loading and firing that awful hour and a half. Most of the bullets had been fired too high, else we had all been killed. Near by lay the remains of a Rebel battery. Every horse and most of the cannoneers lay dead in a heap. The caissons and the gun carriages were torn to pieces by our artillery. Never in any battle had I seen such a picture of complete annihilation of men, animals and material, as was the wreck of this battery, once the pride of some Southern town—its young men lying there dead among their horses—the loved ones of Southern homes. That was war!

We went on for Vicksburg that very night, and twice assaulted its steep walls in vain. Then we undertook its reduction by siege. Trenches and sap, approaches and mines, were dug everywhere, and day and night for weeks our mortars, our gunboats, our siege guns and field artillery poured a storm of lead and iron into the city. At the extreme front in the trenches our infantry kept up a ceaseless fire of rifle balls. We were directed to fire all the day against the works, whether a foe could be seen or not. At night the scene was brilliant and terrible. The great mortar shells from the Union gun boats sailed high in the air like comets, then bending downwards in their course with their trails of fire, exploded above the town with the noise of thunder. Many exploded on the ground inside the city, tearing holes big enough to have buried a house in. One of the great mortars used on those nights for throwing shells into Vicksburg now stands peaceful and silent in front of the Capitol at Des Moines. The people and the soldiers of Vicksburg all lived in secure caves during the siege, else none would have been left alive to surrender on that memorable 4th of July of 1863. One day when I was out with several comrades in the trenches

in front of the Vicksburg forts, I noticed our good Colonel Matthies making his way to us through one of the approaches. Quietly coming up to where I was he handed me an officer's silk sash. It was his own. "That is for Champion Hills," he said, smiling. "I have been made a General, and before I leave I want to make you Adjutant of the regiment, and you must wear that." I don't know now what I answered. Afterwards, in the terrible battle of Chattanooga, I saw my beloved Colonel sitting against a tree wounded and bleeding. It was his last battle, for he never fully recovered from the wound. His sash, *my* sash, is kept sacred as a proof of my commander's confidence, and as a souvenir of one of the hardest fought battles of the war.

After Vicksburg's surrender several of our divisions were hurried back towards Jackson in the hopes of catching Joe Johnson's army that had been hanging on our rear during the siege. One night on the march—it was a strange happening—my regiment bivouacked on the very battle-ground of Champion Hills, almost on the spot where my regiment had fought. It was dark when we reached the place, and our sensations were very strange, for we realized that all about us there in the woods, were the graves of our buried comrades, and the still unburied bones of many of our foe. Save an occasional hooting owl, the woods were sad and silent. The Glee Club of Company B sang, "We're Tenting To-night on the Old Camp Ground." Never was the song sung under sadder circumstances. All the night a terrible odor offended the nostrils, and when daylight came some of the boys came to our company and said—"Go over to that hollow and you will see a sight!" Some of us went. We looked but once. Dante himself never conjured anything so horrible as the reality before us. After the battle the Rebels in their haste had tossed hundreds of their dead into this little ravine and slightly covered them over with earth; but the rains had come and the earth was washed away, and there stood, or lay, hun-

dreds of half-decayed corpses. Some were grinning skeletons, some were headless, some armless, some had their clothes torn away, and some were mangled by dogs and wolves. The horror of that spectacle followed us for weeks. *That, too, was war.*

I have written this random, but true sketch of personal recollections of a severe battle, first, as stated, because I was urged to; further, because it may help young men who are anxious for adventure, and war, as I was, to first realize what war really is. My experiences probably were the same as hundreds of others in that same battle. I only tell of what was nearest me. A third of my comrades who entered this fight were lost. Other Iowa and other Western regiments suffered equally or more. General Hovey's division had a third of its number slain. I have been in what history pronounces greater battles than Champion Hills, but only once did I ever see two lines of blue and gray stand close together and fire into each other's faces for an hour and a half. I think the courage of the private soldiers, standing in that line of fire for that awful hour and a half, gave us Vicksburg, made Grant immortal as a soldier, and helped to save this country.

CORN has been going abroad for some time at the rate of 1,200,000 bushels a week, or nearly ten times as much as was exported last year, and more than double the export of 1891 and 1892. Europe has been slow to learn the value of Indian corn, but is beginning to have a better knowledge of one of nature's finest productions.—*Fort Dodge Messenger, October 22, 1895.*

BLACK HAWK.

THE MAN—THE HERO—THE PATRIOT.

BY MRS. W. F. PECK.

In the history of the Northwest there is probably no more conspicuous, interesting and romantic figure than the illustrious Indian chief, Black Hawk, the hero of the war bearing his name.

Some of the difficulties usually encountered in sketching the life of an Indian are obviated in this instance by reason of the fact that the chief has left a personal record wherein his character, principles and motives are clearly indicated. Various flippant historical writers have attempted to discredit his "Autobiography" by impugning the veracity and motives of the persons who acted as interpreter and amanuensis. It is enough for those who were personally acquainted with Antoine Le Claire, the official interpreter of the United States for the Sac and Fox Indians, to know that his name is attached to the publication to guarantee its authenticity, but in addition an affidavit is appended in which he says the narrative is strictly correct in all particulars. The amanuensis and editor, J. B. Patterson, enjoyed no less the confidence and esteem of all who knew him in the vicinity of his home, Oquawka, Illinois, where he lived for many years prior to his death, which recently occurred.

In this paper, however, as far as possible Black Hawk will be permitted to speak for himself. His book was published in 1833, and was dedicated to Brigadier-General Henry Atkinson, in whose charge the old chieftain was placed at the conclusion of the Black Hawk War. The reasons for its publication cannot be better indicated than by quoting from the dedication:



BLACK HAWK.

**An etching after the colored lithograph in McKenny and Hall's
"Indian Tribes of North America," by Charles A. Gray.**

“The changes of many summers have brought old age upon me, and I cannot expect to survive many moons. Before I set out on my long journey to the land of my fathers, I have determined to give my motives and reasons for my former hostility to the whites, and to vindicate my character from misrepresentations. The kindness I received from you whilst a prisoner of war assures me that you will vouch for the facts contained in my narrative, so far as they came under your observation. I am now an obscure member of a nation that formerly honored and respected my opinions. The pathway to glory is rough and many gloomy hours obscure it. May the Great Spirit shed light on yours, and that you may never experience the humility that the power of the American government has reduced me to is the wish of him who, in his native forests, was once as proud and bold as yourself.”

The Indian name for Black Hawk as given in his book is Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak. He was in his 67th year when it was dictated, having been born at the Sac village on Rock River in 1767. There is scarcely a page of this unique story that does not convey the impression that the author was as much the sage, the philosopher, the patriot, as the warrior, if not more so. The innate barbarian religious instinct associated with the refined feeling and delicate sentiment of the author permeates the entire narrative.

In speaking of the daily feasts which various members of his tribe were accustomed to make in the autumn—some to the Good Spirit, others to the Bad Spirit to pacify him, he says—“For my part I am of the opinion that, so far as we have reason we have a right to use it, determining what is right or wrong, and we should always pursue that path which we believe to be right.” Again, he says, “We thank the Great Spirit for all the good he has conferred upon us. For myself, I never take a drink of water from a spring without being mindful of his goodness.”

His ethical views are quite definitely explained in these words: "We can only judge of what is proper and right by our own standard of what is right and wrong, which differs widely from the whites, if I am correctly informed. The whites may do wrong all of their lives, and then if they are sorry for it when they die, all is well; but with us it is different. We must continue to do good throughout our lives. If we have corn and meat, and know of a family that have none, we divide with them. If we have more blankets than we absolutely need, and others have not enough, we must give to those who are in want."

His criticism on our political methods is also tersely stated. He says: "The white people appear never to be satisfied. When they get a good father, they hold councils at the suggestion of some bad, ambitious man, who wants the place himself, and conclude among themselves that this man, or some other equally ambitious, would make a better father than they have, and nine times out of ten they don't get as good a one again."

The occasional glimpses given by Black Hawk of the folk-lore of his people show it to be full of interest and fanciful beauty, and also that he was himself exceptionally impregnated with the aboriginal propensity for mysticism. Into various ingenious tales the Indian story-tellers of the different nations have woven the idea that maize or Indian corn, was a special and mysterious gift from the Great Spirit; but of all the popular myths concerning its origin the traditional belief of the Sacs, representing it with beans and tobacco as a heaven-sent offering is richest in poetic imagination.

"According to tradition handed down to our people," says Black Hawk, "a beautiful woman was seen to descend from the clouds and alight upon the earth by two of our ancestors who had killed a deer and were sitting by the fire roasting a part of it to eat. They were astonished at

seeing her, and concluded that she was hungry and had smelt the meat. They immediately went to her, taking with them a piece of the roasted venison. They presented it to her. She ate it, telling them to return to the spot where she was sitting, at the end of one year, and they would find a reward for their kindness and generosity. She then ascended to the clouds and disappeared. The men returned to their village and explained to the tribe what they had seen, done and heard, but were laughed at by their people. When the period had arrived for them to visit this consecrated ground, where they were to find a reward for their attention to the beautiful woman of the clouds, they went with a large party and found where her right hand had rested on the ground corn growing, where the left hand had rested beans, and immediately where she had been seated, tobacco."

Black Hawk was a precocious youth, and was early trained by his father, Pyesa, in the arts of Indian warfare. At the age of fourteen he distinguished himself by wounding an enemy. He was not then allowed to paint or wear feathers, but was assigned a permanent place in the ranks of the braves. A reputation for courage and skill was soon established, and in later life he was very fond of relating the thrilling exploits of his youth to his many white friends at Fort Armstrong, on Rock Island. He was nineteen years of age when his father was fatally wounded in an encounter with the ancient enemy of his nation, the Cherokees. His father being the direct descendant of Nanamakee, or thunder, to whom by the will of the Great Spirit the great medicine-bag of the Sacs had been first entrusted, the treasure was now in his possession. At his death it passed into the hands of Black Hawk, his only heir. Grave responsibility, however, attached to its possession, for it symbolized the "soul of the nation," and had been delivered originally to his distinguished ancestor with the admonition that "as it had never been disgraced, it must forever be kept unsullied."

In accordance with the customs of his tribe, after the death of his father, Black Hawk blacked his face, fasted and prayed to the Great Spirit for five years. During this period he did not engage in any warlike expedition. Though actively participating in the wars of his nation afterward, it is possible that this long period of quiet, sorrowing, and self-contemplation, may have given him the habit of solitary reverie for which he was distinguished in later life. In commemoration of this trait the magnificent promontory on Rock River near his old home has been given the name "Black Hawk's Watch-Tower." "This commanding point was," says Black Hawk, "a favorite resort, and was frequently visited by me alone, when I could sit and smoke my pipe and look with wonder and pleasure at the grand scenes that were presented by the sun's rays, even across the mighty water."

Black Hawk figures prominently in the annals of American history for the first time in the war with Great Britain in 1812. When the relations between the two countries were becoming so strained that a war-cloud was distinctly visible, the Sacs and Foxes were asked to send representatives to Washington for a conference. They responded, and an agreement was entered into that, in consideration of strict neutrality to be preserved by the Indians in the event of war, our government would furnish them with supplies upon the same terms of credit that they had been getting from the English.

Through ignorance or a misunderstanding of the nature of the compact, the pledge on the part of the government was violated by its agent at Fort Madison, upon the first application of the Sacs, when credit was denied and cash payment haughtily demanded for goods.

However sincere the desire of these people may have been to keep their own promise, this refusal, in connection with the overtures of the English immediately following, turned the scale against it. At this critical moment

Colonel Dixon of the British army, stationed at Green Bay, anticipated the needs of the disappointed Red Men, and when dejected and gloomy they returned from their fruitless journey to Fort Madison, an agent with two boatloads of goods, which were distributed gratuitously, was awaiting them at Rock Island. The agent had other business, too, besides ministering to the immediate wants of the disaffected Indians. He was the bearer of a private message to Black Hawk, which induced the warrior to visit the British officer at his headquarters, and eventually to join him with two hundred picked men, who were ever after known as the "British band," as a confederate. As the crafty English Colonel grasped the chief's hand he addressed him as "General Black Hawk," and whispered in his ear these seductive words: "You will now hold us fast by the hand. Your English father has found that the Americans want to take your country from you and has sent me and my braves to drive them back to their own country." Nothing could have stirred so profoundly the intrepid chief to action as this utterance, and he entered heart and soul into the contest.

Although he does not speak of it in his memoirs, there is ample proof for the assertion that Black Hawk was with the great chief Tecumseh when he so valiently led the Indian forces, and fell in the famous battle of the Thames. After the war was over it was Black Hawk's misfortune to be regarded with suspicion as a contentious and turbulent spirit by our government.

Very soon after the acquisition of the vast domain west of the Mississippi, known as the Louisiana purchase, it became the design of the government to transfer eventually, all of the numerous tribes of Indians that had for untold ages roamed at will, within boundaries fixed by conquests among themselves, over the eastern territory bordering on the river, to the newly acquired possessions. In pursuance of this policy, President Jefferson communicated with the In-

dian authorities at St. Louis directing them to obtain by purchase or treaty a part, at least, of the extensive holdings of the Sacs and Foxes.

In an accidental way an opportunity was soon presented and a treaty, with some prudent reservations on the part of the Indians, was effected, which ceded to the United States the immense tract of territory claimed by these Indians east of the Mississippi River. The compensation was ridiculously inadequate, and although the treaty was at various times after ratified by the representatives of these nations, the charge that deception was practiced upon them was always loud and long. The stipulations which were its saving grace were at length openly violated, and the bitter feuds and dissensions that grew out of the treaty, finally ending in the Black Hawk War, have fastened the stigma of bad faith and unfair dealing with these people upon our government.

During Black Hawk's absence in the British army his village on Rock River was left unprotected. An emergency arose which seemed to menace its safety. A council was called and immediate flight contemplated. As this decision was being reached, word was received that the clever young brave, Keokuk, had volunteered to gather the warriors and take charge of the defense of the village. The alarm proved to be false, but Keokuk's conduct met with such emphatic approval that he was at once admitted to the council lodge and elected war-chief.

In all the distracting troubles that subsequently ensued with the Sacs and the Foxes, there were ever after two factions; one under the leadership of Black Hawk, the other of Keokuk; the former the war, the latter the peace party. The establishment of Fort Armstrong upon Rock Island in 1816 was the first warning of the government to the Indians that the provisions of the treaty of 1804 would be enforced. They were sorry to give up this island, which had been used as a garden and pleasure resort, but

they soon became reconciled, and formed for many of the occupants strong and lasting attachments. A few years later when the surging tide of civilization began flowing towards the great West, the indescribably beautiful country of the Sac3, with a soil so spontaneously fertile that it responded as if by magic to the touch of cultivation, became irresistibly fascinating to the unworthy as well as the worthy pioneer.

The scenery all about the ancient village site—the home of Black Hawk, was a wilderness of bewildering beauty. The rippling, winding waters of Rock river bounded it on one side and the majestic Mississippi on the other. There were broad green valleys and great encircling hills that skirted the banks of the two rivers in which were numerous islands clothed with luxuriant foliage.

Here in this spot, gifted with natural graces, these undaunted sons of the forest, and their fathers before them, had lived unmolested for more than a century. Here they had tilled their fields, hunted and fished, made their feasts, indulged in their various games and pastimes, celebrated their national war-dance with a perfect sense of security born of confidence in their own superior strength. Their numbers had rapidly increased and they were, as Indians go, prosperous, progressive, industrious and happy.

Naturally there were many peculiarly strong ties that bound these people to the home of their ancestry and birth. Strongest perhaps was the sacred regard which they entertained for the graves of their kindred. Yet, when the demand came to relinquish this consecrated spot the superior power of the whites was being so well understood by many that, though it cut their heart-strings to do it, all would have been mournfully surrendered without a struggle, if it had not been for the heroic stand taken by their implacable leader. By the terms of the original treaty the Indians were to live upon their lands until they were sold. As a matter of fact when the order was issued for

them to vacate not one acre had been legally transferred, and the persons who were forcing themselves upon the Indians were doing so in violation of both the spirit and letter of the treaty.

Acting upon the advice of friends at Fort Armstrong the practical and pacific Keokuk gathered his adherents about him and crossed to the West Side of the Mississippi. This ready acquiescence of Keokuk in yielding to the unjust demand was construed by Black Hawk as an act of cowardice and treachery, and all friendship between them was then ended.

“What right,” says Black Hawk, “had these people to our village, and our fields which the Great Spirit had given us to live upon? My reason teaches me that land cannot be sold. The Great Spirit gave it to his children to live upon and cultivate as far as necessary for their subsistence, and so long as they occupy and cultivate it they have a right to the soil; but if they voluntarily leave it, other people have a right to settle on it. Nothing can be sold but such things as can be carried away.” It will be readily recognized that in the doctrine so simply and forcibly expressed by an untutored barbarian is contained the germ thought that underlies the revolutionary philosophy of some of the profoundest thinkers and writers on social topics to-day. In explanation of the fact that Black Hawk himself had at one time signed a ratification of the objectionable treaty of 1804, he says, “What do we know of the manners and customs of the white people? They might buy our bodies for dissection, and we would touch the goose-quill to confirm it, and not know what we were doing. This was the case with me and my people in touching the goose-quill the first time.” Upon these issues Black Hawk took his stand and firmly and resolutely refused compliance with the order to abandon his village. To clothe themselves with legal authority to enforce the order the government authorities quietly sold the section of land

occupied by the Sac village to a private citizen. Black Hawk still remained obdurate, and refused to recognize the validity of the sale, and amid the turmoil of conflicting claims to possession between the aggressive and insubordinate white settlers and the determined red men, many grievous wrongs were doubtless perpetrated on both sides. A startling appeal setting forth in strong colors the Indian atrocities was made to the Governor of Illinois on the part of the whites and General Gaines with a large force of men was sent to Fort Armstrong to dispatch the Indians with bayonets. Black Hawk for once argued that discretion is the better part of valor, and under cover of night deserted his village, crossed to the west side of the Mississippi river and encamped under the protection of a white flag.

A council was immediately called at the Fort and a new treaty with the express stipulation that the Indians should forever remain on the west side of the Mississippi was made. It was during the deliberations that Black Hawk delivered the characteristic speech which was quoted in a former article on Fort Armstrong.

In commenting upon the memorial, Black Hawk says: "Bad and cruel as our people were treated by the whites, not one of them was hurt or molested by our band. I hope this will prove that we are a peaceable people—having permitted ten men to take possession of our corn fields, prevent us from planting our corn, burn our lodges, ill-treat our women, and beat to death our men without offering resistance to their barbarous cruelties. This is a lesson worthy for the white man to learn; to use forbearance when injured. The whites were complaining at the same time that we were intruding upon their rights. They made it appear that they were the injured party and we the intruders. They called loudly to the great war chief to protect their property. How smooth must be the language of the whites when they can make right look like wrong, and wrong like right."

Misery and destitution confronted the banished Indians in their temporarily improvised home, and yearning for the old one was not extinguished by written compact. In their extremity Black Hawk counselled with the bad prophet Wabokieshiek and listening to his persuasions to recross the river, he did so with his braves, women and children, and such domestic equipments as they owned. The action, however, was taken with expressed intention of making their Winnebago friends a visit and to supply themselves with the means of subsistence.

An alarm was immediately given, among others an army under General Scott was ordered to the frontier and the altogether needless Black Hawk war was fought—a war which resulted in the extermination of almost the entire remnant of Sacs and Foxes under Black Hawk, including the women and children. Black Hawk, betrayed by a treacherous Indian, was captured and taken to Jefferson barracks where he was kept in confinement for many months. Finally, under military escort, he was taken on a tour through the East, and was the recipient of much flattering attention and many mementos. Upon his return he was released after a formal ceremony deposing him and substituting Keokuk as leader of his people.

To what stage of moral and intellectual development these savages would have attained if they had been left among the beautiful hills and rivers of their native wilderness to work out their own destiny in their own appointed way, can only be a matter of idle conjecture. Contact with the whites proved in this, as in most other instances, a blighting instead of a civilizing influence. The vices of the dominant race were emulated, but not their virtues. The testimony, however, of those who knew him well is abundant on the point that Black Hawk was a notable exception to this rule. He not only abstained himself from the use of intoxicating beverages, the red man's curse, but used his personal

influence, sometimes actively enforcing it, to prevent its consumption by his people. To his sorrow he found that the young men who were ever willing to follow his counsel in the weighty affairs of the nation did not heed his admonitions in these matters.

Benjamin Drake, Black Hawk's able and discriminating biographer, gives the following pen portrait of the old chief:

"In height Black Hawk is about five feet ten inches, with broad shoulders but limbs not very muscular. His nose is sharp and slightly aquiline, and his eyes are of a dark hazel color. The most striking peculiarity in his personal appearance is his head, which is singularly formed, and has been pronounced by some observers the envy of phrenologists. His countenance is mild and benevolent, having little of that dark and ferocious expression, not uncommon among Indians, and which during the late border war was imagined to be eminently characteristic of Black Hawk."

Apart from his own writings, the fact is otherwise well attested that Black Hawk displayed, uniformly, great forbearance in dealing with the encroachments and rapacity of the white settlers in his village. He was very hospitable and often shared by invitation his lodge, his belongings and humble fare with his white neighbors. By force of circumstances he was made their enemy, by inclination he was peaceful, affable and friendly with them. Black Hawk was not a bigamist as were many of the chiefs of his nation, and his kindness to and affection for his wife and children have been subjects of much favorable comment. Upon the death of his eldest son, followed soon after by that of his youngest daughter, he left his village with the remaining members of his family and built a lodge in a secluded corn-field. He gave away his entire possessions and fasted, "only drinking water during the day, and eating sparingly of boiled corn at sunset for twenty-four moons."

As an orator and counsellor Black Hawk enjoyed a wide reputation not only in his own, but among neighboring tribes of Indians. He was liberally endowed with those magnetic qualities that are ever potential factors in achieving personal popularity and success. Unlike Keokuk, Black Hawk was secure of his rank and station by hereditary right, and he never sought to enhance his dignity and influence by ostentatious display of other meretricious actions, as did his ambitious competitor. His cult of great men, especially military heroes, was a remarkable trait of his character. He feelingly speaks of the disappointment he felt because General Scott was not permitted to visit him on board the steamer when passing Fort Armstrong en route for Jefferson barracks, where he was taken as a prisoner immediately after his capture.

Although Black Hawk's reputation for personal bravery is well attested, little has been known about his ability as a military commander and strategist. Bearing upon this point a new light has been thrown by Charles Aldrich in a recently published article, wherein he quotes the gracious tribute paid to the old hero in a personal interview with Jefferson Davis,* a conspicuous participant in the Black Hawk war. His graphic account of a masterly maneuver of which he was a witness is as follows:

We were one day pursuing the Indians when we came close to the Wisconsin River. Reaching the river bank the Indians made so determined a stand and fought with such desperation that they held us in check. During this time the squaws tore bark from the trees, with which they made little shallops, in which they floated their papooses and other impedimenta across to an island, also swimming over the ponies. As soon as this was accomplished, half of the warriors plunged in and swam across, each holding his gun in one hand over his head and swimming with the other. As soon as they reached the opposite bank they also opened fire upon us, under cover of which the other half slipped down the bank and swam over in like manner. This [said Mr. Davis] was the most brilliant exhibition of military tactics that I ever witnessed—a feat of most consummate management and bravery, in

* "*Midland Monthly*," Des Moines, Iowa, May, 1896, pp. 406-411.

the face of an enemy of greatly superior numbers. I never read of anything that could be compared with it. Had it been performed by white men, it would have been immortalized as one of the most splendid achievements in military history.

Black Hawk concludes his own account of the same encounter in these words:

In this skirmish, with fifty braves, I defended and accomplished my passage over the Wisconsin, with a loss of only six men, though opposed by a host of mounted militia. I would not have fought there, but to gain time for our women and children to cross to an island. A warrior will duly appreciate the embarrassments I labored under—and whatever may be the sentiments of the white people in relation to this battle, my nation, though fallen, will award to me the reputation of a great brave in conducting it.

In Black Hawk was incarnated the very spirit of justice. He was as inflexible in all matters of right and wrong, as he understood them, as flint or steel. Expediency formed no part of his creed, and his conduct in the trying emergencies that ended in the fatal conflict, was eminently consistent with his character. No thought of malice or revenge entered into his great soul; the contest was waged with no other purpose in mind than to protect his people in what he believed was their inalienable right to the wide domain that was being wrested from them. It matters not whether his skin is copper-colored or white, the brave man, the man who has the courage of his convictions, always challenges the admiration of the world, and as such pre-eminently the noble old Sac war chief will ever be an admirable figure. Having learned his invincible daring, the government certainly acted prudently, if not fairly, in officially depriving him of his commanding position, for by this act he was rendered powerless to form new alliances to regain his lost prestige and possessions. When the inevitable came, though his proud spirit was crushed, he accepted defeat grandly. He saw the sceptre of leading chieftainship pass from his own into the hands of his successful rival with the resignation of a martyr.

Black Hawk's last public utterance was at the house-

of a friend in Fort Madison a short time before his death. The occasion was a Fourth of July celebration and a number of distinguished guests were assembled. He spoke in response to the toast, "Our Illustrious Guest, Black Hawk." In the course of his remarks he said: "Rock River was my beautiful country. I liked my towns, my corn-fields and the home of my people. I fought for it. I have looked upon the Mississippi since I have been a child. I love the great river. I have dwelt upon its banks from the time I was an infant. I look upon it now. As it is my wish, I hope you are my friends."

The closing words of his memoirs are: "The tomahawk is buried forever. We will forget what has passed, and may the watchword between the Americans and the Sacs and Foxes ever be friendship."

If love of country is one of the cardinal virtues, and if the man who is willing to risk his life and all he holds dear for its defense is a patriot, then it may be written of Black Hawk that he was a virtuous man and a patriot.

The Cincinnati Atlas of the first announces that "Governor Slade of Vermont, left the Broadway Hotel this morning for Iowa, Tennessee and Missouri, with thirteen young ladies designed for school teachers in those States." This is the second party of New England teachers that has been brought out for distribution among the Western States.—*Dubuque Miners' Express*, October 26, 1853.

THE WORD "IOWA"—WHAT IT MEANS.

BY L. F. ANDREWS.

Labored and exhaustive efforts have been made to ascertain the origin of the word "Iowa" and determine its signification. It is generally given, as I believe erroneously, as meaning "The Beautiful Land." Legends and traditions relating to it have been traced centuries back. Words have been twisted, distorted and corrupted until they bear little or no orthographic relation to that which the tradition searchers have reached in their quest.

It is claimed by some that the word is of Dakota origin, and by the French was written "Aiouez," and applied to a branch of the Otoe tribe inhabiting territory west of the Missouri River. Gradually the word became Anglicised to "Iowa," which in the Dakota language means "something to write or paint with."

Hildreth, in his history of the American aborigines, gives the derivation from "Py-ho-ja," a name applied by the Omahas to a tribe in this territory, and which means "Grey Snow," or "Drowsy Ones"—tradition having it that when the Iowa tribes left the parent tribe in the north, a snow-storm prevailed.

Schoolcraft says the Iowa tribes called themselves "Pa-ho-ches," which means "dusty nose" or "dirty face," from the fact that they first settled near the mouth of a river where there were sand-bars, and the wind blew sand and dust in their faces. At an early date their location is fixed at the junction of Rock River with the Mississippi, thence they moved to the junction of the Des Moines River with the Mississippi, occupying what now comprises Lee, Van Buren and Davis Counties; thence they moved up the Missouri River into Dakota; thence back to the head waters of

the Little Platte, now Southern Iowa and Northern Missouri; thence to the head waters of Chariton and Grand Rivers in Iowa. During all these migrations they called themselves "Pa-ho-ches."

The history of the North American Indian shows very strongly that the original home of the Dakota stock of the very early Ganowanian family was on the far western side of the continent, while that of the Algonkin was on the eastern; that the Sauk and Fox tribes were of Algonkin origin, and descendants of the Chippewas and Pottawattamies, once strong and powerful. This is also indicated by their dialects; for in the language of Western tribes labial and vowel sounds prevail, while in those of Eastern they are guttural. In the oldest tradition extant of the Algonkins, Nicollet gives the word "A-ho-la-king" as signifying "Beautiful Land."

The original families have been divided and succeeded by hundreds of branches, and their language also divided into hundreds of dialects, so that little remains of the old.

There is very little or no estheticism or sentiment with the Indian. He was, and is, a creature of circumstances. He adapts himself always to present conditions. The future concerns him very little; the past is consigned largely to oblivion. His language is one of signs, circumstances and conditions. A single word often has several significations, the real application being determined by a gesture, an incident or an event. The best authority for the language of a tribe is the tribe who used it.

It is conceded generally that the State of Iowa derived its name from a river; that the river was named from a tribe of Indians. According to Schoolcraft, the Indians occupying the territory along the river were called "Pa-ho-ches," hence the river did not derive its name from their nomenclature. The most extravagant linguist could not so distort it.

The word "Iowa" is unquestionably a corruption of the word "Kiowa," which was of common use by the Sauk and

Fox tribes more than two centuries ago, and is to-day by the remnants of those tribes still in existence—one being in Tama County, Iowa, and another in Oklahoma.

When Black Hawk, who was a Sauk (or Sac, as it is now written) Indian, and his hordes overspread and occupied the territory which is now Iowa, the use of the word became more general. It signified "This is the place." It was also used to signify "Crossing, or going over."

Antoine Le Claire, long a resident of Davenport, of French and Indian descent, born and bred among the Indians, familiar with their habits, customs and language, speaking the latter as his native tongue, says the word means "This is the place."

According to the records, when Black Hawk made his raid west of the Mississippi, he crossed the river at or near where Davenport now is, and subsequently designated the spot as "Kiowa,"—the place where the river was crossed. He was not then seeking the "beautiful," nor a "beautiful land." He was prospecting for a very different purpose. As he moved forward he drove the inhabiting tribes across a river and that river was called "Kiowa," meaning the river over which the tribes were driven, and the Indians driven over were called "Kiowas." The word was in frequent use by the Indians when the first settlers came into the State. Taylor Pierce, who was connected with the trading-post at Fort Des Moines, and who spoke the Sauk and Fox languages fluently, says that when the Indians were moving southward from their excursions in the north, if asked where they were going, the answer would be: "Posse (pony) pukachee (traveling or moving) Kiowa (place) sepo (river)." That is, they and their ponies were going down across the Kiowa River, which was their favorite lodgment. Sometimes the answer would be, "Puckachee, Kiowa, Kesauk Sepo," which signified they were going up or along the Kesauk River, that being the name which the Sauk and Fox Indians gave to what is now called the Des Moines River. The word Kesauk

means dark, turbid, from the fact that in the Spring, when they made their hunting trips northward, the water was blackened by the washing from the prairies, which had been burned over the previous Autumn. It is from Kesauk the town of Keosauqua takes its name. The Des Moines River has always been called Kesauk by the Indians.

That the word "Iowa" was primarily "Kiowa," and originated with some of the many dialects of Algonkin origin, there is good reason to assert. The Sauks were especially partial to the use of the letter "K." It occurs three times in "Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiah," the Indian name of Black Hawk. So also of other chiefs, as Mahaska, Keokuk, Poweshiek, Winneshiek, Waupekuk, Kishkekosh, etc. In a list of over two hundred names of chiefs appearing on the books at the trading post of Fort Des Moines, all but twenty contain this guttural letter once or more. It is also a marked characteristic of the languages of the Chippewas and Potawatamies.

As further evidence of the correctness of this interpretation of the word, an old chief of the Musquakie or Tama County Indians, was very recently asked the meaning of the word "Iowa" or "Kiowa." His answer was, "This is the place." For instance, if a party of Indians were traveling, when camping-time came and the chief found a suitable spot, he would exclaim, "Kiowa," and the party understood it was a good place to camp. It is also used to signify passing over, or across. The Musquakies are the remnants of the Sauks and Foxes who refused to leave the territory. They were gathered together and located near Tama. "Musquakie" signifies "confederation."

Mention has been made of the words "De Moins," which are French, signifying "the less," or "the smaller." They were applied by the early French explorers, who were much among the Indians, to a small band of Indians who were on one side of a river, while those on the other side were called

the greater. The Indians soon acquired the use of them, and gradually the early settlers, though by the latter the application seems to have been erroneously, to the river itself. It was in this wise Col. S. F. Spofford christened his long-time hostelry on the river bank at Walnut street in the city of Des Moines, "The Demoin House," and nothing could induce him to change it.

Latterly the name has been changed to "Des Moines," which some historians say means "The monks." This is incorrect, as the French word for "monk" is "moin," and the use of either orthography, as applied to the river or the city, is without warrant of circumstance, condition or fitness of things.

THE CAPITOL GROUNDS will soon be replete with a fine lot of shrubbery which will much improve them. Forty years ago, before any very serious thoughts were abroad that we should ever have a capitol, or capitol grounds, the spot where the building now stands was densely wooded, and rabbits, squirrels and quails were not an uncommon sight. A little beyond was a duck-pond where ducks were to be found in their season. There were few houses in that part of the village, and no one dreamed of the glory that was to come to the city in after years. From this hill, at that early date, one could look well over the dirty, smoky, little village of 2,000 inhabitants and make future pictures. To the north was a dense forest. To the south on the bottoms, was a huge corn-field. To the east was a strip of thick woods bordering the open prairie, basking in the sun. It was a pity human foresight could not have seen the necessity of saving some of the oaks which grew upon these grounds. It is possible, however, that if they had been saved, the grading would have caused their death. There are scarcely any traceable land-marks of the very old days left in this immediate vicinity. Time, the leveler of men and hills, is still industriously at work changing the face of nature by putting in art instead.—*Des Moines Mail and Times*, May 9, 1896.

WHO WAS PEOSTA?

BY HON. M. M. HAM.

This is a question frequently asked of the Dubuquer, and either not answered correctly, or more often not answered at all. It is the name of an Indian or of his wife who is believed to have discovered the original lead mine, and is the only name of an Indian resident preserved in the nomenclature of the place. But the traditions have played havoc with it, and assigned the name to various personages. The most popular of these stories is that Peosta was the name of the Indian wife of Julien Dubuque. But there is nothing to this, for it is a well established fact that Dubuque had no wife, either Indian or white. And besides Peosta was the name of a man who acquired whatever fame he had through an act of his wife.

The most reliable statement relative to Peosta is contained in the conveyance or permit given to Dubuque at the council held at Prairie du Chien, on September 22, 1788, with the chiefs and braves of the Fox Indians. This document was in the French language, and was a grant of the right to mine for lead, but which Dubuque in after years claimed to be a conveyance to him by the Indians of all the tract of land for twenty miles up and down the river, and which was the basis of his claim, and gave rise to the great lawsuit after his death. In the final decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1853, the original grant to Dubuque from the Indians is set out in full in the original French, as well as the official translation into English made for the use of the court. Here is the expression relative to Peosta: "Moreover, that they cede and abandon to him all the coast and contents of the mine discovered by the wife of Peosta, so that no white man or Indian shall make any

pretensions to it without the consent of Mr. Julien Dubuque," etc. The French phrase here translated "of the mine discovered by the wife of Peosta," reads, "de la mine tobure par le femine Peosta." Whether this is a correct translation or not, the French scholars must determine; at any rate, it was the one accepted by the Supreme Court and by the general public. "Par le femine Peosta" is "by the wife of Peosta," and such it has remained for over a hundred years.

The fact that the mine was discovered by the wife of Peosta instead of by Peosta himself, is rendered more probable by the well known fact that the working of the lead mines in after years was given over almost entirely to the squaws, for the Indians consider it beneath their dignity to labor at mining or anything else. All manual labor was cast upon the women, and if they did the work they probably discovered the mine where the work was to be done. Tradition fixes the date of the discovery of the first lead mine by the wife of Peosta at 1780, but it is probable that the existence of lead in those bluffs was known before that date.

Of Peosta himself nothing is known except through the glory cast upon him by the discovery of his wife. He was a brave or warrior of the Fox village near by, possibly a lesser chief or sachem, but he was not the head chief of the band, for that was the Kettle Chief, a long-time and constant friend of Julien Dubuque. He has been referred to as "Peosta Fox," but that was incidentally only in allusion to the fact that he belonged to the Fox tribe, the Messrs. Les Renards, as the politic Dubuque referred to them in his original contract.

The original mine discovered by the wife of Peosta and always known as the Peosta mine, is situated in the northern part of the city of Dubuque, in what is known as Heeb's Hollow, about five miles from the Kettle Chief's village at the mouth of the Catfish. It has not been worked for many

years, and in the early days of lead mining was abandoned for more profitable and better mines discovered by white men and worked to better advantage than could be done by the primitive methods employed by the Indians. The name of Peosta has been preserved in this section, the most of any next to that of Dubuque himself. It is easy-flowing, lingual and quite as poetic in its sound as any of those introduced by Longfellow into Hiawatha. There is a village of Peosta twelve miles west of Dubuque, and Peosta avenues, drives, and hotels in the city itself. We had a Lake Peosta in the upper part of the city, not far from the famous mine, formed by an arm of the Mississippi, but of late years it has been drained and the city has taken hold of it with the intention of filling up its bed and transforming it into a park. At the last session of the Legislature a bill was passed granting whatever title the State might hold in the bed of the lake to the city for park purposes. When completed it will, of course, be named Peosta Park.

STEAMBOATING ON THE DES MOINES RIVER.—Since our last issue the steamboats have had fine times on the Demoine. The Globe, Sangamon, Col. Morgan, Julia Dean, Time and Tide, J. B. Gordon, and Alice, have all made trips up, some of them going as high up as Fort Demoine and intermediate points. All of them returned to the Mississippi with loads as heavy as they could bear. * * * * The Julia Dean, Captain Logan, is now on the way to Fort Demoine, having left here Monday evening. * * * * Although we have had numerous boats running on the Demoine this spring, and a vast amount of produce has been carried away, still a large portion of the surplus products of the country remain unshipped; and boats could make it profitable if there was water enough, to run the whole season.—*Des Moines Courier*, (Ottumwa), June 15, 1854.



Theodore S. Parvin,

HON. THEODORE S. PARVIN,
Private Secretary to Gov. Robert Lucas.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

GOVERNOR ROBERT LUCAS.

Hon. Theodore S. Parvin, who is still happily spared to write of Iowa in her early days, presents in our leading article his recollections of General Robert Lucas, the first Governor of Iowa Territory. Of the old Governor and the times in which he lived no man but Mr. Parvin—now in his 80th year—is living to tell the story, and none was ever so well qualified to speak. He came to the Territory with the appointment of Private Secretary to Governor Lucas, and was with him during his official career, remaining his valued friend to the end of his life. Governor Lucas was a prominent figure of the times in which he lived, for he was a distinguished officer in the military service of his country, had served two terms as Governor of Ohio, and as President of a National Convention, before coming to Iowa Territory. By a curious coincidence he took part in acrimonious quarrels over questions of State or territorial boundary lines both in Ohio and Iowa.

It is to be deeply regretted that a full biography of Governor Lucas has not been written—an undertaking now obviously impossible. His commission as Governor of Iowa Territory is in the keeping of the State Historical Society at Iowa City. The Historical Department of Iowa here at the Capitol is the custodian of his commission signed by President Madison as Captain of the 19th U. S. Infantry, together with two of his autograph letters and a few of his

signatures. Beyond these meager memorabilia of the plucky old Governor, little else is in existence. He should have left a large quantity of letters and papers, but if he did they have disappeared. We regard it as most fortunate that THE ANNALS is able to publish this very interesting and valuable sketch by Mr. Parvin who knew him so long and so well. The illustrations are most pertinent to the subject in hand, including as they do good portraits of Governor Lucas and Mr. Parvin, a cut of the old Zion Church in Burlington, where the first Territorial Legislature held its sessions, with a view from a recent photograph of the monument which stands over the grave of Governor Lucas. Little further can now be done to perpetuate the memory or render justice to the merits of the Christian gentleman, the brave soldier, and the illustrious pioneer Executive.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN VISITED IOWA.

Knowledge of this fact had quite faded out of the general recollection when several parties recently undertook to ascertain the truth in regard to it. There was a vague impression in the minds of some of our older people that the Martyr-President had crossed the Mississippi, and either appeared in some court as a lawyer, or had addressed one or more political assemblages. But in the multiplicity of stupendous events which followed later on, whatever was true in regard to his coming into Iowa had been forgotten. It would seem from a letter by Mr. Lincoln to Hon. Hawkins Taylor, that he was once expected to visit Keokuk, but did not come. Taylor was a politician of considerable note in early Iowa—Mayor of Keokuk and a member of our first territorial legislature. He died two years ago in Washington, D. C. Under date of September 6, 1859, in a letter to



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

This engraving is from Col. D. M. Fox's "History of Political Parties," the original photograph having been furnished for that work by Hon. Robert T. Lincoln.

Mr. Taylor, Mr. Lincoln wrote: "There is some mistake about my expected attendance of the United States Court in your city on the third Tuesday of this month. I have no thought of being there. It is bad to be poor. I shall go to the wall for bread and meat, if I neglect my business this year as well as last. It would please me much to see the city and good people of Keokuk, but for this year it is little less than an impossibility." Dr. J. M. Shaffer of Keokuk has taken some pains to look this matter up locally, but his investigations do not show that President Lincoln was ever in Keokuk. He visited Carthage, the capital of Hancock county, Illinois, fifteen miles east of Keokuk, during his famous campaign for the United States Senatorship, in 1858, in which he was defeated by Stephen A. Douglas. He addressed the people upon the issues of the day, of which the slavery question was the one prominent and all-absorbing, and out of which grew the great civil war of 1861-65.

But the question was asked Dr. William Salter of Burlington, who wrote: "I heard Mr. Lincoln speak in Grimes' Hall in this city, October 9, 1858. It was in the midst of his Douglas campaign. You will see a notice of it in the enclosed program of a commemoration of Lincoln's 75th birthday in the Congregational Church of this city." Speaking of this meeting two days later Clark Dunham, the distinguished war-editor of *The Burlington Hawkeye*, said of Mr. Lincoln: "He appeared fresh and vigorous. There was nothing in his voice, manner or appearance, to show that the immense labors of the canvass of the last two months had worn upon him in the least. His discourse was logical, replete with sound argument, concise, earnest, impassioned and eloquent." This important question is therefore settled. It is a proud fact in the history of Burlington that she was honored with a visit from the greatest of our Presidents.

"Fairer seems the ancient city, and the sunshine seems more fair,
That he once has trod its pavements, that he once has breathed
its air."

PRIVATE SOLDIERS IN BATTLE.

It is always easy to find accounts of a battle from the stand-point of the commander-in-chief, or of some narrator who speaks of it in a general way. But it is not so easy to obtain a knowledge of how the affair came off from the pen of a private soldier who stood in the thick of battle-smoke, begrimed with powder, hearing the music of whizzing bullets or deafened by the thunder of great guns. Some of the best accounts of the charge of the immortal Six Hundred at Balaklava that can be found to-day are those written years afterward by men who were in the ranks and sabered the Russians at their guns. Many private soldiers tell these thrilling stories most admirably at times—if one could only take down their words as they utter them; but we have found it difficult to get such narratives of Iowa soldiers in writing. We are, however, fortunate enough to be able to give in these pages, from the pen of Col. S. H. M. Byers, who fought in the ranks at Champion Hills, an admirable account of that terrible battle as it appeared to one who bit off the ends of the old paper cartridges and fired his forty rounds at the enemy. This article not only reads exceedingly well, but it possesses much historical value from the light which it throws upon actual warfare where large bodies of men were engaged in a deadly struggle. At least eight Iowa Infantry regiments were in that terrific battle, viz: The 5th, 10th, 17th, 21st, 23rd, 24th, 28th and 30th. General M. M. Crocker, Major Ed Wright, and many other well known officers fought at Champion Hills.

WE are under obligations to the Honorable Secretary of State, the Editor of *The Midland Monthly* and Col. D. M. Fox, for the loan of cuts in this number of THE ANNALS.

THE LAW FOR THE MEMORIAL BUILDING.

It is deemed appropriate to present for preservation in these pages the law passed at the last session of the Iowa Legislature, the initial step in providing for the erection of a "Memorial, Historical and Art Building." The following is the full text of the statute:

CHAPTER CIV.

An act authorizing the executive council to purchase or condemn a site on which to erect a Memorial, Historical and Art Building, to procure plans and specifications therefor, and take other preliminary steps toward its construction, and making an appropriation therefor. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa:

Section I. That the executive council is hereby authorized and empowered to purchase or procure by condemnation, in the name of the state, real property adjacent to the Capitol building and grounds in Des Moines, Iowa, on which to erect a Memorial, Historical and Art Building.

Section II. The executive council shall, after the purchase of the site for such building, procure suitable plans, detailed drawings, and specifications for the construction of a fire-proof building on such site, and, when built, to be used for the accommodation and preservation of the historical and art collections, library and museum of the historical department now owned by the state, and for the accommodation and preservation of such other libraries and collections as may be placed in the custody and control of said historical department. In the adoption of any plan for such building, the executive council shall take into consideration the future needs of the state, and shall adopt a plan which will readily admit of such enlargements as may be required in the future.

Section III. There is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the treasury, not otherwise appropriated, the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars (\$25,000) to carry out the provisions of this act; and should there be any of this appropriation remaining unexpended, after the purchase of the site and the procurement of plans and specifications, the executive council may use the same in such preliminary preparation as they may deem necessary, looking toward the construction of said building.

Section IV. This act, being deemed of immediate importance, shall take effect and be in force from and after its publication in the Iowa State Register and the Des Moines Leader, newspapers published in Des Moines, Iowa.

AS TO A PICTURE.

An engraving of the old capitol building at Belmont, Wisconsin, was published in *The Historical Record*, at Iowa City, in July, 1892. It was obtained, we understand, at some effort and expense from the Wisconsin State Historical Society. The following year one appeared in the *Official Register* issued from the office of our Secretary of State. For this purpose it had in like manner been procured direct from the State House at Madison, Wisconsin. **THE ANNALS** borrowed the cut from the office of the Secretary of State, with due acknowledgment of the courtesy. It then occurred to an esteemed friend that it must have been obtained from the Iowa City publication, to which credit in that case would be due. But it appears that two cuts of that unique old Capitol are in existence, and that **THE ANNALS** gave the proper credit for the particular one borrowed, with the intent only of doing exact justice. (Another thing had happened. From the bound copy of *The Record* owned by the Historical Department, some scamp had torn out and stolen the leaf upon which the old cut was printed—a species of detestable thieving which is often encountered in public libraries. The theft was fortunately discovered, and our binder inserted a copy of the missing leaf in place of the one purloined.) These matters are of no great consequence, but we desire it to be understood that this publication would appropriate nothing from the pages of another without the amplest credit.

IN response to an inquiry Brig. Gen. D. W. Flagler, Chief of Ordnance of the U. S. Army, writes the Historical Department that “the estimated total number of re-enlistments (veterans), army and navy, during our civil war, 1861-65, is 564,939.” This is an important item and one for which search is often made. It is presented here from the highest official authority.

GOV. R. E. FENTON AND GEO. A. S. CROOKER.

Readers whose memories go back to the rebellion will readily recall the name of War-Governor Reuben E. Fenton, of New York, who was afterwards a United States Senator, and at one time quite prominently mentioned for President of the United States. He was originally a Democrat, belonging to the anti-slavery wing of the party. In his congressional district (Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties) the Whigs had a majority of about 2,000. One George A. S. Crooker, a Whig and a lawyer of very-distinguished ability—but a man whose private character was deemed unsatisfactory—could always control his home delegation, but Chautauqua would have none of him. Finally, however, after years of manipulation, he secured the nomination for Member of Congress. This was Fenton's opportunity. The Democratic nomination was freely accorded to him, and he was triumphantly chosen by 200 majority, sweeping away the 2,000 Whig majority as with a new broom. His after career made his name illustrious. But poor Crooker was extinguished—his fond, long-cherished hopes terribly blasted. He came west, stopping for a time in Chicago, where he became noted as a spiritualist. His "last appearance on any stage" was in Cerro Gordo Co., Iowa, whither "the spirits" sent or directed him to prospect for coal. But as to whether he was to find anthracite or bituminous coal the legend is silent. It is said that he sunk a shaft some eighty feet deep, on section 16, in the S. W. township of Cerro Gordo county, but was only rewarded by developing a fine flowing well. This was in a region geologically far below the carboniferous formation—a fact unknown to or ignored by "the spirits." Crooker did not long survive this last disappointment, and died in poverty and neglect. He was a very handsome man fifty years ago (as the writer well remembers), an eloquent speaker, a brilliant lawyer, quite gifted as a wit and a poet,

and for more than a quarter of a century the most influential citizen of Cattaraugus county. Many "believed in him," and not a few imagined that when he strode abroad "the earth trembled."

"But passed is all his fame. The very spot
Where many a time he triumphed is forgot."

THE EARLY NAMES OF COUNCIL BLUFFS.

Hon. D. C. Bloomer, the distinguished pioneer, educator and ex-mayor, of Council Bluffs, was lately asked to give some account of the names by which that now flourishing city was known in its infancy, and more especially that of "Kanesville," which appears in early records and laws. He replied to this request in the following interesting and valuable letter:

COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA, May 25, 1896.

My Dear Sir: I do not think that the name "Kanesville" was ever established by any legislative authority in Iowa. This locality was first given the name, in the very early days, of "Hart's Bluff;" next of "Miller's Hollow," and next of "Kanesville." This name was derived from Col. Kane, of Pennsylvania, who came here in the very early days of 1846, and was a great friend of the Mormons. He mustered the "Mormon Battalion" into the United States service in that year. In honor of him the Mormons gave their town the name of "Kanesville," and a post-office was established here in 1848, and Evan M. Green made Postmaster. The District Court was first opened here in 1851. In these authoritative acts, both of the General and State Governments, the name of "Kanesville" was recognized and so continued to be until it was changed to "Council Bluffs," by the General Assembly early in 1853. (See Acts and resolutions of the Fourth General Assembly, chapter 43, page 72.) Since then, the name of "Kanesville" has been dropped, except among some of the old settlers who occasionally use it. While the Indians were here no other name seems to have been used, so far as I can find, other than "Miller's Hollow" or "Traders' Point." Just what name was used by the General Government in its transactions with the Indians I cannot determine; but possibly you may be able to settle that point by documents in your historical collection.

Both the State and General Government simply recognized the name "Kanesville," beginning with 1846, when that name was first applied to this locality.

Yours very truly,

CHARLES ALDRICH, Esq.

D. C. BLOOMER.

GEN. DRAKE'S "GOOD-BYE" TO HIS COMMAND.

The following is the Farewell Order of Gov. Francis M. Drake at the time he was mustered out of the military service, nearly four months after the close of the war of the Rebellion. It has been pigeon-holed in the Adjutant General's office during the intervening thirty-one years, but comes to the light of day in an excellent state of preservation and with a flavor of patriotism which will be appreciated by all who read it. The original is now in the care of the Historical Department, with the series of documents, letters, papers, portraits and other mementos of Iowa Governors from Governor Lucas to the present day.

HEADQUARTERS FIRST BRIGADE, 2ND DIV., 7TH ARMY CORPS,
DUVALL'S BLUFFS, ARK., Aug. 21, 1865.

General Orders, No. 18.

OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE FIRST BRIGADE:

The time has come when, as your commanding officer, I must say—"Good-bye."

With many of you I have been intimately associated during three years of the desperate and bloody struggle of the Nation to preserve its life and crush out the most formidable rebellion known in history, now happily at an end, with our old flag floating prouder than ever before, our Country's honor vindicated, and the nation regenerated and purified by the glorious success of our arms.

The war is over and we have but to lay off its habiliments and return to the pursuits of civil life.

In separating from you I am gratified to be able to say—that while it has been my good fortune to command you, you have borne your part as good soldiers, and have always been ready to do your duty with cheerfulness. You have by prompt obedience, hearty co-operation, valor, and patient endurance of hardships and privation, won a place in my memory to be treasured forever.

I feel assured by your exemplary conduct as soldiers in maintaining the laws, that as citizens you will be found wielding a noble influence in their administration.

Officers and Soldiers of the First Brigade: with renewed assurances of regard, I bid you a kindly "Good-bye."

F. M. DRAKE, Bvt. Brig. General Commdg.

A PORTRAIT OF HIRAM PRICE.

The first volume of the present series of *THE ANNALS* contains three articles relating to Hiram Price. Two of them were from his own pen—the first consisting of his “Recollections of Iowa Men and Affairs,” (pp. 1-14), and the second, his history of “The State Bank of Iowa,” (pp. 266-293). The third article on “The Public Services of Hiram Price,” (pp. 588-602), was written by his long-time friend, Mr. B. F. Gue. Short of a full biography our pages thus furnish the materials upon which a fair estimate of the man can at any time be reached. His memory will ever be cherished as one of the ablest and best men of our State when the services of patriotic men were needed. Though a distinguished member of Congress, when the delegation consisted of Messrs. Allison, Kasson, Wilson, Hubbard, Grinnell and himself, the public service for which he should be held in most grateful remembrance will doubtless be that of furnishing funds with which to raise and subsist Iowa soldiers at the outbreak of the great civil war; though his prominent part in the most admirable management of “The State Bank of Iowa,” following times when the West was flooded with worthless paper money, merits almost equal praise. Mr. Price, who is now in his 83rd year, is spending the evening of his useful life in Washington. Lately, at the request of many friends, he sat for his portrait to Mr. Geo. H. Yewell. This portrait, designed for the Historical Department, reached the capitol during the past month. It is a faithful likeness and by many believed to be the finest art work owned by the State.

THE striking portrait of Black Hawk which illustrates Mrs. Peck's admirable article is an etching for *THE ANNALS*, by the Iowa artist, Mr. Charles A. Gray.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Report of the Iowa Columbian Commission, containing a full statement of its proceedings, including a list of its disbursements, accompanied by complete vouchers therefor. Published by the Commission. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Republican Printing Co., 1895.

This is a large octavo volume of 423 pages, which includes all the official transactions of the Commission and the reports of committees, together with the Iowa Hand-book, a work issued during the progress of the great Exposition and circulated by thousands. This last installment occupies about one half of the present volume, and treats of "The discovery, settlement, geographical location, topography, natural resources, geology, climatology, commercial facilities, agricultural productiveness, manufacturing advantages, educational interests, healthfulness, government, and the excellence of the social and moral life of The State of Iowa." It is illustrated with many fine portraits, and other engravings of permanent historical interest, with an excellent map of the State, and the binding is especially fine and substantial. The volume is not only a very complete setting forth of the part Iowa took in the great Columbian Exposition of 1893, but a clear and concise estimate of our history, progress, growth and resources. We regard the volume as one possessing high and permanent value, and a copy should find a welcome place in every public and private library in our State. It is however greatly to be regretted that it was not thoroughly and carefully indexed.

THE MISSOURI RIVER AND ITS UTMOST SOURCE. Curtailed Narration of Geologic, Primitive and Geographic Distinctions Descriptive of the Evolution and Discovery of the River and its Headwaters. By Hon. J. V. Brower, author of "The Mississippi River and its Source," etc., etc. St. Paul, Minn., 1896.

This is a highly illustrated and very beautiful volume of 150 pages, the contents of which are clearly set forth in the title-page which we copy in full. The author, Judge J. V. Brower, is a well-known western archeologist, explorer and writer. He has made many valuable contributions to the early history of Minnesota, aside from his pamphlet on the source of the Mississippi, which was published a year ago. During the summer of 1895 he made a journey to the head-waters of the Missouri, in order to ascertain its "utmost source." Upon the results of that journey this volume is based. His explorations led him up the Missouri river to where its name changes to that of Jefferson Fork; thence up that to where the name becomes Beaver Head; and from this up the Red Rock river—which streams he assumes to constitute "one unbroken and direct principal channel," the head-water branch of the Missouri. After exploring many streams.

he finally reached the "utmost source" of the great river, which had been discovered the previous year by Mrs. Lillian C. Culver, a resident of that region. This is "a pretty spring," issuing "from under a large black rock on the side of the mountain," in "a lonesome, wild place," on the continental divide between Montana and Idaho. This spot had been marked and the date of the discovery fixed beyond dispute. In chronicling his journey, the author discusses the history, archeology, geology and geography of the Far West, quoting freely from the writings of those who, from the earliest times, have preceded him in the work of exploration. Aside from his own narration he presents an epitome of the works of other writers, thus pointing the reader's way to all extant sources of information. This work is published by the author, in a limited edition of three hundred numbered copies.

PIONEER LIFE IN AND AROUND CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA—1839 TO 1849.

By Rev. George R. Carroll. Times Printing and Binding House, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1895.

This is a handsome volume of 251 pages, containing the author's portrait and ten other illustrations, written, as he states, "to secure from the hopeless oblivion to which they would soon be consigned, a few facts, concerning the people and their doings, of those early times, that ought to be preserved, if ever a full and correct history is written." Mr. Carroll was "a participator in, or at least an eye-witness of, many of the things of which he writes, and was personally acquainted with, or knew well by reputation, almost every person of whom he has attempted a description." This book is of a class of which there ought to be a hundred more in this state, for it presents sketches of pioneers whose names should not be left to perish, with pen pictures of Iowa while still in its primitive freshness and beauty. Such personal recollections are the best sources of history.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

COLONEL ADDISON COCHRAN.—The death of Colonel Addison Cochran, a distinguished soldier and pioneer, occurred at Little Sioux, Harrison county, on the 20th of May. He was one of the most noted of the settlers of western Iowa, and one who has left his mark upon the times in which he lived. Born in Virginia in 1816, his early days were passed, after attaining to manhood in that state and in South Carolina, in commercial pursuits. He then removed to Arkansas and soon after enlisted in a regiment raised in that state for the Mexican war, he being at first its lieutenant-colonel, afterwards its colonel. He took part in the contests on the Rio Grande and was present at the battle of Buena Vista, and was one of the bravest of the brave in the famous cavalry charge which insured the defeat of the Mexican army. The war over, he devoted himself to other pursuits in the western ter-

ritories, residing several years at Santa Fe. Then in 1854 he came to Iowa and settled in Council Bluffs. He at once engaged in the real estate business, bought and sold great quantities of land and city property, and died the owner of many thousands of acres of farming lands as well as of many city buildings and lots. His largest purchases of the former were in Harrison county, and here he owned a grain and stock farm of large extent. He was an intensely southern man in his feelings, and perhaps it was for that reason he passed most of his time during the war in mining operations in Colorado. Returning to Council Bluffs in 1866, he has left his mark in many directions upon that city. He was mainly instrumental, while Mayor, in the establishment of Fremont Park, and other important improvements, and at a later day he donated to the city a smaller park which has since been greatly improved, and bears his name. He was a wonderfully reticent man as to all his personal affairs, and only his most intimate friends could gain any knowledge in reference to them. A wife whom he married in early life, and also a son born to them, were removed by death as were also brothers and sisters, and only nephews and nieces remained, among whom he divided his large estate by will, in equal proportion. His funeral took place in Council Bluffs on the 22nd of May, and his remains were laid to rest in Fairview Cemetery. A suitable monument will be erected over them on the summit of the bluff, overlooking, for a long distance, the surrounding country, upon which he was wont to gaze during his lifetime with so much pleasure.

D. C. BLOOMER.

DR. ASA HERR, scholar and scientist, died at his home in Dubuque, June 2, 1896. His birth-place was Worthington, Ohio, and the date September 2, 1817. His education began early and he was a student during his whole life. While educated as a physician and surgeon, and while he attained great distinction in his profession, he yet found time to study science and investigated along many lines. Removing from Baltimore, Ohio, in 1846, Galena, Illinois, became his first western home. In 1847 he removed to Dubuque, Iowa, where he resided until his death. He was identified with local societies for the advancement of knowledge, and was one of one hundred American and English short-hand writers who were chosen to make improvements in phonography. He excelled in the study of botany and made large collections. He was president of the Dubuque County and the Cedar Valley Medical Societies and a member of the National Public Health Association. He was interested in geology, mineralogy and astronomy, and paid particular attention to meteorology. To him and Professor Lapham of Milwaukee, is due the present method of forecasting the weather, for the U. S. weather reports. Dr. Herr was an honored member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. All of the societies to which he belonged were benefitted by his labors, and he was successful in bringing the sciences to the comprehension of those interested who were without scientific knowledge. He was liberal but unostentatious, ever aiming to be helpful without becoming conspicuous. He made a donation of four hundred volumes of choice books to the State Historical Department, and he was especially liberal with other public institutions. His contact with others has had the effect to stimulate to more careful and thorough work, so that the good he did will live after him. In politics he was a whig and then a republican. Hundreds of friends deeply mourn his loss. Dr. Herr continued in the active practice of medicine until failing health compelled him

to relinquish it a few months before his death. His life was a splendid example of what a man of noble purpose and resolute will can accomplish. His kindly disposition and strict integrity endeared him to all with whom he came in contact, and while his loss is greatly to be deplored, it is a satisfaction to reflect on the wonderful amount of labor he performed and the great good he did during his life. Such a career should be an incentive to nobler effort for the alleviation of suffering humanity and the advancement of knowledge.

HON. NORMAN EVERSON, State Senator in the sessions commencing at Iowa City, December 2, 1850, and December 6, 1852, died at his residence in Washington, Iowa, May 15. He was born on a farm in the town of Vermont, Oneida county, New York, December 27, 1815. At the early age of fourteen, with his father's consent he started out—a poor boy—to make his own way in the world. He had a grand ambition for a boy of that age, succeeding in working his way into and through Hamilton College, near Utica, New York. He graduated in 1837. After this he taught school in Elizaville and Cynthiana, Kentucky, where he made the acquaintance of Abraham Lincoln, “a tall, awkward, gangling attorney,” who then “gave no special promise of filling the most splendid niche in American history.” He came to Washington, Iowa, in 1841, and resided there until his death. He was very successful as a lawyer and business man, acquiring a handsome fortune by hard work, and becoming one of the leading men of the town and county as well as of that section of the State. “He filled all sorts of positions because people trusted him. Time and again he was alderman and mayor, once a State Senator, an early post-master, carrying the mail in his capacious hat,—a habit he kept up ever afterwards,—letters, papers, notes, bills, law-papers, and all that queer miscellany went into his hat. He seemed to distrust pockets. It was the queerest mail delivery! The ‘Squire would slowly walk around the park with about a bushel of mail more or less, in his hat, unloading at each door, and sometimes a girl or youth would meet him and ask if there was a letter for them,—love-letters, of course,—and he’d salaam to uncover without spilling, and fish out the missive with a comical grimace, and go his way, a sort of combination of Uncle Sam and Santa Claus. In later years he’d laugh and chuckle as memories of that amusing service came back to him.” The old Legislative Journals show that he was a busy and useful Senator. He was “a genuine man, hating injustice and shams and cruelty,—indignant at wrong, disloyalty and treason.” He visited Europe in 1878, but came home better than ever pleased with his adopted State. *The Washington Press* devotes two columns to an estimate of his career, from which we have condensed this notice.

DR. A. W. HOFFMEISTER, died at his residence in Fort Madison, May 16. He was born at Altnau, in the Hartz Mountains, Kingdom of Hanover, June 14, 1827. He received a liberal education, graduating from the college at Clausthal, with the highest honors of his class, in 1846. After a two years' course in chemistry he emigrated with his father's family to this country. They settled in St. Louis, where he devoted a year to the study of the English language. He then went to California, where he remained two years. Returning to St. Louis in 1851, he entered a medical college, from which he graduated in 1854. He then settled in Fort Madison and began the practice of his profession in which he won distinguished success. He was commissioned Surgeon of the eighth Iowa Infantry in 1862, and was with it during

the period of its most arduous service. He won the confidence and affectionate regard of the soldiers, and the survivors of that famous command revere his memory. Dr. Hoffmeister, aside from his medical knowledge, was one of the most cultured men in our State. He was well informed in botany, geology, paleontology, and natural history. "He left the world better than he found it." We have condensed this notice from one of some length, by his life-long friend, Dr. J. M. Shaffer, which appeared in *The Gate City*, of Keokuk, May 20, 1896.

B. F. MILLER, whose death occurred at Webster City, May 31, 1896, was born in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, February 11, 1833. He was of Scotch-English descent and a man of sterling worth. He was married to Rebecca Whitlock, September 5, 1859. One son, Homer A., and one daughter, now Mrs. Grace Brown, with four grandchildren are left to mourn his death. Mr. Miller was an example of a class of men, who, without early advantages, win success by unaided effort. Beginning at an early age to work for low wages, by sagacity and business management he became an honored business man, helpful to his friends and a benefit to the community. In early business life, he was for a time a merchant. In 1867 he removed from Indiana to Webster City, where he engaged in the banking business in which he was successful, becoming a leading citizen of Hamilton county. While attending the Columbian Exposition in 1893 he contracted a cold which resulted in pneumonia, and later in Bright's disease, from which he died.

COL. EDWIN F. HOOKER, a former resident of Iowa, died in Omaha, Nebraska, June 5, 1896, at the age of 83. He came from his former home, Columbus, Ohio, to Des Moines, in 1855, to assume the management of the Western Stage Company. The building of railroads in the east caused the stage business to push westward and Mr. Hooker was sent to Des Moines as manager of the offices of the company. He thus became identified with the interests of Iowa. For ten years he was a leading citizen of Des Moines. His residence was where the Savery House now stands. When railroads were built, and the stage business was pushed westward, Col. Hooker went farther west, continuing the management of stage affairs until the business was largely superseded by railroads in the far west. He then removed from the Pacific coast and settled in Omaha, where he engaged in railroading, as general agent for a time and then as stock agent. He was a very popular man and had a wide acquaintance. Several years ago, on account of advancing age he gave up active business. His remains were brought to Des Moines for interment.

W. J. YOUNG, died at Clinton, Iowa, June 8, 1896. He was born in Belfast, Ireland, in 1827, and came to Clinton in 1858. Before coming to Iowa he was general freight agent of the Cincinnati, Logansport and Chicago railway. In August, 1866, he erected a large saw-mill, which later was enlarged until it was said to be the largest mill in the world. He did an extensive business and employed many men. He was engaged in rafting and introduced the present method of towing rafts. He was also engaged in banking and had a wide range of business. His great financial success was due to indomitable energy and perseverance. His donations to public purposes in Clinton were many, and he was a liberal contributor to private charities. Among his public gifts the following may be mentioned: The Y. M. C. A. building

and grounds, valued at \$20,000; Esther Young Chapel to the M. E. Church; a large donation to Cornell (Mt. Vernon) College; and a bell for the M. E. Church, Lyons. He enjoyed the highest respect and confidence of the community in which he lived. The death of such a man is a great public loss; but his good works will survive for many generations.

JOSEPH K. HORNISH, a long-time resident of Keokuk, died on the 25th of March, at Layton, Colorado. We compile the following facts relating to the pioneer life of Mr. Hornish from Dr. J. M. Shaffer's sketch of him in *The Keokuk Gate City*. He was born in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, in 1821. He was educated for the ministry, and in 1848 was ordained pastor of a Baptist church at Elizabeth, Pennsylvania. From there he was called to South Pittsburg, where he preached until his voice failed, when he came west, settling at Keokuk in October, 1850. He became a prominent lawyer, taking an active part in the organization of various railroad enterprises in that part of the State. He was a war Democrat, and in 1864 was the candidate of his party for Congress against the late James F. Wilson. In 1874 he began to give his time to literary pursuits, writing much on Egyptology. The great pyramids were to him a divine system of mathematics, which he delighted to demonstrate in lectures. He removed to Colorado several years ago.

FRANCIS GUITTAR, the oldest resident of Council Bluffs, died there on the 25th of April. He was born in St. Louis in 1809. He entered the service of the old American Fur Company at the age of 14, continuing in that work until 1850, when he engaged in merchandising on his own account in Council Bluffs. When he first visited that locality, it was known as Trader's Point and afterwards as Kanesville. He was there when the Indian Agency was established in 1838, and during the days of the Mormon occupation. It is stated that he was the especial friend of the Pawnee Indians, whom he once led in a battle with the Sioux, at which time he was wounded. He saw the growth of Council Bluffs from the time it contained but one or two log cabins and a few tents, until the time of his death.

HARRIET W. BRANDT, a native of the state of Ohio, wife of Hon. Isaac Brandt of Des Moines, died at her home on the 29th of March, aged 67. On the 1st of November, 1849, she married Isaac Brandt, a neighbor and schoolmate from childhood. In 1857 they settled in Des Moines and made their home on the corner of Twelfth Street and Grand Avenue, but one block from the State House. There they lived up to the time of Mrs. Brandt's death. Her life was filled with good works, and she enjoyed the sincere respect and esteem of a wide circle of friends. Mr. and Mrs. Brandt entertained John Brown and his men, when they were on their way from Kansas to the east.

MRS. ELIZABETH ZHORN, died May 3, in Iowa City, aged 90 years and 11 months. She was one of the pioneers of Johnson county, where she settled in 1839, and where her son, J. G. Zhorn, well known in newspaper circles throughout the state, was born. He was one of the first white children born in the county. Her husband, James Zhorn, assisted in laying the corner stone of the old capitol, now the central building of the State University, July 4, 1839. Mrs. Zhorn retained her health and vigor until five years ago. An attack of the grip left her in a low condition of health from which she never recovered.

THIRD SERIES.

VOL. II. NO. 7.

OCTOBER, 1896.

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A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



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DES MOINES, IOWA.

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MRS. ANNE E. HARLAN.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. II. No. 7. DES MOINES, IOWA, OCT., 1896. THIRD SERIES.

MRS. ANN E. HARLAN,
LATE WIFE OF EX-SENATOR JAMES HARLAN.

Lurton Dunham Ingersoll, in his "Iowa and the Rebellion," page 739, referring to the patriotic work of the Iowa women in the war, says:

The heroic conduct of Florence Nightingale in the Crimean war has been most justly celebrated in many eulogiums of oratory, of history and of song, but the American war against rebellion produced many Florence Nightingales; many who were greater than she. * * Every loyal state of the Union had many women who devoted much time and great labor towards relieving the wants of our sick and wounded soldiery. Miss Dix, of New York, sister of General John A. Dix, made the war a new field for the exercise of her broad philanthropy, which had for years before been exercised in other great and noble ways. Miss Anna Dickinson, of Philadelphia, the most eloquent public speaker of our country, except Wendell Phillips, was more eloquent upon this subject than any other. Nearly every State had one or more women who achieved national reputation by their benevolence. But I claim for the State of Iowa the honor of inaugurating the movement which at last culminated in making the Nation the greatest benevolent society which ever existed save that whose founder was God himself. Mrs. Harlan, wife of the Honorable James Harlan, then United States Senator, now Secretary of the Interior, was the first woman of our country among those moving in what we call the high circles of society, which in a free country should be based upon worth alone, who personally visited the army, and ministered to the wants of our suffering soldiery. She visited the army at Pittsburg Landing, and thousands of men are alive to-day, who but for her ministering, but for her energy, for her "out-ranking Halleck," might have been rudely buried on that bloody field. She had but recently lost a lovely and beautiful daughter, Jessie Fremont Harlan, and it seemed that the stream of her wounded, motherly affection ran ever in benignant care of our troops. She at first devoted her energies to caring for the volunteers from our own

State, but afterward gave her time and labors to the general cause, for the good of which she braved the storms of ocean, many journeys to the army, many sneers of upstart officers, but lived to see her efforts crowned with splendid success, and her name blessed in nearly every city, town, and hamlet in the land.

* * * * *

But it would require a volume to print even the names of the noble women of Iowa who devoted their time to the care of the soldiery. Every county, every city, every town, every neighborhood in the State had these true heroines whose praises can never be fully known till the final rendering of all accounts of deeds done in the body. The contributions of the State to "Sanitary Fairs" during the war were enormous, amounting to many hundred thousand dollars. Highly successful fairs were held at Dubuque, Muscatine, Burlington and Marshalltown, whilst, all the towns contributed most generously to fairs of a less generous nature.

This casual mention by the war-historian, Ingersoll, of Mrs. Harlan's "outranking Halleck," has its justification only in the fact that she was able to overcome that stern general's peremptory order excluding all civilians from his military lines, issued immediately after the battle of Pittsburg Landing, or "Shiloh," as it was named by the Confederates, and to reach this battle-field to succor the sick and wounded soldiers of his army, although all others were inflexibly shut out.

The Ohio and Tennessee rivers furnished, at that date, the only available line of approach for civilians from the North. In pursuance of this order, the commander of the military post at Cairo prevented the passage of all steamboats and other water craft bound up the Ohio river for the mouth of the Tennessee river carrying civilian passengers. Military transports alone were permitted, for the time being, to ascend the Ohio above Cairo. On board of these vessels this order was rigidly enforced. The same order was doubtless observed in relation to boats descending the Ohio towards the mouth of the Tennessee.

Multitudes of relations and friends of the thousands slain and wounded in that awful conflict, who were flying to secure the bodies of the dead and to succor the wounded

were thus arrested in their mission of love and mercy. Even His Excellency, Richard Yates, Governor of Illinois, who, on receipt of the first news of this dreadful battle, had chartered a steam-boat, and with his entire staff, and corps of nurses with sanitary supplies, was on his way to look after the dead and wounded from his State, was stopped and detained at Cairo under this order of the imperious Halleck.

During this first period of agonizing suspense, only one steamer bearing civilians was permitted to pass up to the battle-field. It carried Mrs. James Harlan, of Iowa, with her helpers, sanitary goods and field equipments. On receiving the first news of this battle she had run across the country by rail from Washington, D. C., to St. Louis, where she secured a steam-boat, hastened down the Mississippi river and started up the Ohio river on her way to do what she could to succor the suffering, which her previous experience and observation had taught her must be very great. Her boat was also hailed and briefly detained at Cairo; but only long enough to enable her to visit the military post headquarters, when she was promptly permitted to go forward.

Mrs. Harlan, being informed by a member of his military staff, of Governor Yates' unhappy predicament, permitted him and his sanitary helpers to take passage on her boat. And he thus reached his destination—Governor of a sovereign state as he was—under the protection of one of Iowa's daughters.

Her ability to proceed is explained by her possession of the following autograph letter* from the Sec'y of War:

“WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., April 10th, 1862.

Mrs. A. E. Harlan, of Iowa, wife of the Senator of that state, has permission to pass, with a lady companion, through the lines of the United States forces, to and from Tennessee and wherever sick or wounded soldiers of the United States may be to render them care and attention.”

*The original copy of this document now belongs to the Aldrich Collection in the Historical Department of Iowa.

They will be furnished with transportation and rations by the proper officers of the service, and all officers and persons in the service of the United States will afford them courtesy, protection and assistance.

EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

All Quartermasters will observe and obey of course the above order.

April 11th, 1862.

M. C. MEIGS, Q. M. G."

"All agents of the Sanitary Commission are directed to give all aid and furtherance to the plans of Mrs. Harlan, which shall be in their power compatible with their assigned duties.

Washington, April 11th, 1862.

FRED LAW OLMSTEAD,
General Secretary."

On her arrival at Pittsburg Landing this paper was presented by her to General Halleck, who, after reading it, said, "Madam, you out-rank me. What are your commands?"

Of course this pleasant exaggeration was the fruitage of an eminent soldier's gallantry towards one of his respected country-women, and only meant that she should have whatever was needed relating to the subject-matter of the Secretary's letter.

She was accordingly quickly supplied with the necessary ambulances, drivers and other helpers, needful in the distribution of delicacies and other sanitary goods to the sick and wounded soldiers, scattered as they were all over that broad and bloody field of carnage. She found scores of helpless famishing men, here and there, in every direction, still lying on the naked ground in the bloody clothes in which they had been shot down in battle. These were, of course, brought in to improvised field-hospitals, and as well cared for as the existing circumstances would permit.

In her intercourse with the sick and wounded she became thoroughly convinced that their worst enemy was despondency, usually called "home sickness." Many of these soldiers were mere lads, in thousands of cases rang-

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by D.C.

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1862

Iowa

Mr. ~~Stanton~~ State, has
permitted Company
through State forces
to and where sick &
wounded may be,
to receive.

With transportation
& rationers of the Service
and all in the Service
of the then Country
protected

Min. M. Stanton
Secretary of War

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SECRETARY OF WAR.

The original from "in" in the Historical Department of Iowa.

ing from sixteen to nineteen years of age. Sickness and wounds reminded them strongly and vividly of home and the tender, loving care of mother and sister, in sharp contrast with the necessarily rough usage they were then experiencing.

Looking at them with a motherly woman's eyes, and talking to them in the tones of a mother's voice, she at once secured their confidence, and could not avoid seeing those indescribable manifestations of irrepressible craving for the far-away home. In such a presence she could not avoid the conviction that hundreds of them, perhaps thousands of them, would perish if retained in camp or field hospitals, who would rapidly recover their health and strength if sent to their respective states where their loved ones could at least visit them.

Hence, she endeavored to induce the medical authorities whom she found on duty to permit her to remove the dangerously wounded and the almost hopelessly sick Iowa troops to their own State. This request was, at first, harshly refused. But a woman's persistence in what her heart tells her is needful to relieve human suffering and to save life is frequently more potential than man's confidence in his own wisdom in such matters. So it should not surprise any one to learn that Mrs. Harlan was victorious in this contention. She promptly appealed from the adverse decision of subordinates to the imperious and austere Halleck himself. In him she found an attentive listener and a prompt and hearty supporter of her proposition. After a brief consultation with his Surgeon-in-Chief and principal Medical Inspector, she was informed that her request was granted on condition that she should be able to gather up enough invalids of the classes she described from the States of Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota, to completely load a hospital-boat ordered to be placed at the wharf for this purpose.

She communicated without delay, a knowledge of this

arrangement to the head-quarters of the several regiments from these respective States, with a request that those of these classes of the sick and wounded who might so desire, be sent to the designated landing, without needless delay, with an official certificate from their several regimental surgeons, setting forth their true sanitary condition. Of course this news spread "like wild fire," and within a few hours these poor, dear, suffering soldier-boys commenced to arrive; some of them in ambulances; some of them on stretchers borne carefully and tenderly by their soldier comrades; and some of them in their impatience to get away, crawled to the boat, long distances, on their hands and knees.

In a very brief time it was completely filled with this precious human freight, supplied with a corps of surgeons and nurses, properly provisioned and on its way to its destination at the Military Post at Keokuk, Iowa. Of course she accompanied them on this voyage, assisting the surgeons to the extent of her strength and powers of endurance, all of that day and the succeeding night and the following day in their unwearied attentions to the sick and wounded who covered every available spot to be found on the boat above and below. At the first opportunity, while on the way, she landed and telegraphed the proper authorities at Keokuk of their approach, mentioning the number of patients on board, that proper provision might be made for their reception and accommodation.

For this purpose one of Keokuk's principal hotels was taken by the Government, emptied of its inmates, transformed into a hospital, in which, on their arrival, these suffering heroes were made as comfortable as possible, where their relatives and friends could visit and care for them.

The establishment of this military hospital at Keokuk, Iowa, on Mrs. Harlan's urgent request, inaugurated the policy of home hospitals for invalid soldiers in the several

loyal States throughout the whole country, which doubtless resulted in the preservation of the lives of thousands of our country's defenders who otherwise would have perished, and also relieved the army in the field of the care of these classes of soldiers who had become, temporarily, a great burthen to their effective comrades. At the same time it demonstrated the superiority of woman's intuitions over man's wisdom in whatever relates to the health, comfort and happiness of those whom she loves. And it is only due to the truth of history to say here in passing that the value of Mrs. Harlan's services to her countrymen during the war of the rebellion was not limited to her personal attentions to the sick and wounded as a female nurse. As shown by the foregoing narrative, and many other illustrations equally striking which might be mentioned, it is seen that her work had a much wider range. She was a keen observer and a practical thinker. And although a native of Kentucky, she was opposed to the extension of slavery, and earnestly in favor of the preservation of the Union, and ready to do all in her power to aid in the overthrow of the rebellion. And having authority from the Secretary of War to go through the army everywhere, even to the extreme front with the skirmishers, where she was frequently "under fire," she was able to see everything that transpired with her own eyes. And having a husband in a commanding official position at Washington, the information she thus obtained could be made available in behalf of the welfare of the army.

As a sample of her correspondence with her husband from the army, it may not be uninteresting to the readers of this article to peruse her first letter addressed to him from Corinth and Pittsburg Landing, although not written for publication. On that account it may be even more attractive to the men and women of this generation, so many of whom were born since the events thus artlessly described transpired. This sample letter is as follows:

DEAR MR. HURLAN:—In passing through the encampments and hospitals of the Western army at Shiloh and near Corinth, some things, which I witnessed daily, and almost hourly, struck me as very unwise in the management of our army affairs which could be and ought to be corrected.

Hundreds of our brave soldiers are dying daily for the want of proper nursing and care, and suitable food and clothing.

Civilians not officially connected with the service, are, as a general thing, carefully excluded from the lines; and when volunteer nurses and surgeons are admitted on the solicitation of aid societies, frequently on large pay, very few of them will perform the unpleasant drudgery incident to camp life among the sick, in the field or in hospital; or if they attempt its faithful performance, they soon weary of such toil and leave for their distant homes; so that the regular surgeons are compelled to fall back on the old army regulation, of demanding a detail of men from the ranks for nurses; but for some time past the army has been so reduced by sickness and death, that the officers have not been able to furnish the requisite number of well men; and this labor has consequently devolved on the convalescing, the sick and the wounded in the mean time, suffering extremely for the most ordinary attentions. And although our patriotic ladies all over the land are plying their fingers day and night to keep up hospital supplies of clothing, wagon-loads of these goods, after being used once, lie on the ground in the rain for weeks, and rot for the want of persons to wash them. I have seen hundreds of wounded men lying in the bloody garments in which they were shot down in battle or on picket duty, for weeks, without the possibility of a change, occasioning a stench almost unendurable, in which the poor fellows were compelled to lie day and night, until removed to their distant homes or until they were ready to be carried to a soldier's grave, which was too frequent.

Now, why not employ the contrabands who swarm around our lines, whenever permitted by our generals to escape from rebel masters, in the hot and unhealthy climate of Tennessee and Mississippi, to assist the nurses and to serve as cooks and washers for our sick and wounded men. They are acclimated; they are accustomed to the heat and outdoor life, and would gladly serve for their subsistence alone. The washing of the necessary changes of clothing for our sick and wounded would more than compensate for the expense incurred, to say nothing of the incalculable service they could render soldiers able to bear arms, in performing the labor and drudgery, often menial in its nature, which is now breaking them down and carrying them to their graves in large numbers.

Some of our commanding generals in the field are so very delicate in their sensibilities towards secession sympathizers, and so careful of the rights of rebels, as to induce them to impose great hardships on our troops. I have been pained to see our poor soldiers, often really unable for duty, though reported as convalescent, for light duty, standing





FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

guard around the houses and property of Southern people who were as disloyal to the Union as Jefferson Davis, and far less patriotic in their impulses, being too cowardly to risk anything in the rebel cause. They profess Union sentiments to save their property; and our poor Union soldiers, pale and emaciated by sickness and hard fare, are required on account of this hollow profession of loyalty, to stand guard over their premises, without shelter, sleeping on the ground or wet grass, exposed to rains, heavy night dews and miasmatic atmosphere; which in many cases develop malignant fevers, that require them to be returned to the hospitals from which too many of them are never removed until the poor, brave, uncomplaining, noble fellows are wrapped in a soldier's blanket, and without so much as a rough coffin, carried by their comrades to a shallow trench which answers the purpose of a burying place for the defenders of our liberties and all we hold dear as a nation. And while our brave Union troops are thus contracting their death-sickness in this loathsome service, and many of them dying without the most common coarse nursing, the hypocritical rebels are enjoying all the comforts of home under the protection of our soldiers whom they curse, spit upon, and betray, and openly rejoice at their sickness, suffering, and death. And when loyal negroes escape to our lines, who would gladly serve in the most menial capacity for their subsistence alone, our generals under the influence of a kind of negro insanity, send them back to their treacherous rebel masters, to be whipped and tortured on account of their loyal proclivities.

Why should the dead of the army be buried without coffins? It pained me to the heart to witness such interments. The burial of those killed in battle, in their blankets alone where the number is large and danger is great, may be excusable. But I can not excuse it in relation to those who die in hospital. When officers are asked why some kind of coffin or box is not made, in which to bury the remains of the dead, their reply was usually the lack of transportation for lumber, when steamers in Government employ, and under high pay, were lying idle by the week at the wharf. In one instance which came under my personal notice, one of these boats which was under the pay of the Government, was occupied by a pleasure party of curiosity seekers for ten days or two weeks.

Knowing that the remains of their dead husbands and sons are subject to this mode of burial, of course occasions great anxiety to procure them for removal and interment at their respective homes. You may imagine the grief occasioned by General Halleck's order excluding all civilians from the battle field of Pittsburg Landing. Hundreds of fathers, and mothers, and wives, and sisters, and sons, and brothers were hastening to this terrible scene of carnage, with the hope of rescuing their beloved ones wounded in that awful battle; or if too late for this, to secure their remains for decent burial. Every boat was crowded with these messengers of mercy, when the General's order met them at Cairo. No pen can describe the bitter anguish this order occasioned.

I will mention one instance as a sample of the whole. I saw a young man who had traveled a long distance to Cairo, on his way to the battle-field to recover the remains of a dearly beloved and only brother, who had been killed on the first day of the battle. He had procured his pass and was aboard one of the Government transports, then about to start from Cairo to Pittsburg Landing, in company with about one hundred others, nearly all of whom were on similar business, when the order of General Halleck was received directing the general in command of the post to permit no civilians to pass, stating that all the sick and wounded had been sent below. The faithful general in command at Cairo was, of course, compelled to obey the order, and although deeply sympathizing with these disappointed messengers of mercy to the sick and wounded, cleared the boat of all civilians. This young man, learning that I would be permitted to pass, came to me with tears in his eyes and begged me to intercede in his behalf. He said he had promised his aged and widowed mother, who had cheerfully given her son to the service and who had bravely given his life to his country on the battle field, that he would bring back his body to her for a decent burial; and now it seemed so hard to go back without his remains since they were to be buried in a shallow trench, without a coffin, in his clothes saturated with his own life's blood, and it would soon be too late to identify him.

I accompanied him to the captain of one of the boats, and entreated him to find some means of shipping him, as laborer, fireman, or in some capacity. The noble old captain, with big tears starting in his eyes, promised to do the best he could under the circumstances, and we separated. In a short time after my arrival at the landing, while standing on one of the boats, I was gratified to see my young stranger friend returning from the battle-field with the body of his brother. What commingled emotions of joy and grief must have filled his heart as he bore in his arms aboard the returning boat, the mangled form of the heart's treasure of his dear old mother! May God bless him and the brave captain through whose goodness this success was achieved.

The greatest abuses I witnessed in the Western army grew out of the carelessness or incompetency of surgeons in charge of the sick and wounded. Some of the surgeons are devoted to their patients, and work faithfully day and night for their welfare; but too many of them are totally unfit for their places. Some of them seemed not to know how to make out a requisition for medicines and stores for the sick, and hundreds were consequently suffering for the most common necessities, within an hour's drive of supplies that would have been promptly forwarded upon a surgeon's requisition.

Some of these surgeons seemed to me to have grown hard-hearted and indifferent to human suffering. In this connection I may mention one practice adopted by some regimental surgeons, that made my heart ache almost every hour in the day; that was compelling the sick men, pronounced to be hospital cases, to walk back to the post hospi-

tals and hospital boats, not unfrequently several miles from the encampment. I have known many to be ordered to walk back as far as five or six miles, and seen them staggering along the road, fainting by the way, without the slightest assistance from any one. And when I appealed to the officers to send them in ambulances, I have received the reply that it was impossible to spare the few ambulances at their disposal for that purpose. Between the Landing and Corinth, I frequently found poor, sick soldiers lying by the roadside, who have been three or four days creeping five or six miles in search of a hospital, by order of their surgeons, with nothing to eat but the common bacon and hard bread which they carried for themselves in their knapsacks; some of them who were unable to carry knapsacks being, when found by me, totally destitute. In fact, coats, blankets and knapsacks were to be seen everywhere strewn along the roads, which had been abandoned by the sick men who became too feeble to carry them.

Much of the sickness in the Western army is occasioned, I have not the slightest doubt, by the character of the food on which the soldiers are compelled to live, the want of tents in which to sleep, and the incessant hard work which the men are compelled to perform in erecting bridges and fortifications, and making roads, in a hot climate to which they have not been accustomed. I heard more complaining on account of hard bread on which they were compelled to live, than any other grievance. Even the sick, as a general thing, were furnished with nothing better. I could not perceive how it was possible for them to subsist on such food and regain their health.

I hope the new corps of medical inspectors recently appointed by the President, and the additional surgeons and assistant surgeons asked by the War Department, may be speedily sent to the field, and that they may prove to be efficient and worthy men.

A. E. H.

Of course such facts as the foregoing, from a perfectly reliable source, enabled the Government to correct, at least in a degree, many of the evils mentioned by her from time to time in her correspondence with her husband as she passed through the army in its various fields of operation. Many of these interpositions, like the establishment of home hospitals, as above mentioned, proved to be of lasting benefit.

Of this class of benefactions, arising from her urgent representations, may be properly named the substitution of "Assistant Surgeons" in the several regiments and army hospitals for "Medical Cadets." At the beginning of the war students from the medical colleges of the coun-

try were so employed, and continued until the attention of the Government was called to the subject by Senator Harlan during the discussion of an army appropriation bill containing an item to cover the expense of these employes. Mrs. Harlan had previously mentioned to him in her letters from the army and in conversations how it made her heart ache to witness their experimental work in surgery, with these living subjects, cutting off arms and limbs and attempting other much more delicate and difficult surgical operations, after a battle, in the field, and also in the hospitals, frequently in a hilarious mood and rollicking manner, as if they were operating on cadavers in a dissecting room, and were rejoicing over the abundance of material thus furnished them for experiments. She did not speak of them unkindly. Many of them were mere lads and of course easily excited. And all of them, she thought, did the best they knew, and were as brave as veterans, exposing themselves in the line of duty to the greatest personal danger. And all the help they could render was often greatly needed by the regimental and hospital surgeons; especially after a battle. But she insisted that these brave men who were disabled fighting for their country were entitled to the services of physicians and surgeons of the highest skill and matured experience, of whom there was no dearth, the country being full of good doctors who would most willingly perform this dangerous service if invited by the Government to do so. Following her suggestions, on her husband's motion, the law was changed so as to provide for the appointment of the requisite number of "Assistant Army Surgeons" to meet this demand of humanity.

It was also in pursuance of her suggestions that the general order was given to the Quartermasters and Commissaries of the army to construct bake-ovens and to issue flour instead of "hard-tack," when the soldiers might prefer it and when it could be done without detriment to

the service. This order was made by President Lincoln in person. It came about in this way. Mrs. Harlan in her ministrations among the sick and wounded soldiers of the Army of the Potomac, while lying on the James river below Richmond, under the command of General McClellan, found the troops, both sick and well, subsisting almost exclusively on hard bread, salt meat and coffee. They were totally destitute of vegetables and fruit. Multiplied thousands of them were suffering dreadfully from the chronic army diarrhœa, arising primarily no doubt from the malaria of the Chickahominy swamps. It seemed impossible for them to recover while subsisting on this sort of food. Their craving for a change of diet was dreadful to witness. They would fight with each other for the possession of a stray potato, onion or turnip. And a slice of common soft baker's bread was prized by them as a luxury.

Coming from the army to Washington for fresh supplies, Mrs. Harlan printed a notice in the evening papers stating that her steamboat was lying at the wharf at the Navy Yard on which she expected to return the next day, and would gladly carry anything which the patriotic and humane people of the city might wish to send to the sick and wounded to promote their comfort, and that, strange as it might seem, nothing would be more acceptable to the soldiers, including the sick ones in camp and hospital, than soft baker's bread. It is needless to add that long before evening of the next day her ship was abundantly supplied with baker's bread as well as the usual varieties of sanitary goods. And on her arrival at her destination, and it becoming known that she had brought what the soldiers called "a ship-load of baker's bread," they crowded around her ambulances in such multitudes, begging for "only one little slice," as to make it necessary to order out a strong guard to secure its safe transportation to the field hospitals. These facts and conditions

being communicated by her husband to President Lincoln, the foregoing order was issued by him and maintained to the end of the war.

In this connection it is only simple truth to state that it was her repeated reports of the deleterious effects of "home-sickness" on the health and efficiency of the youthful element of the army, pressed on the attention of Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, by her husband, which finally culminated in the wise and humane policy of permitting a month's leave of absence, annually with free transportation for the round trip, to every Union soldier who might wish to visit his home during the period of his enlistment.

A volume might be filled with most interesting details of evils corrected, abuses redressed and improvements of methods in the general service secured through her instrumentality, arising from her deep concern for the welfare of our soldiers, in addition to her constant endeavor to alleviate the sufferings of the sick and wounded. But perhaps the greatest benefit bestowed by her on the Iowa Union soldiers by any single movement, resulted from her successful efforts, in the summer and autumn of 1863, to re-organize the sanitary work of the patriotic women of her own State, through the instrumentality of what was called "The Woman's Sanitary Convention," assembled at the city of Des Moines almost exclusively through her leadership, composed of delegates from nearly every county and important town and city in the State. She was supported in this movement by the wife of Governor Kirkwood and the wives of the other State officials, by Mrs. Senator Grimes, Mrs. General Curtis, Mrs. Justice Miller, and the wives of United States officials from Iowa generally, and hundreds of equally worthy and patriotic women of the State whose husbands were not encumbered with official stations. Its consummation required her to travel all over the State and hold consultations with hundreds of its patriotic men and women,

necessarily requiring considerable pecuniary expense and great labor, encountering of course some persistent opposition, as always happens in such efforts in the best of enterprises, and among the best of people, for the reason that we can not all see alike in selecting means to secure results which all desire.

The character of this Convention and the immediate results of its deliberations, are aptly stated in an editorial clipped from the *Home Journal*, of Mount Pleasant, Iowa, dated Nov. 28, 1863, as follows:

IOWA STATE SANITARY CONVENTION.

We, in company with a goodly number of Delegates from this county, attended this Convention at Des Moines last week. The official proceedings will be placed before the public shortly, and we will for the present content ourselves with a brief general notice. The Convention was called to order by Dr. McGugin of Keokuk, upon whose motion Mrs. Hagar, of Burlington, was made temporary President. Rev. Mr. Truesdale, of Davenport, Miss Knowles, of Keokuk, and Mrs. McFarland, of Mt. Pleasant, acted as Secretaries. Senator Harlan presided over the permanent organization. The Convention was very largely attended, composed of intelligent and prominent ladies and gentlemen from every section of the State. The discussions were able and spirited and in the main courteous. In a body so large it is natural that widely different views as to policy should be held; but in the true spirit of patriotism these were harmonized, and the final action of the Convention was endorsed by nearly every delegate present. A State Sanitary Commission was organized, into which all older organizations of this character are to be merged; and hereafter Iowa sanitary affairs will be managed under a system and each society or individual will have the means of knowing that their donations are faithfully disposed. This system of accountability is indispensable, as much in justice to the agents through whose hands the goods pass, as to the people who give them, and the brave men for whom they are given. The following report of the committee on organization, which was unanimously adopted, embodies the plan:

In submitting this constitution to the action of the convention, your committee desire to call attention to the principles by them deemed important and indispensable, which they have endeavored to secure in the plan thus proposed:

FIRST. A State Sanitary organization embracing the whole of Iowa in its collection of supplies and aid for all our soldiers in the disbursement of its benefactions.

SECOND. A full and equitable representation of all the local Sanitary Societies of the State.

THIRD. Responsible control and executive action.

FOURTH. Strict accountability of each and all of the officers to the constituency whose servants they will be.

The editor here inserts a copy of the constitution which was unanimously adopted; and copies the names of the officers of the Society thus organized, to serve for the first year, which were as follows:

President, John F. Dillon, Davenport.

Vice Presidents, Mrs. S. R. Curtis, of Keokuk, Mrs. D. F. Newcomb, of Davenport, Mrs. P. H. Conger, of Dubuque, Mrs. W. M. Stone, of Knoxville, Mrs. W. W. Maynard, of Council Bluffs, Mrs. J. B. Taylor, of Marshalltown.

Recording Secretary, Rev. C. L. Truesdell, of Davenport.

Treasurer, Ezekiel Clarke, of Iowa City.

Corresponding Secretary, Rev. E. Skinner of De Witt.

Board of Control, G. W. Edwards, of Mt. Pleasant, Mrs. Dr. Ely, of Cedar Rapids, F. E. Bissell, of Dubuque, N. H. Brainard, of Iowa City, Dr. James Wright, of Des Moines, Mrs. W. H. Plumb, of Fort Dodge.

The editor of the *Home Journal* closes his article with the following appropriate words:

The Convention resulted in great good to the cause, independent of the organization effected. Many and important facts connected with sanitary affairs were developed, and the friends of the soldiers will work much more intelligently and efficiently in consequence. We trust every patriotic man and woman will be untiring in this holy work. The field of labor is wide—the demand upon us pressing and constant. Let us remember that while our noble brave ones are fighting to protect our homes and perpetuate human liberty, we have a duty to perform in ministering to their wants and those of the dear ones they have left at home.

Probably the necessity and great importance of this re-organization, the magnitude of efforts put forth by her in bringing together this great assemblage of the representative women of Iowa, the wisdom displayed in guiding their deliberations to successful results, and the unselfish and absorbing interest she felt in the cause to which she was giving the best energies of her life, can be better understood from a perusal of the following letter addressed by her to the local Aid Societies of Iowa, a few days after the adjournment of this Convention, than could be conveyed to the minds of the readers of this article by any other method:



*Yours Truly,
Jas. Harlan.*

TO THE SOLDIERS' AID SOCIETIES IN IOWA.

I have deemed it to be my duty, since the commencement of the existing war, to do all in my power to assist in alleviating the sufferings of the sick, wounded and destitute soldiers of our armies. My husband has yielded to my convictions of duty in this respect so far as to permit me to use in this cause all of a limited income over our current expenses. I have been enabled by the kindness of the Secretary of War to visit our armies, and our field and post hospitals, East, South, and West, through the border and loyal States; through the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee and Mississippi, where I have done what I could to correct abuses, and to aid the suffering soldiers of the republic. It has been my sad privilege to administer to the wounded and dying on many of the great battle-fields of the country, before the smoke of the conflict had passed away, while the combatants were still covered with the blood and dust of the battle. With these varied opportunities, extending over a period of more than two years, I would have been a very indifferent observer had I not become somewhat familiar with the character and relative efficiency of the different State organizations, as well as those of a more national character, for the relief of soldiers. Although I have not desired nor sought a connection with any of them, I have, at different periods, distributed goods for many, and have observed the bearing and conduct of the agents of nearly all of them. I have, consequently, some knowledge of the system and rules adopted by these organizations for the control of their business. At an early period I observed what seemed to me to be the defects in the plans adopted for the distribution of Iowa sanitary goods. There was no head to the system, no home office at which accounts could be kept, no arrangement by which Iowa regiments could be regularly visited by our agents, no business arrangement for the shipment of goods, no regular plans existed at that time for procuring discharges for the permanently disabled, and furloughs for those suffering under protracted ailments, and transportation and subsistence for those who were discharged and without funds to pay their expenses home. The efforts of our friends seemed to me to be spasmodic, irregular, and of course inefficient, and in marked contrast with that of other States, so much so as to attract the notice of our brave boys in the army, and cause them to feel neglected. I desired at once to enter on a reform, but was told in our own State that this could not be done without effecting individuals and individual interests, that my motives would be impugned, and my purposes and conduct misconstrued and misrepresented, and that a conflict would arise more or less personal, that would be exceedingly unpleasant. This was unsatisfactory reasoning, I confess, for a woman's heart. To argue that soldiers almost worn out in fighting our battles, and who might be saved by a little effort, must be allowed to perish to avoid interference with the petty interests and ambitions of

individuals, might be satisfactory reasoning to public men and "strong-minded women," but it was not to me. But as I had entered a field where I found more to do than my hands could perform I yielded my convictions to the judgment of others, trusting to time and the communications of the private soldiers and honest officers for the facts which would secure the reform in our system in Iowa, so much needed. I knew that while some officers might be flattered and coaxed into silence, and some of them into the support of the bad cause, that other officers, with the private soldiers who bear the heat and burthen of the day and the brunt of battle, would, in time, make themselves heard.

And I waited patiently; the time has at length come. The friends of the soldiers in the State, who have contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of stores demanded a more perfect system. The Aid Societies and Leagues from almost every part of the State met in Convention at the Capital on the 18th and 19th Insts. and adopted plans for a State organization which meets the approval of nearly all who were present, and which, it is believed, will secure the harmony, efficiency and accountability of agents, so much desired. The plan does not seek to interfere in any way with the agents appointed by the State authorities. Those who have honestly done their duty deserve and will receive their reward. If any have not, the responsibility was not with the Convention but with those who made the appointments and continue them in the field. The Convention sought only to improve the system, to classify the labor, to provide for a division of work, to require security and safety, and to put more laborers in the field. This does not even imply censure of the State authorities; when the Aid Societies began their good work the business was new, they had everything to learn, their contributions were comparatively small; but they have gradually increased until they are probably equal in amount to the annual revenue of the State. For their proper management we need persons of as high an order of business capacity and integrity as that of our state officers; and we should have the same security against frauds. So far as I can judge the plan proposed by the Convention is good. The board of managers will meet in a few days to complete the organization, when the Societies will be informed more fully on the subject, and advised where their contributions should be sent. In the mean time if my feeble voice could be heard by my sisters in this work, I would exhort them to adopt it, and to go to work with increased activity, that Iowa, whose brave men have secured for her imperishable glory on the field, may be made equally illustrious by the devotion of her women. Let none hesitate to work in this cause for fear their motives may be misconstrued by those who are ever watchful to keep women in "their proper sphere". I am no admirer of "strong-minded women" in the vulgar sense of that phrase. But here is work for a true woman's heart and hands; by engaging in it we may save the lives of many a husband, father, son, and brother, that would otherwise perish. Soldiers in our armies have told me frequently during the past

two years that they were indebted to me for the preservation of their lives. Women of Iowa, what a rich reward for your labor and toil! Feeble, dying soldiers made well and strong and bold in front of the enemy, by your kindness! For these blessings from the lips of those who are assisted, belong chiefly to you who have provided the means, rather than to the agents who have dispensed your bounty.

My dear sisters in this holy cause, do not afflict me by entertaining the thought that I address this note to you on account of any vain desire for notoriety. Nothing could be more painful to the feeling of a true woman. Like you, I would prefer to work on, hereafter, as heretofore, in silence and as far as possible unobserved. But my health has failed. My active labors for this world are probably almost finished. I most earnestly desire a better working sanitary system in our State; to aid in a feeble way, the attainment of this result, will be, I have no doubt, my last work. I am no longer able, in justice to myself, to travel extensively and rapidly from place to place, to converse with you personally on this subject. I therefore snatch my pen to cheer you on, if I can, in your generous efforts to alleviate the sufferings and to cheer up the spirits of the brave boys in the field. Go to work vigorously, let all see that you are in earnest, frown down the factious and those who are constantly magnifying their personal consequence; let every true woman lend a helping hand until success shall cause Iowa troops to be as pleased with our efforts at home, as we are proud of their more than Roman courage and Spartan valor in front of the enemy.

Very respectfully yours,

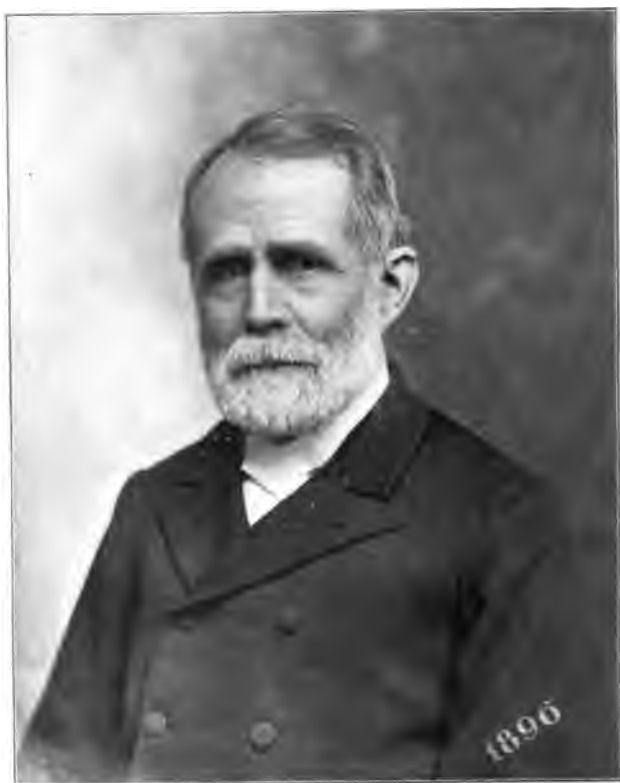
A. E. HARLAN.

Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, Nov. 23, 1863.

In the foregoing address, as admirable for its classical beauty and simplicity as for its historical value, she happily erred in respect to the near approach of the end of her earthly life. She proved to be able to continue her service in this holy cause to the end of the war; and lived, although with shattered health, caused, no doubt, by the labors and exposures thus encountered, until September 4, 1864. Her death occurred at Old Point Comfort, Virginia, in the presence of all the living members of her immediate family. Her body was interred in Forest Home Cemetery, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, by the side of her three departed children, two sons and one daughter, with military honors. The members of McFarland Post, assembled in their hall, and after the adoption of resolutions

of regret, condolence and gratitude for her eminent services in the army, followed her in a body, on foot, from her late home to her final resting place, where every spring, on Decoration Day, her grave is marked with her country's flag, by order of the Post, and strewn with flowers by the loving hands of the members of the Loyal Women's Relief Corps.

SUPREME COURT REPORTS.—Judge Greene of the Supreme Bench arrived at Burlington on Saturday last from New York, where he has been engaged for the past three months in superintending the publication of the "Reports of Cases in Law and Equity determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Iowa." The first volume (edited by Judge Greene) has been issued, and the Judge has brought a number of copies with him. It embraces (with a few exceptions) all the cases decided since the organization of the State Government up to the close of 1848, and makes a book of 622 pages. A handsomer volume we have not for a long time opened. The paper is good, the type clear, the execution faultless. A very full and complete index is appended, with a report of the case of *Telford vs. Barney*, decided in the District Court of Lee County at the November term of 1848, before Judge Olney. The second volume, we understand, is in process of preparation, and will be out before the close of the second year. Judge Greene has assumed the task of Reporter and the decisions may hereafter be expected to be given to the public in a style corresponding with the present volume, as fast as his official duties will permit. For this the public, and the legal profession especially, owe him many thanks.—*Dubuque Miners' Express*, January 9, 1850.



*Very cordially yours,
William Salter*

HISTORICAL ADDRESS.

A DISCOURSE in commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Adoption of the State Constitution by the People of the Territory of Iowa, August 3d, 1846. Delivered in the Congregational Church of Burlington, Iowa, August 2d, 1896.

BY WILLIAM SALTER, D. D.

Numbers xxiii, 23: What hath God wrought!

When the eye of civilization first rested upon Iowa (two hundred and twenty-three years ago this summer) it was seen to be a wilderness, inhabited only by a few bands of savages, or rather traversed by them as a hunting-ground from year to year. They lived in scattered villages upon the banks of the streams, and much of the time were at war with one another. In vain the Great Spirit, the Master of the world, had said to them:

“I have given you lands to hunt in,
I have given you streams to fish in,
I have given you bear and bison,
I have given you roe and reindeer,
I have given you brant and beaver,
Filled the marshes full of wild fowl,
Filled the rivers full of fishes;
Why then are ye not contented?
Why then will ye hunt each other?

I am weary of your quarrels.
Weary of your wars and bloodshed,
Weary of your prayers for vengeance,
Of your wranglings and dissensions.
All your strength is in your union,
All your danger is in discord;
Therefore be at peace henceforward,
And as brothers live together.

If these warnings pass unheeded,
Weakened, warring with each other,
You will fade away and perish!"

And so it proved. History has justified the counsels and the warnings of the Great Spirit, the common Father of both the "red men" and the "white men." Wars and fightings are the common destroyers of mankind. For one hundred and sixty years after the discovery of Iowa the aborigines of the soil were most of the time engaged in exterminating wars with one another, or with other tribes. For several generations the Sioux of the north and the Osages of the south were the hereditary enemies of the Sacs and Foxes and the Iowas, who held the largest portions of what is now the state. They fought with one another with even more desperation than they pursued the wild animals that through these years still held their own in the land—the buffalo, the elk, the bear, the deer and the wolf. They also took part at one time and another in the wars which more eastern tribes waged, now against the French, now against the English, and afterwards against the Americans, as their respective settlements advanced westward. In the war of 1812 there was an organized band in this region that took part against the United States. It was known as the "British Band." It was the band that brought on the Black Hawk war of 1832, which resulted so disastrously to the Indians. That war brought about the beginning of a removal of all Indians from this region, which removal was completely accomplished by successive steps in the course of thirteen years (1833-1846).

Meanwhile France, that claimed the country by virtue of discovery, but had never entered into any occupancy of it, ceded it to Spain (1762). Neither did Spain occupy it, or interfere with the disposition of the soil, save in grants of land to Canadian Frenchmen at two different points on the Mississippi, one in what is now Lee county, the other

in Clayton county. It was also alleged that Spain made a grant of land to another Canadian, Julien Dubuque, at the city which bears his name; but the United States Supreme Court decided adversely. The Canadians referred to were only traders and adventurers, and made no permanent settlement. Spain retroceded the country to France in 1800, and in 1803 France sold it to the United States. The same policy that France and Spain had pursued with reference to the Indian possessions of the country was pursued for thirty years by the United States. There was no interference with the Indian tribes. They continued to roam over the land and hunt and fish, and chase the buffalo and follow athletic games and sports at their own sweet will. It was then a paradise of base-ballers as to-day. No white man was permitted to enter their country except by special license as a trader. The United States included this region in the boundaries of the District of Louisiana (1804), of the Territory of Louisiana (1805), and of the Territory of Missouri (1812), but exercised no actual jurisdiction here save to aid in keeping the different tribes at peace with one another, and at peace with the United States, save and except also that as a part of what was known as the Missouri Compromise (1820), slavery was forever prohibited upon this soil. The aborigines remained the sole actual possessors of the region for the ninety years of French ownership, the forty years of that of Spain and the thirty of the United States, in all for one hundred and sixty years after its discovery. The country had been discovered by a missionary, and some efforts had been made to introduce Christianity here, but those efforts had been repulsed by the natives. President Monroe suggested in one of his messages that tribes from other parts of the country should be removed here, and the region made a permanent Indian Territory.

As already intimated, it was the Black Hawk war, which was waged against advancing civilization in the

adjacent state of Illinois, that resulted in opening Iowa to civilization. It was just sixty-four years ago to-day (August 2, 1832,) that that war was closed in the utter route of Black Hawk at the battle of Bad Axe in Wisconsin. The following year (June 1st, 1833,) a narrow strip of what is now Iowa, lying along the Mississippi river, was thrown open to the white people, and in the course of the next thirteen years an entire change came over this region. First, as attached to the Territory of Michigan for temporary government (1834), next, as a part of the Territory of Wisconsin (1836), and then as a part of the Territory of Iowa (1838), finally, the state of Iowa with its present boundaries emerged fifty years ago (August 3, 1846), through various struggles and hard travail from the primeval night, in which it had been hidden for ages, to become a component and vital part in the life and history of a great nation, and to enter upon its full inheritance in the advancing civilization of the world.

This is one of the wonders of history. It calls us to recognize the hand of overruling Providence. It justifies the devout explanation: "What hath God wrought!" No human eye foresaw the great achievement. No human mind planned it. Mr. Calhoun in the United States Senate discouraged the organization of the territory of Iowa from fear that it would be settled by people who would be unfriendly to slavery. In fact the contrary was the case (for at least a number of years) when the political influence of Iowa went to the support of the slave power. In time there was a reversal of sentiment, but the fact illustrates the mysterious agency that from mistaken and froward counsels, and through dark and devious ways, sometimes evolves a benefit for mankind, "from seeming evil still educating good."

A state organization was early coveted by some of the first settlers in Iowa Territory, but a majority preferred to continue under the benignant care and support of the

general government, and twice voted down a proposition for a convention to form a constitution, viz., in 1840 and in 1842. At a third trial of the question in 1844, a majority of votes was in favor of a convention, to which delegates were subsequently chosen, who met at Iowa City in October of that year and formed a constitution. There were two distinctive features in the constitution: 1st. It made the Missouri river the western boundary, and the St. Peter's river, or a principal part of it, the northern boundary. 2nd. It prohibited the creation of banks. Each of these provisions excited long and earnest discussions. The first was unacceptable to congress, as creating too large a state. It may help to explain the feeling of congress at that time upon this subject if it be remembered that the question of the annexation of Texas was then before the country with a proviso for forming four additional states out of the same, and that the necessity was felt for the creation of more free states as a counterpoise thereto, in order to keep the balance of power between the north and the south. Said an eloquent senator: "An empire in one region has been added to the Union! Look east, and west, or north, and you can find no balance for that." This feeling for making smaller states in the northwest expressed itself in an act of congress (March 3, 1845), making a meridian line seventeen degrees and thirty minutes west of the city of Washington, D. C., the western boundary of Iowa. This line runs about 40 miles west of the city of Des Moines and would have cut off the State from the Missouri river and the Missouri slope. The acceptance of this boundary was made by congress a fundamental condition of the admission of Iowa into the Union.

The second distinctive feature of the constitution was the prohibition of banks. As a constitutional prohibition it was original in and to Iowa, though copied in one or two other states. It expressed views which have become

notorious and popular again. To have incorporated them into a state constitution was a triumph of "populism" under a different name fifty years ago. Business men demurred to it as crippling facilities of trade, while affording no security against the circulation of bills of banks of far-away states.

The act of congress imposing new boundaries, proved confusing when the people were called to vote upon the adoption of the constitution, but the sentiment was overwhelming against those boundaries, and they were rejected, as also the constitution, at the April election in 1845. In this muddle of the matter a session of the legislative assembly of the territory, which had previously been arranged to convene in anticipation of the adoption of the constitution by the people, submitted the question again to the people, with the proviso that the ratification of the constitution was not to be construed as an acceptance of the boundaries enacted by congress. The vote was close but decisive, 7,235 for, 7,656 against the constitution, at the August election, 1845.

A compromise on the subject of boundaries was seen to be necessary. Leading men of the territory, among them Dr. Enos Lowe, of this city, set their wits to work and, in conference with the delegate to congress, the Hon. A. C. Dodge, and with the committee on territories in the house of representatives, it was agreed to secure a repeal of the boundaries fixed by congress, and the enactment of others in their stead, as was done by an act of congress, approved August 4, 1846, making the Missouri river the western boundary, and the parallel of 43 degrees and 30 minutes the northern boundary. In furtherance of this project the eighth legislative assembly of the territory provided for another constitutional convention, which met in May, 1846, and changed the boundaries as stated. This convention sat only fifteen days and made no other material alteration in the constitution framed in 1844. The

prohibition of banks remained. Upon the submission of the question again to the people they ratified the altered constitution in another close but decisive vote, 9,492 to 9,036, a majority of 421 in 18,528 votes. The large and respectable opposition came from those who regarded the prohibition of banks as an obnoxious and injurious measure, crippling to commerce, manufactures and trade. The constitution, however, was adopted. The majority ruled and everybody concurred, hoping for the best, the minority confident that time would show the necessity of amendments to the constitution. It will be fifty years ago on the morrow when the signal event of the adoption of a state constitution by the people of the territory of Iowa took place. It was the work of the white citizens, the red men had no part in it. Many still remained within our limits, but negotiations were in progress for their removal, and in a few years the whole soil with a very small exception in favor of a band of Musquakies, was open to the hand of industry, to the plow and the spade, to the planting of homes, and to the civilization of the school and the church and the court of justice and the railroad and telegraph and literature and science and art.

In the course of fifty years what a transformation has ensued! I need not give statistics. We may say to ourselves, we may say to one another, yea, we may say to the whole people of the United States, "Lift up thine eyes round about and see; all they gather themselves together, thy sons from far, and thy daughters at thy side, with a multitude of flocks and herds, and silver and gold and incense; and they show forth the praises of the Lord, who has made a little one to become a thousand and a small one a strong nation, and hastened it in His time, and beautified the place, and made it glorious."

In this commemoration a place of peculiar interest belongs to our own fair city. For here were some of the prime factors in this advance of civilization. Here con-

vened the first three legislative assemblies of the territory of Iowa (1838, 1839, 1840). Here had previously convened the first legislative assembly of Wisconsin Territory in its second and third sessions. Here was the home of the second and third governors and of the chief justice of the Territory of Iowa, also of the two delegates to congress. And here was the home of a number of men of strong minds and superior character, whose ability and worth won for them wide respect and consideration in those early days. The majority of opinion in this city and county was against the constitution. The vote in Burlington was 405 for, and 452 against; in Des Moines county 801 for, 954 against. And in the election of members to the first general assembly of the state in the following October, candidates were chosen from this county who had opposed the constitution and who proposed its amendment. After ten years of experiment with the constitutional prohibition of banks, and several gubernatorial vetoes upon acts of the general assembly for the repeal of that prohibition; a more enlightened policy prevailed in the new constitution of 1857, under which we have lived and prospered for nearly forty years.

In the rapid growth of other portions of Iowa, Burlington and Des Moines county have lost their earlier relative importance and influence. In the first general assembly of the state Des Moines county had two senators and four representatives; now, it has one senator and two representatives. Burlington has furnished two governors to the commonwealth, three United States senators and five representatives to congress.

The great and overshadowing interest connected with the jubilee of Iowa centers in what came about ere the year closed, namely the admission of Iowa into the Union by act of congress on the 28th day of December, 1846. Iowa was the child of that Union, and the "only child," as Senator Grimes' immortal words express it, "of the Missouri

compromise," which compromise was regarded by the patriots of its time as of equal sacredness and binding force with the constitution of the nation. Iowa owes everything to the Union, as was nobly said by one* who was here in the city fifty years ago, who bore a brave part in the exciting discussions of the period, and who was afterwards lieutenant-governor of the state: "Iowa, her affections, like the rivers of her borders, flow to an inseparable union." It is the inscription upon the stone which the State furnished to the Washington monument. Our people have vindicated and verified that statement in the tremendous sacrifice made by the best blood of our sons. But still grander victories and still higher assurance of devotion to the Union, in a more advanced civilization, and in carrying both the moral and the material development of the state to a glory beyond all Grecian and Roman fame, and in the van of the progress of the ages, as the thoughts of men are widened with the processes of the sun, are in reserve for successive generations of the people of Iowa.

While, then, we review the past with grateful memories, with tributes of veneration to the founders of the State and to the defenders of the nation in the life struggle, let us also seriously contemplate the future, and do our best to make it luminous with honor and glory, that it may go well in long years to come with those who shall dwell upon the soil.

Advance, then, ye future times, ye coming millions, sons and daughters of the creative purpose that still slumbers in the womb of time, receive your inheritance of a free and mighty commonwealth; guard, enrich and perpetuate it to the final consummation; and let man and woman and childhood be lifted up to the highest measure of virtue, happiness, peace, prosperity and glory attainable by mortals beneath the skies!

*The late Lieut. Gov. Enoch W. Eastman.

ELIJAH SELLS.

BY JOHN M. DAVIS.

I purpose to give from personal recollection and from the best data at my command, a sketch of an Iowa pioneer who was for many years prominent in the affairs of our State; who with energy and activity seldom equalled, and with an influence truly remarkable, aided largely in moulding and establishing our laws and institutions.

Elijah Sells was born in Franklin county, Ohio, February 14, 1814. His great grandfather John Sells, from whom all the Sells in the United States and Canada descended, came from Holland in 1723. He raised five sons and one daughter. His eldest son, Ludwick, Elijah's grandfather, was born in Pennsylvania in 1743; he had five sons and three daughters, who removed from Huntington, Pennsylvania, to Franklinton, Ohio.

About the year 1800, Ludwick Sells, and his four sons purchased land on the Sciota river, about ten miles north of Franklinton, then the county seat, and now constituting a portion of Columbus, the capital of the State.

In the early settlement of Ohio, the land purchased by the Sells, was known as "Sells' settlement," and "Sells' Mill" was patronized from far and near. The center of the settlement, now the village of Dublin, was at one time a rival of the capital of the State.

William Henry Sells, Elijah's father, and the youngest of the five sons of Ludwick Sells, was a farmer and lived upon and owned the old homestead, first settled by the father. He was conscientious and upright, beloved by all, a lifelong active member of the M. E. Church and a class leader over fifty years; his hospitality was without stint, and ever most cordial was his welcome to the itinerant Methodist preachers. He died in 1872.



Young friend
Elijah Selbs

George Ebey, Elijah's great grandfather on the maternal side, was a Revolutionary soldier under General (Mad) Anthony Wayne and was killed at the battle of Stony Point; his grandfather on the paternal side was killed at Yorktown in the last battle of the Revolutionary war. His father served in the war of 1812 under General Wm. Henry Harrison.

Elijah left his father's home in Ohio in 1833 and came to Illinois, stopping at Winchester, now the county seat of Scott county, where he engaged in manufacturing stoneware. While there he took an active part in politics as a Whig, Henry Clay being his ideal. In 1840, he was appointed chairman of the Scott county Whig Central Committee. Securing the services of William Coyle, an agent of the Washington Monument Society, and an eloquent speaker, the two with some additional aid, made a thorough canvas of the county, speaking in every neighborhood and school district and securing for the Harrison electors a decided majority, where it had always been largely democratic. In 1841, he removed to Iowa territory, stopping first at Davenport for one year, and afterwards settling in Muscatine county, where he engaged in the same manufacturing business he had pursued in Illinois.

While absent from the territory in 1844, he was nominated as a Whig candidate for delegate to the First Constitutional Convention of Iowa and was elected. The other members from his county were Ralph P. Lowe, Whig, and General Jonathan E. Fletcher, Democrat. Mr. Lowe, afterward Governor of our state, (1858-60), then in his best days, was one of the ablest men in the Convention.

In 1846, Mr. Sells was elected to the first legislature under the Constitution of that year, and served in the first and second sessions. He declined a nomination in 1850. In 1852 he was nominated for the State Senate and declined, but afterwards accepted a nomination for Representative

and was elected. In 1854 he was tendered the nomination for Secretary of State by the Whig State Central Committee, the nominee of the convention having declined, but did not accept.

At the county convention of Muscatine County, he prepared and introduced its platform, incorporating in it the Republican doctrine of "no more slave territory," declaring that the territories are the wards of the General Government and that Congress had the right to prohibit slavery therein—the first Republican platform adopted by a regularly constituted political convention in Iowa. The same principle was adopted and declared at the next Iowa Whig State Convention, and embodied in the National platform of the Republican party. At the first Republican State Convention, held in 1856 at Iowa City, Mr. Sells was nominated for Secretary of State, and elected for the term of two years, succeeding the Hon. George W. McCleary, Democrat, who had held the office six years. He was elected for two successive terms of continuous service, ending January 5, 1863.

In December, 1856, he was appointed Adjutant General of the State by Governor Grimes, and discharged the duties of that position in addition to those of Secretary of State, until after the inauguration of Ralph P. Lowe as Governor in 1858, when he resigned in favor of Dr. Jesse Bowen, of Iowa City.

A Joint Resolution of the legislature of 1858, also made him custodian of the State's property, instead of the State Treasurer, who had previously held that office.

He was appointed the first Collector of Internal Revenue, under the law of Congress creating that office, which he declined.

Soon thereafter, he received the appointment of Additional Paymaster in the army, with the rank of Major. After due investigation, he discovered that payments were being made in violation of the army regula-

tions, which practice he refused to comply with. At that time his friends at home were urging his nomination for Governor and telegraphing him to return. He therefore, in consequence of the embarrassment arising from his refusal to violate the army regulations referred to, and in consideration of the requests to return, tendered his resignation by wire. Through the kindness of his personal friend, General Samuel R. Curtis, then in command of the Department of Missouri, who recommended that his resignation be accepted at once, the Secretary of War replied by wire the same day, accepting it. He then returned to Iowa and attended the State Convention held at Des Moines.

The candidates for Governor before this Convention were Mr. Sells, Gen. Fitz Henry Warren and Col. W. M. Stone. The contest was both animated and protracted. Repeated ballots developed no change in the strength of the several candidates from that at the start. Colonel Stone's supporters, though few in number—less than seventy—clung to him with unyielding tenacity. At length, while the seventh ballot was being taken and before any count was made, Mr. Sells, the leading contestant, requested his friend, Thos. F. Withrow, to ask his friends to change their votes from himself to Colonel Wm. M. Stone, which change made as requested secured the nomination of Colonel Stone.

Many of Mr. Sells' friends, having knowledge of the situation, claim that had not that change of votes been made, he would have been nominated—being the second choice of numerous delegates, who were ready to come to his support. This action of Mr. Sells, I have always regarded as a mistake. As soon as the result was known in Washington, Mr. Sells received notice of his appointment as an officer in the U. S. Navy, which he accepted, and soon after reported to Admiral Porter who assigned him to the command of the receiving ship *Grampus*,

stationed at Cincinnati, Ohio, where recruits were received, instructed and assigned to duty. His official instructions required him to assign officers and crews to the gunboats then being prepared. The officers sent to the Mississippi squadron were also required to report to him for service.

After more than a year's service in the Navy, Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury under President Lincoln, telegraphed him to come to Washington. Upon the advice of Admiral Porter, he complied, when he was tendered and accepted the position of Third Auditor of the Treasury Department.

Sometime later difficulties arose between the Postmaster General and the office of Auditor of the Treasury for the Post Office Department, and to secure harmony between the Departments, the Post Master General, Mr. Denison, asked for a change of Auditor, and in Cabinet Council, Mr. Sells was selected to succeed the deposed official. Notice of his selection was conveyed to him by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fessenden, who stated that it was by request of President Lincoln and the Post Master General.

He accepted the promotion and served until Senator James Harlan was appointed a member of the Cabinet. He had been active in his efforts to secure Senator Harlan's appointment as Secretary of the Interior, and the Senator insisted that he should take a position in his Department. Their relations had been so close and friendly that he felt obliged to acquiesce, and was thereupon appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Superintendency. This necessitated his resignation of the Auditorship.

He was ordered to go to the Indian Territory to investigate the reported cattle-stealing from the Indians, as well as to inquire into their condition and needs. After careful investigation he reported that 300,000 head of cattle had been driven from the Territory without compensation to

the Indians, and had been delivered upon beef contracts for the army. He organized a force which captured twenty-five hundred head of the cattle, and effectually broke up the long-practiced system of cattle-stealing in that Territory.

He was appointed on a Commission with General Harney, Judge Cooley, Colonel Parker and Friend Wister, to negotiate treaties with the Indians who had violated their treaty stipulations and forfeited their rights thereunder. He served more than a year in that capacity. He sat in the council when a treaty of amity and peace was made at Fort Smith, Arkansas, with the Indians who went into the Confederate Army. He negotiated a treaty with the Osage Indians for the purchase of a portion of Southern Kansas, going alone to the Osage Reservation for that purpose. Afterwards he was engaged with other Commissioners in settling treaty stipulations between the two wings of the Cherokee Indians, who had been bitter enemies for forty years; the Ross party on one side, and the Ridge party on the other. Weekly sessions were held for more than a year, each side represented by able attorneys.

About this time President Andrew Johnson was making efforts to establish his "policy," restore the Democratic party to power and make for himself enduring fame. From a statement I have received, it appears that General Fitz Henry Warren of Iowa, a man of large ability and a brilliant writer, had joined the "Johnson party" and was a candidate for Congress; that the President was told that Elijah Sells, then holding a federal office, had influence in Iowa and would greatly aid General Warren, if he could be induced to go to Iowa and canvass for him; that a very prominent Democrat came to Mr. Sells with a message from the President, in effect, that if he would adopt the President's policy, go to Iowa and canvass for General Warren he would give him any place at his disposal, a

cabinet office if desired. His reply was, that he could not accept the generous offer but could resign, which might suit the President as well. Thereupon he tendered his resignation, which was not accepted for more than six months.

From Washington City he went to Kansas, and engaged in the lumber business in the historic town of Lawrence. While in Kansas he was elected to the House of Representatives of that State three successive terms, each session filling the position of chairman of the committee of Ways and Means, and doing much in shaping the financial policy of the State.

From Kansas, he went to Utah Territory, as the president and general manager of a silver mining company. From 1878 to 1894 he was engaged in the lumber business in Salt Lake City. In 1889 he was appointed Secretary of Utah Territory by President Harrison, and by virtue of a law of Congress was ex-officio Secretary of the Utah Commission and acting Governor during the Governor's absence from the Territory. By the laws of the Territory he was also Bank Examiner of banks organized under Territorial law, and Superintendent of Insurance. He held the office of Secretary four years.

It will be remembered that in the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson, Senator James W. Grimes, with other Republican Senators voted against impeachment. Mr. Sells, his warm personal friend, advised him of the disapprobation that awaited him from his Iowa friends, for under the high state of excitement then prevailing, he knew that neither motives nor convictions would be properly considered. In their frequent conversations, the Senator gave but one reason for his action, which he regarded as in itself sufficient. It was in effect, that not more than four months could be taken from Mr. Johnson's term of office, were he impeached, while the official changes consequent under the administration that would

come into power in that event, would, as he believed be productive of too much disorder, danger and harm.

When the result of the impeachment trial was publicly announced, it was received with general indignation; many going so far as to charge the Republican Senators who acted with the opposition, with impure or mercenary motives. The press was profuse with items of disapproval and criticised their action unmercifully. Lapse of time has tempered the feeling which the unusual excitement of the occasion engendered, and a more reasonable and dispassionate judgment has succeeded that which was formed in haste and without consideration. The severe criticism of the Senator's action at the time, with the radical change of feeling toward him, is believed to have told upon his sensitive nature and hastened his death.

Knowing that there was at one time a warm friendship existing between Mr. Sells and the late Ex-Governor Kirkwood, followed by an estrangement which I believed to be causeless and unnecessary, I wrote to Mr. Sells in regard thereto. At my request he furnished a statement of the affair, which as it is of interest, and can be productive of no harm to the memory of any one, is given in full:

DEAR MR. DAVIS: I give you herewith the history of my early friendship for Governor Kirkwood and what followed, for such use as you may think best to make of it. In 1857 at Iowa City, as you may remember, he asked me to secure his appointment as chairman of the Republican Central Committee of the State. I used whatever influence I had to secure for him the chairmanship, which was easily effected. He requested me to take charge of the campaign for him, which I did, and we had a Republican victory in the election of Ralph P. Lowe, as Governor. He informed me that he wanted to take an active part in political work and would be glad to receive the nomination for Governor, after Governor Lowe. I went to work early for him and he received the nomination, and you will remember that he brought his desk into the Secretary's office and requested me to take charge. When his nomination was desired for the second term, you may remember that I worked earnestly and faithfully for his re-nomination, and had pledges enough to secure it on the first ballot. At the convention there were other candidates, and one of the most prominent was Hon. Samuel F. Miller of Keokuk, a warm personal friend, who appealed to me earnest-

ly for help; he was extravagant in his estimate of my influence: he said to me, "you can nominate me if you will; you were for Kirkwood before, you ought to be for me now." I said that for him it was hopeless, that Kirkwood would be nominated on the first ballot, that votes enough were pledged to him to secure it: that I was unconditionally for Kirkwood: that I had been working for him in good faith from the beginning and could not and would not stultify myself. The outside opposition was very bitter, and a certain gentleman from Johnson Co., a warm friend and supporter of Governor Kirkwood became alarmed and charged me with being responsible for the opposition. I told him Kirkwood would be nominated on the first ballot. He would believe I was Kirkwood's friend if I would go into the Convention and make a speech in his favor. I told him I could not and would not go into the Convention where I was not a member; that his fears were without warrant. He replied, "I will hold you responsible for this bitter opposition," and informed Kirkwood accordingly, who believed him, and a coolness existed therefrom. I was so indignant, after all the work I had done for him, that I did not ask a reconciliation. You will remember that in his next biennial Message, he recommended the abandonment of the building for the Blind Asylum at Vinton, which I had taken a great interest in, and upon that issue war was declared. Ample appropriation was made for the Blind Asylum, and the location remained. Afterwards, Mr. Harlan was a candidate for re-election to the U. S. Senate and Governor Kirkwood was his opponent. I had charge of Mr. Harlan's campaign and he was nominated and elected, and I was never forgiven. In later years an Iowa man said to me that he heard Kirkwood say, that he was misled in reference to the part I had taken in his second nomination for Governor. As to that I know nothing. When the friends of Judge Miller thought his chance for nomination was doubtful, they came to me and said, they were satisfied I could be nominated over Kirkwood, and urged me to be a candidate. I told them no, upon no condition would I consent to the use of my name, and if I were nominated I would not accept—that I was unconditionally for Kirkwood's re-nomination.

From my personal knowledge I can corroborate much that is contained in the foregoing; Mr. Sells was the true friend of Governor Kirkwood and labored for his nomination for both terms, as he states. I know that prior to Kirkwood's second nomination, Mr. Sells was frequently solicited to be a candidate for that office, and on the day of the State Convention several parties called upon him and tried to induce him to be a candidate; but he steadily refused to comply with their wishes, because he was loyal to Kirkwood, and desired his re-nomination. This ill

feeling between the two should never have arisen; there was no adequate cause for it; in after years both parties doubtless realized this, and regretted its occurrence, as did their friends.

My acquaintance with Mr. Sells commenced in the latter part of 1856, when he was elected Secretary of State. In size and general appearance he resembled the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, for whom he was several times mistaken; upon one occasion the mistake was somewhat embarrassing. It was in a locality where Mr. Douglas was posted for a political speech. Mr. Sells appearing upon the ground in advance of the speaker, was greeted with rousing cheers by the crowd assembled; as soon as order was restored, he gracefully acknowledged the compliment mistakenly conferred, and explained that it was only another instance where appearances were deceptive.

Ever true to his political faith, he never lost an opportunity to aid his party by the most effectual methods. He furnished for the press many carefully written articles of a political nature. No man ever stood firmer for a friend, and any one aiding him in the hour of need could rest assured that such favor would be reciprocated at the earliest opportunity. He despised the dissembler and the whiffler. He seemed to have inherited the courage of his ancestors, for there was nothing of the coward in his nature, preferring always to meet an opponent openly and squarely, and to succeed in any undertaking by fair and honorable methods. He was never stubborn or arrogant, but always willing to listen to suggestions or advice in matters of importance, using his judgment as to their correctness or propriety and acting accordingly. Kind to those in his employ, having charity for faults, he was ever ready to condone mistakes or offenses unwittingly made. I had the pleasure of being his deputy during his six years' service as Secretary of State, and can bear testimony to

his uniformly kind and courteous treatment. Never during all those years did I receive from him a word of displeasure or disapproval. As Secretary of State he was as able, thorough and competent, as any one who ever occupied the position. His ability and fitness were known and recognized throughout the State; and I may add, that in all positions of honor and trust in which he has been placed, the duties have been invariably performed honestly, ably and satisfactorily. I do not know that he was a church member; he may have been, but I know that he has always been a firm believer in christianity, a regular attendant and supporter of the Methodist Episcopal church, thoroughly orthodox in his views and ready at all times to energetically defend them from attacks of opponents. He was always sympathetic and charitable, ready and willing to aid the needy and unfortunate.

It was during the first term of his service that the capital was removed to Des Moines, that event occurring in November, 1857. The removal of the effects of the State was under the supervision of Hon. Martin L. Morris, State Treasurer, and at that time by the terms of the law, custodian of the State's property. Through the generosity of the Western Stage Company, all State officers and employes, who desired it, were furnished free transportation from the old to the new capital. A few of the deputies and clerks came through in a private conveyance.

Our life in Iowa City and in the old State House, had been very pleasant, and was not relinquished without regret. It is true, that about the removal there was an excitement and some pleasurable expectations in contemplation of a trip across an expanse of new country, much of which was wide stretches of unbroken and unoccupied prairie, with the prospect of a home and new scenes of operations, to which we were about to be transplanted by decree of the State. When we arrived at our destination

and found an incomplected capitol building, with an extra gang of mechanics and laborers working incessantly, to finish it in time for the accommodation of the Legislature. with the confusion of piles of boxes and packages awaiting the completion of storage room for their contents, there were forebedings that our life here might be a weary one, and like the Israelites of old, there may have been sighs, in secret at least, for the scenes that were left behind. But events proved that there was no occasion for such fears, the building was completed in season, ample room provided for the State's property, and the archives of the offices arranged in excellent shape. In addition to this, we were so cordially welcomed and so kindly treated by the people of the new capital city, that the anticipated loneliness was never realized.

At that time Des Moines, especially that portion on the east side of the river, was very primitive; the buildings were few and scattered; the Capitol, the old brick structure now removed, was built in the woods, the timber to the east and south of it unusually heavy and the present Capitol Square a virgin forest, except a small portion on the northern limit, which had been the home of Harrison Lyon, one of the donors of the Square.

The only bridge across the Des Moines river, was a pontoon, but through the enterprise of Alex. Scott, one of the most public spirited of men, and a large donor to the State, the river was soon thereafter bridged at Market street. Not a street leading to the river on the east side was raised above the black alluvial soil of the bottom, nor was there a sidewalk along any of them. Early in 1858, Court Avenue was slightly raised by a fill of perhaps a couple of feet across the low ground, and a sidewalk constructed along the north side of the street, principally upon piles.

In the timber to the east and south of the Capitol, small game, such as squirrels, quails, grouse, etc., was

plenty; while the hoot of the owl and the melancholy note of the whippoorwill, were familiar nocturnal greetings. In a natural pond, where now is Franklin Square, numerous muskrats had reared their houses. The ponds on the arm of prairie, east of the timber belt, were favorite resorts of the various kinds of migratory water fowl. Still farther to the east, the timber of Four Mile creek, was the home of the wild turkey, where deer occasionally sought shelter. Fish also were abundant in all the streams. As may be imagined there was much in the surroundings at that early period to afford rare pleasure and enjoyment to the lover of nature as well as to the sportsman which has forever disappeared before the march of improvement.

In all this life in the new Capitol the subject of my sketch was an important factor, always interesting and entertaining, whether in public or in private. The surviving old settlers will remember him as the genial, cordial and warm-hearted official, ready at all times to greet his friends with a smile, about which there was no pretense, for his friendship was natural and unassumed.

The home of Mr. Sells is ~~now in Salt Lake City~~, Utah, where he has resided many years. He has contributed much toward the growth and development of the city and State of his adoption, and has had the satisfaction, there as here, of witnessing the transformation of the Territory into the State.

Of the early settlers of our State the number is being rapidly reduced from year to year. It causes a feeling of sadness when we realize how many have passed away and how few comparatively remain. In a little while all must submit to the inevitable fate.

In the preparation of this sketch, I have been somewhat minute and particular in details, paying little attention to mere embellishment, for fear of making it unnecessarily lengthy, satisfied if it will aid, in some measure, in keeping in memory our early pioneers and the scenes of days long past.

AN IOWA FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.

In the Supreme Court, July, 1839.

IN THE MATTER OF RALPH (A COLORED MAN,) ON
HABEAS CORPUS.

Where A., formerly a slave, goes with the consent of his master, to become a permanent resident of a free State, he cannot be regarded as a fugitive slave.

The act of 1820, for the admission of Missouri into the Union, which prohibits slavery north of 36 deg. 30 min. was not intended merely as a naked declaration, requiring legislative action in the States to carry it into effect, but must be regarded as an entire and final prohibition.

The master, who subsequently to this act, permits his slave to become a resident here, cannot afterwards exercise any acts of ownership over him within this territory.

Ralph, being within this territory, was claimed by Montgomery, a resident of the State of Missouri, as his slave, and by virtue of a precept from a Justice of the Peace, under the Act of the Legislative Assembly of Iowa, (satisfactory proof, under the Act, having been made, to such Justice, that Ralph was the property of the claimant), the sheriff of Dubuque county delivered the negro into the custody and possession of the claimant, who took him on board a steamboat, bound for Missouri, and delivered him to the master of the boat, to transport him to Missouri, who confined him in the vessel.

A Habeas Corpus having been granted, upon the petition of A. Butterworth, Ralph was brought before the District Judge of the third district, whence, by the consent of the parties the proceedings were removed to this Court.

It was admitted, upon the hearing of the cause, that Ralph came to Dubuque, now within this territory, with the consent of his master, in the year 1834, and that, at that time, he was the slave of the claimant; that the

claimant, at that time, entered into an agreement, in writing, with Ralph, to the effect that, upon the payment by the slave of the sum of \$500, together with \$50 in addition for his hire, with interest from January 1st, 1833, he was to become free; and it was to earn the purchase money for his freedom that he left Missouri, and came to Dubuque, when he commenced working in the lead mines and so remained working in the lead mines until the time of the proceedings before the justice. Then Ralph, having failed to comply with his contract, he was reclaimed by his former master.

Rorer, for the petitioner, contended

First. That Ralph, being a resident of the Territory of Wisconsin, at the time both of the *passage and taking effect* of the Organic Law of the Territory—and also a resident of Iowa Territory, at the time of the passage and taking effect of the Organic Law of Iowa Territory, he became free by operation of the 12th section of said Organic Laws, which expressly extend to the inhabitants of said Territories of Iowa and Wisconsin, the benefits of the Articles of Compact contained in the Ordinance for the Government of the Territory north-west of the river Ohio, by which the benefit of the writ of Habeas Corpus (the remedy here sought) is guaranteed to the inhabitants of said Territories north-west of Ohio—and which also declares, “No man shall be deprived of his liberty, or property, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.”—(*2d Article of Compact, contained in the Ordinance of Congress of 1787.*) And that, “There shall be neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude, in the said Territory—otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted.”—(*See 6th Article of said Compact.*)

Second. That, independent of the Articles of Compact and Organic Laws above cited, Ralph became free so soon as, by consent of his master, he became an inhabitant

of what is now the Territory of Iowa, by virtue of the Act of Congress, entitled—"An Act to authorize the people of Missouri Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union, on an equal footing with the original States, and to prohibit slavery in certain Territories:"—By which it is declared, that "In all that Territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby, forever prohibited."—*See 8th Section of said Act. Ing. Digest of Laws of United States of America—614.*)—That the present Territory, being part of the country subjected to such prohibition, the petitioner, as there is no law by which he can be removed elsewhere, is free in the exercise of his right to remain here. Where a West Indian slave came to England with his master, and again returned with him to the West Indies, it was held, that, although he was still subject to servitude on his return to the Indies, yet "no coercion could be exercised over him while in England."—(2d Hagg. Adm. Rep. 94—2d Kent's Com. note to page 249.) The claimant cannot possess any natural right to remove the petitioner to where he may, by the aid of human law, be reduced again to slavery—for such a state is declared to be "repugnant to reason and the principles of Natural Law."—(Blac. Com. vol. 1, p. 423.)

And still stronger is the language of much earlier and higher authority:—in the divine writings of Moses it is said, "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee."—(23rd chap. Deut. 15th verse.) But this is not a case of an "escape," but emigration by consent of the master.

Third. That he cannot be considered as either coming into, or remaining in the Territory in violation of the

law prohibiting persons of color from settling in this Territory, without evidence of freedom, etc., for it is in evidence that he was here at the time of, and previous to the organization of the Territorial Government, and even at the time of the first extension of civil government over the country, by the act of Congress of 1834, attaching it to the then Territory of Michigan for temporary government.

Fourth. That he cannot be reclaimed and delivered over to his former owner, under our statute, nor under the laws, ordinance, or constitution of the United States, providing for the re-taking of fugitive slaves who have escaped from service; for it is in evidence that he came to, and remained in the Territory, not as a fugitive from service, to which he was then legally holden in some State of the Union, but by the voluntary consent and agreement of his former owner, the present claimant.

Fifth. That the claimant, Montgomery, by permitting his slave to come to that portion of the Territory of the United States in which slavery was then, and still is, prohibited, for the purpose of remaining indefinitely, virtually manumitted such slave,—that the very fact of his contracting with, presupposes a state of freedom on the part of the slave,—that if Montgomery has any relief, it is on that contract, for the money agreed to be paid, which is neither conceded here, nor deemed in any manner essential to the adjudication of this question, which is a question entirely of freedom.

Lee versus Lee, 8 Peter's Rep. 44.—Fanny versus Montgomery and Others, Breese's Reps. 188.—Act of Virginia for Cession of Northwest Territory, 5th vol. Laws U. S. A. 473.—John Merry versus Tiffin and Menard, 1 vol. Misso. Rep. 725.—Winny versus Whitesides, *ib.* 472.—Ralph versus Duncan, 3d Misso. Rep. 194.—Julia versus Samuel McKinney, *ib.* 270.—1st Blac. Com. 127, *ib.* 423, 424, 425.—2d of Kent's Com. 247, 248, 249.—Case of

Sommerset, 11 vol. State Trials, p. 339.—Lofts' Reps. 1.—Case of Knight, a Negro Slave, in 1778. — Kame's Principles of Equity, vol. 2d 134.

J. D. Learned, for Montgomery, contended

That "the act of 1820, for admitting Missouri into the Union, which contained a prohibition of slavery, north of latitude 36 deg. 30 min. except within the limits of Missouri, was not intended to have effect on the rights of individuals, without further legislative enactments, but that it was intended merely to direct local legislatures in passing laws to prohibit slavery within the prescribed limits—that the Act of Congress contained no sanction, and consequently, had no binding force."

BY THE COURT.

This case does not come before us in any of the ordinary methods of application to an appellate Court, so that it is, perhaps, not strictly regular for us to entertain jurisdiction of it at all. As, however, it involves an important question, which may, ere long, if unsettled, become an exciting one, and as it is by the mutual assent and request of all the parties interested, we concluded to listen to the argument, and make a decision in the case without intending it as a precedent for the future practice of this Court.

The petitioner, a colored man, who was claimed as a slave before the Justice of the Peace, and who was about to be delivered up accordingly, asserts that he is free. If this be actually the case, the writ of *Habeas Corpus* was properly brought, being the only means by which the Judge of the District Court could exercise a remedial control over the illegal acts of a Justice of the Peace, in cases like this. The proceedings having been transferred to this Court, it will be proper for us to make such a disposition of the matter as might have been made by the District Judge while the subject was before him.

The claimant asks that the petitioner be restored to him as a slave, and principally for the following reasons: In the first place, that, by Act of Congress of 1820, which authorized the people of Missouri to form a Constitution and State Government, and which prohibited slavery in all that portion of the old Louisiana Territory lying north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude, not including within the then contemplated State, it is provided "That any person escaping into the Territory thus set apart, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed, in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may lawfully be reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his said labor or services." Under this provision, we are called upon to decide that the petitioner is a fugitive slave, because, although the master consented that he should come to this Territory, and for aught that appears, remain here for four or five years, still there was an express stipulation that he should, at some future time, pay, to his former master, the sum of five hundred dollars, with interest—that, not having complied with this agreement, he is to be regarded as being here without permission, and, consequently, as having escaped into the Territory. Such a construction would introduce almost unqualified slavery into all the Free States. The Constitution of the United States contains a provision in relation to fugitive slaves substantially the same as that embraced in the Act of Congress above referred to; so that, in this particular, all the Free States of the Union are in the same predicament as this Territory. Suppose, then, the Southern master should permit his slave to emigrate to some of the Free States, upon the express condition that he should remain forever the slave, or (which is the same thing) the submissive servant of some particular individual, his heirs and assigns. While he fulfills this agreement, he is a slave to his new master in the North, and, as soon as he violates it, he becomes

again the slave of the old one at the South, who may, forthwith, reclaim him as a fugitive. We cannot countenance such a doctrine.

From the facts agreed upon in this case, it seems that the claimant permitted his slave to come to this Territory. The permission seems to have been absolute; but there was also an understanding that the latter was to pay the former a certain amount, as the price of his freedom. How the failure to comply with this understanding could render a removal, undertaken with the master's consent, an escape, we are unable to comprehend. The petitioner is under the same obligation to fulfill this engagement as though, instead of its being the price of his freedom, the debt had been incurred for the purchase of any other species of property. It is a debt which he ought to pay, but for the non-payment of which no man in this Territory can be reduced to slavery.

We do not say that there can be no escape where the slave goes to a Free State by the consent of his Master. If, sent upon an errand, or traveling in company of his master, he should refuse to return, he might probably be regarded as a fugitive. But this certainly cannot be the case where the journey was undertaken with the understanding of all parties that the slave was going to become a permanent resident of the Free State or Territory.

But it is contended, on the part of the claimant, that slavery is not prohibited in this Territory—that the Act of 1820, above-mentioned, is a mere naked declaration, requiring further legislation to render it operative—that it merely imposes a duty on the States and Territories to be formed within the prescribed limits, but that, without further action on the subject, the law has no sanction, and, consequently, no force. This position, we think, cannot be maintained. Congress possesses the supreme power of legislation in relation to the Territories, and its right to prohibit slavery—at least in relation to slaves subsequent-

ly introduced—is doubtless legitimate. Has that right been exercised in relation to this Territory? The language of the Act of 1820, in relation to the district of country in which this Territory is embraced, is, that slavery therein “shall be, and IS HEREBY, for ever prohibited.” This seems to us an entire and final prohibition, not looking to future legislative action to render it effectual.

But it is said that, although the act may prohibit slavery, it does not declare a forfeiture of slave property, and that the most which the law will authorize will be, to require the master to remove that property out of the Territory. It is true the Act, thus mentioned, does not, in express terms, declare a forfeiture of slave property, but it does, in effect, declare that such property shall not exist.

The master who, subsequently to that Act, permits his slave to become a resident here, cannot, afterwards, exercise any acts of ownership over him within this Territory. The law does not take away his property in express terms, but declares it no longer to be property at all. Of course those legal remedies, which can only be resorted to upon the presumption of a still subsisting ownership in the master, become altogether annihilated.

A wide difference exists between the present case and that supposed in the argument, of an act of the Legislature prohibiting private banking. In the latter case the property invested in that traffic, in violation of the law, would not, in general, become forfeited. But suppose that, instead of prohibiting the investment of property in private banks, the Act should declare that property, so invested, should cease to be the subject of property at all, (and suppose a physical capability in the law to carry out that declaration), could the former owner, after such investment, invoke the aid of the laws to restore him what had once been his, but which was now, like the air, rendered incapable of being appropriated by any one? Such is,

precisely, the state of things in the case now before us. Property, in the slave, cannot exist without the existence of slavery: The prohibition of the latter annihilates the former, and, this being destroyed, he becomes free.

Could the claimant, in this case, retain the custody and control of the petitioner, without invoking the aid of our laws, and without their violation, we certainly should not interfere to prevent him. But when he applies to our tribunals for the purpose of controlling, as property, that which our laws have declared shall not be property, it is incumbent on them to refuse their co-operation. When in seeking to accomplish his object, he illegally restrains a human being of his liberty, it is proper that the laws, which should extend equal protection to men of all colors and conditions, should exert their remedial interposition. We think, therefore, that petitioner should be discharged from all custody and constraint, and be permitted to go free while he remains under the protection of our laws.

POPULATION OF IOWA.—A table showing the number of inhabitants of the several counties of the State, (taken from the returns of the assessors,) has recently been published, which gives us 154,368 as the entire population of the State. The assessment, it is well known, was made at an early period of the year, and therefore does not include the unusually heavy immigration of last fall. It is a safe calculation to say that under the federal census which is shortly to be taken, our population will exceed 200,000. As compared with the return of 1847 the recent return shows an increase of 38,163. Our own county is set down in this table at 11,649, against 10,071 two years ago. Lee is set down at 16,000; Henry 7,329; Jefferson 8,835; Louisa 4,155; Mahaska 5,559; Van Buren 11,577; Wapello 7,255; Polk 4,633; Davis 4,939; Washington 4,434. *Des Moines Courier, Ottumwa, January 11, 1850.*

MRS. ADA NORTH, LIBRARIAN.

In the early part of February, 1870, during that session of the General Assembly which passed the act providing for the erection of a Capitol for Iowa, the legislature adjourned out of respect to the memory of Major George J. North, a promising young attorney of Des Moines, whose untimely death had just occurred.

Mr. North had come west in 1861 shortly after graduating at Hamilton, and while visiting his uncle, the Hon. Levi North, of Kewanee, Illinois, met the wife of Col. William M. Stone who was also a relative. Mrs. Stone wrote to her husband of his young cousin, recommending him to his consideration. Two years later upon the election of Colonel Stone as Governor of Iowa, he offered the military secretaryship to Mr. North, who accepted and started for Iowa. Reaching Des Moines early in January, 1864, he attended the inauguration and immediately entered upon his duties as secretary. Soon after the adjournment of the legislature in response to the call for more men, Mr. North enlisted as a private and at once actively engaged in recruiting a company in and about Des Moines. These men were mustered in as company F, of the 47th Iowa Volunteers, and Mr. North was chosen Captain. A little later, he was commissioned Major of the regiment. This regiment was, to the chagrin of most of its members, assigned to duty at Helena, Arkansas, at which sickly and dismal post they suffered fearfully from malaria and fever during the hot summer months, losing many brave men. On the mustering out of the regiment, Major North returned to his desk in the Governor's office, and at the same time commenced the practice



Ada Lovelace

of law. Upon the close of the war, the Governor made him his private secretary and commissioned him as his aide-de-camp, with the title of Lieutenant-Colonel. The earlier and more familiar title, however, always clung to him. Resigning his position as secretary, as the increasing demands of his profession required all his attention, he established himself in the old Exchange Block, then the favorite resort of professional men in Des Moines, and formed a partnership with Captain Jasper Woodford, one of the members of the brilliant first Des Moines Law Class. Uniting with the Presbyterian church of which Father Bird was the revered pastor, he became a useful and beloved member and officer.

In the fall of 1865, Major North married Miss Ada E. Miles, daughter of Rev. M. N. Miles, then of Geneseo, Illinois, and brought her to his Iowa home. Five years of busy life flew by, two children were born, when death invaded the happy home and claimed the husband and father. By the death of her husband, Mrs. North was thrown upon her own exertions for self-support. Fortunately employment soon came to her. During the final days of the legislature, extra clerical assistance was required at the state house. Mrs. North's name was suggested and she was sent for. Thus she was introduced to a means of livelihood, for, from this time with brief intervals, occupation as copyist, clerk and librarian, engaged her for a period longer than is usual to women in public office.

For something over a year, Mrs. North was employed in the various state offices; at the end of this time a vacancy occurred in the State Library, occasioned by the death of Mr. John C. Merrill, librarian. To this vacancy Mrs. North was appointed by Governor Merrill. The following reference to this appointment appeared in the *Iowa State Register* of that date:

COMMISSIONED.—The Governor has commissioned Mrs. Ada North, Librarian of the Library of the State, and approved her official bond.

This appointment has been received with universal satisfaction by our entire community, among whom Mrs. North resides, and by public men elsewhere. Mrs. North, then a resident of Illinois, was married in 1865 to the late Major George J. North, then military secretary and subsequently private secretary of Governor Stone. Left a widow by his mournful death, early in 1870, Mrs. North has supported herself and family by her own exertions since that event. She now steps into a position she is admirably qualified to fill, and will prove a worthy successor to the late efficient librarian. It is not the least praiseworthy feature of this appointment, honorable alike to Executive and appointee, that it was made entirely without solicitation by her, or in her behalf.

Entering thus unexpectedly upon the duties of the profession which was to prove, though she knew it not, the loved occupation of her life, she applied herself earnestly to the work before her. At this time very little literature relating to librarianship existed. The government Report on Libraries, compiled by the Commissioner of Education, did not appear until 1876. *The Library Journal* made its first bow to the public the same year, and the leading librarians then first met in Philadelphia and organized the National Library Association. For direction in her new field of labor, the young librarian turned to her fellow workers in the great eastern libraries and a lively correspondence ensued. Librarians are full of the spirit of helpfulness, and are always ready to give counsel to the novice in the profession. The replies to her letters formed the new librarian's school of library economy. In later years, the Report of 1876 and *The Library Journal* proved valuable aids in library study.

Mr. Merrill had found the library in a state of confusion and neglect, resulting from the failure of the legislature to make provision for its proper care. He had greatly improved the appearance of the library and introduced the card catalogue. Taking up the work thus fairly begun, Mrs. North proceeded to carry on the plan of re-organization. At this time, the library did not possess a set of our Iowa laws, journals and documents. To remedy this serious defect, was one of Mrs. North's

early endeavors. By correspondence and advertisement the missing volumes were picked up, and the sets rendered nearly complete. Sets also of the reports of the State officers, the Governors' Messages and Inaugurals were carefully collected and bound for future reference. The dusty and ragged files of the public documents of other states were also filled out as far as practicable.

The necessity of such legislation as would give the library the dignity of a state office and place it on an equal footing with those of sister states was very generally felt. The Governor recommended favorable action in his message, and Judge Cole and the Secretary of State, Hon. Ed Wright, exerted themselves especially in behalf of the library. Judges Cole, Beck and Adams, were all thoroughly alive to the interests of the State Library and ambitious to make the collection creditable to the State. They urged that the law should be revised, and more liberal measures adopted. Accordingly an act in relation to the library and the duties of the librarian was passed and approved April 25, 1872. A Board of Trustees was created consisting of the Governor, Secretary of State, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and members of the Supreme Court. The librarian was made a state officer with a salary of \$1,200, and was directed to prepare a catalogue of the State Library for publication. An annual appropriation of \$1,000 was made for the purchase of books. In addition to the cash appropriation, all of the Supreme Court Reports which should be left after the annual distribution made by the Secretary of State, in exchange for the reports of other states, were turned over to the library to be disposed of under the direction of the trustees for the benefit of the law department. The sale of these volumes brought in considerable revenue and the trustees planned large things. The English, Irish and Scotch Reports were completed. The American sets were filled, law texts were added and the department of law began to take rank among the first in the Union.

The far-seeing wisdom of the Trustees in thus building up the law library, is more and more apparent as the years go by, and its usefulness and value to the profession is daily tested.

The frequency of inquiries at the library for all kinds of information led to the beginning of a department of reference, an indispensable part of any library.

In May 1872, Mrs. North was reappointed by Governor Carpenter. A catalogue roughly classified was prepared during the year, and was the only one existing up to 1889. Again reappointed in 1874 by Governor Carpenter, and in 1876 by Governor Kirkwood, Mrs. North sought in all ways to fit herself for the growing requirements of her responsible position. In 1876 she attended the World's Fair and visited the Congressional libraries and the libraries of New York City. A new life was awakening among librarians, librarianship was exalted to the dignity of a learned profession, systems of classification were adopted, new and improved ideas regarding catalogues were put forth and broader views as to the purposes of a library were disseminated.

Thus the years of Mrs. North's term of office were marked by an extension of the State Library, which gave it a national reputation, and by the awakening of the profession to enlarged views and activities.

In the spring of 1878, through the custom of rotation in State offices, Mrs. North was superseded in the library. When it was known that a change was contemplated, many letters were written urging Mrs. North's retention in the office, petitions were sent from attorneys in different parts of the state, the Board of Trustees and State officers voluntarily exerted themselves in her behalf, and most flattering testimonials to her ability in the administration of the library came to her from those outside of the State who had become acquainted with her work. The new appointment, however, had been determined upon, and

Mrs. North retired to private life. After a brief interval she was offered the position of city librarian of Des Moines. This place promising her a continuation of work for which she had fitted herself, Mrs. North accepted it and for a year devoted herself with her accustomed energy to the interests of this then small library. She rearranged the books and catalogued them. An effort was made to increase the interest of the public in the library, the children of the public schools were attracted thither and every aid given them which the slender resources of the library would permit. This pleasant labor was suddenly brought to a close by the appointment of Mrs. North as librarian of the State University, in the fall of 1879. A new phase of library duties now awaited her, for the library of a college or university differs very much from a state or city library, both in the character of its books and its patronage. The State Library is largely a collection of law books and public documents, the use of which is confined to a comparatively limited class. The public library supplies reading to all who desire it, young and old, but, as its statistics show, a large proportion of its purchases and distribution is fiction. The selection of books for a university library is necessarily upon a broader and more systematic plan, since it is to provide for the wants of the student and professional class in all departments of science, literature and art. Fifty years ago, the library figured very little in the life of the great schools. The lecture room and text-book furnished the instruction and the student rarely, if ever, entered the lonely and forbidding region of the library. The late Mr. William F. Poole, of the Newberry Library, said in an article in *The Library Journal* of November, 1893: "For us who graduated thirty or forty years ago, books other than text-books had no part in the education, they were never quoted, recommended, or mentioned by the instructor in the class room. Yale College Library might as

well have been in Wethersfield or Bridgeport as New Haven, so far as the student was concerned."

Since then the library has come to fill a large and indispensable place in the work of the University, and the oft-quoted saying of Carlyle is yearly becoming more apparent, "the true University of these days is a collection of books." The graduate of to-day, if he is to become a scholar, must have access to many books, and become acquainted with the leaders of thought in the past and present. In proportion to this movement in the growth and use of libraries, has arisen the need of constant and able library administration. The doors have been thrown wide open, the rooms rendered attractive, the books catalogued so as to render available every resource of the library, while every aid possible is supplied the student in his investigation.

The newly appointed librarian of the University found much to be done in her fresh field of labor. The 10,000 volumes which then constituted the library, were but roughly classified, and the book room was crowded and poorly lighted. The need of some improved system of classification and cataloguing, and of better accommodations was apparent. Accordingly a card catalogue was commenced during the fall of 1880 and reported as completed by the close of the school year. The pressure for more room led to the fitting up in 1882, with modern appliances, of a large and well lighted lecture room, with reading-room attached, and the library was removed thither and re-arranged before the opening of the fall term.

Believing that such of the fruit of the "Tree of Knowledge" as is found in books should not be forbidden, but made as free as possible, Mrs. North from the first favored freedom of access to the shelves, a privilege highly prized by the student. The various evils apprehended as likely to result from such unrestricted access never manifested themselves.

About this time the seminary method in class room and library was introduced, accompanied by an increased demand for books in the preparation of special topics. The investigations set on foot by these new methods left no part of the library unvisited or unused. In these researches, Mrs. North lent a ready and efficient aid. Her long familiarity with the library, her early acquired habit of rapidly reviewing new books as they passed through her hands, rendered her well fitted to give such direction as was required.

In 1886 the Decimal System of classification was adopted, occupying the leisure of two summer vacations. This completed the reorganization of the library which then numbered 19,000 volumes. The department entered upon a new and improved life, and became a truly popular resort for all connected with the University.

In its modern equipment, its thorough classification and cataloguing and general management, the Iowa University Library compared favorably with those of her sister states of the west.

Recognizing the value of association, Mrs. North found time during those busy years to attend several meetings of the National Library Association. She also corresponded with other Iowa librarians, seeking to arouse their interest in each other's work. She made numerous contributions to the Iowa press on the subject. A meeting was, at her suggestion, called in Des Moines in the fall of 1890, and for the first time, the Iowa librarians shook hands and compared experiences. The "Iowa Library Society" was formed with the state librarian for president, and Mrs. North as secretary. This organization has continued to meet annually, and the proceedings are full of practical suggestions and plans for the growth and improvement of libraries.

The twelfth year of Mrs. North's work for the University and its patrons was the last. It was the twenty-first

of continuous occupation as a librarian. The library now numbered over 28,000 volumes. The long strain of years, with little rest or change began to tell upon her health and strength. During the spring of 1892, a severe attack of rheumatism left her far from strong. Her work was ended and an ex-member of the Board succeeded her as librarian.

Lubbock says, in his essay on "A Song of Books," "A library is a true fairy-land, a very palace of delight, a haven of repose from the storms and troubles of the world." The librarian is sensible of this charm and loves his profession, but does not find it a "haven of repose," since the details of the care of selecting, buying, classifying, cataloguing and loaning books, or of overseeing these details, and the responsibility attending the care of building worthily a large collection, absorb the energies and leave little leisure. Yet the stimulating companionship of books, new and old, the daily association with those who love books is of itself a source of enjoyment, while the opportunity afforded of directing and counseling the many who seek such help is a continued happiness to a generous mind, and the labor is worthy of one's best energies.

To conclude this brief review of the professional life of one of the Iowa librarians, it will not be thought amiss to add a few words as to the need of the application of civil service ideas to these great and growing libraries of the State. The progress of this profession has been rapid. A circular of the World's Fair Literary Congresses declares that in no other department of organized literary activity during the last twenty-five years has there been such marked development as in that of libraries. Library schools offer a thorough course in library economy requiring of their students a high standard of general scholarship. There is, in the opinion of those best acquainted with the history and conduct of libraries

today, no profession whose interests are better subserved by thorough preparation, long experience and natural aptitude than that of the librarian. A frequent change, therefore, together with the appointment of persons untrained and unacquainted with the requirements of the office is a policy greatly to be deplored. The libraries established by the state should be, unquestionably, bureaus of information, model libraries in the modern acceptance of the term.

THE OLD BLOCKHOUSE IN COUNCIL BLUFFS.

BY HON. D. C. BLOOMER.

This was the first building erected in Pottawattamie county. In 1838 the Pottawattamie Indians were removed by the United States, from the "Platte Purchase," so called, in Missouri, to a location on the Missouri river, which subsequently was organized into a county, and took the name of the tribe. Davis Hardin was their agent and came with them to their new home, the whole party, Indians and whites, numbered something less than three thousand. Mr. Hardin settled and cultivated a farm at Council Point, situated five or six miles south of the present city of Council Bluffs. The Indians scattered over the broad valley and adjacent prairies and bluffs, and Mr. Hardin caused a mill to be built on Mosquito Creek, for grinding grain raised by them and himself.

In 1839 the general government stationed two companies of regular troops among these Indians for the purpose of keeping peace and quiet among them, although,

through the careful management of the Agent, their presence did not prove necessary for that purpose. These troops located themselves a short distance up in the bluffs, in the little subsidiary valley of Indian creek and near a living spring found at that point. Here, on a gentle eleva-



OLD BLOCKHOUSE AND BARRACKS, COUNCIL BLUFFS.

tion, in the same year they erected a blockhouse of logs and rough puncheons and raised the American Flag over it. Its sides were pierced with numerous holes through which muskets could be discharged in case of assault from without. The barracks, tents and parade grounds, and probably some minor structures, were located in the vicinity of this build-

ing. No record can be found of the names of the officers in command of these troops. They did not remain a great while, for the reason already stated. With the Indians came a Roman Catholic mission in charge of two priests, Fathers De Smet and Verreydt. They also built for themselves a rude dwelling, but when the troops left took possession of the government buildings, blockhouse and barracks, for religious purposes, erecting a wooden cross over one of them. When the writer took up his residence in Council Bluffs in 1855, these buildings, (as shown in the cut), one of them surmounted by the cross, were yet standing, but used merely for storage purposes. They were demolished many years ago and the spot where they stood, is now occupied by the pleasant brick residence of Mr. John Clausen. The place for the burial of the dead was situated just south of it, and on digging down the bluff for the fine Pierce Street School building now standing on the same spot, many human remains were unearthed. The Indians only remained in western Iowa eight or ten years, perhaps hardly as long, when they were removed to Kansas, where the remnant of the tribe still remains, and with them went also the members of the Catholic mission. They were succeeded by the Mormons, who came here from Nauvoo in 1846, and took possession of all this region for nearly a hundred miles up and down the Missouri river. In some histories of the county and city it has been stated that a Methodist minister named Rector in 1848 was the first to hold religious services, other than those held by the Mormons, in all this region. This is probably true so far as it relates to Protestant services, but it should be remembered that the Catholic priests I have mentioned, preached to the Indians, celebrated mass and performed other Christian rites at a much earlier day in the old buildings I have described.

It has recently been stated in an article printed in a city paper, that this block house and a military post

called Fort Atkinson, established by the United States Government on the Missouri River in 1820, were identical. But that certainly is a mistake. That fort was probably situated on the west side of the river and most likely about twenty miles above the city of Omaha, at a place known in later days as Fort Calhoun. Certainly, a military force was once stationed there, and it happens to be just at the place designated on the old maps of the western country as Council Point, having derived its name from a council supposed to have been held at that point with the Indians, by Lewis and Clark, while on their famous expedition up the Missouri river in the year 1803. We have the full report of that famous council in our libraries, but it is so worded that it is impossible to fix the locality with any certainty. It may have been held on the east side of the river, but more likely on the west side, and at some point 30 or 40 miles above the mouth of the Platte river. The explorers were evidently on both sides of the river. How came the name to be transferred from the west to the east side? The explanation is easy. When the old Mormon town of Kanessville was incorporated in 1853 by the General Assembly,* it was given, at the request of the residents, the name of Council Bluffs. It has proven a fortunate selection, for it has given to the city a world-wide celebrity; but in the midst of all its beauty and prosperity, its people should never forget that the blockhouse which once stood near the Bryant Spring, was certainly the first building, other than an Indian hut, erected within its limits.

Council Bluffs, Iowa, August, 1896.

* Chapter 43, Laws of the Fourth General Assembly of the State of Iowa.

ECONOMY.—The last balloon sleeve was cut up the other day at this place; it made two dresses for a little girl, one apron, six capes, and a dozen night-caps!—*Iowa News, Dubuque, June 17, 1837.*

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

MRS. ANN E. HARLAN.

The first article in this number of *THE ANNALS* is a just but long-delayed tribute to a patriotic Iowa woman who rendered services of inestimable value to our sick and wounded soldiers during the war of the rebellion. True, it is to a considerable extent made up from her own writings at that time, but much of this was written with no thought of publication, while a portion was a public address. Mrs. Harlan, however, appears quite as well in what she wrote, whether to the public or to those in her own home, as in any tribute which could be paid to her memory by the most attached, appreciative friend. Too little has been published and placed on record in regard to the work of the Iowa women who went to the front and ministered to our brave men who were wounded in battle or stricken by disease. There are indications that this matter will be made the subject of study and investigation with a view to doing them the amplest justice. As pointing in this direction we are glad to present in our pages this faithful account of the successful work of Mrs. Harlan. Her portrait is a copy from a copied portrait, but it is nevertheless regarded by the Senator and his daughter, Mrs. Robert T. Lincoln, as an excellent likeness. The fine steel portrait of the distinguished Senator was printed from a plate, engraved for "The Ladies Repository," a Magazine published before the war in Cincinnati. It is a striking likeness of Mr. Harlan about the time of his first election as United States Senator—1856-57. In

this he appears as surviving pioneers remember him. As a historic portrait it is very valuable, and worthy of careful preservation in every Iowa library. The recent portrait of Mr. Harlan is copied by the kind permission of Colonel D. M. Fox, from his "History of Political Parties."

THE FIRST FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE IN IOWA.

It is a curious historical fact that the first reported decision of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Iowa, in July, 1839, was made upon the question of the rendition of an alleged fugitive slave, the court at that time consisting of Charles Mason, Chief Justice, and Joseph Williams and Thomas S. Wilson, Associate Justices. Ralph, the alleged fugitive slave, had been owned by one Montgomery of the State of Missouri. The latter consented that the slave might come into the Territory of Iowa, but afterwards sought to assert his rights as owner and recover his "property." Montgomery secured Ralph's arrest by the sheriff of Dubuque county, and had started with him down the river in a steamboat. Mr. A. Butterworth obtained a writ of *habeas corpus*, upon which Ralph was brought before the District Court, whence, by consent of the parties, the case was at once taken to the Territorial Supreme Court. This case is given in full in a thin octavo volume now very scarce, containing "Reports of the Decisions in the Supreme Court of Iowa, from the Organization of the Territory in July, 1838, to December, 1839, inclusive, by Wm. J. A. Bradford, Reporter of the Supreme Court." (It was also included in the later reports by Morris.) Owing to the scarcity of this volume, and the historical importance of the case itself, we copy the report in full. It is the first one that appears in the book. The colored

man's defence was conducted by David Rorer, who afterwards won high distinction as a lawyer and author. It was written long ago that "Slaves cannot breathe in England," and it would seem that the atmosphere of early Iowa was equally unfriendly to that "peculiar institution," as it was called in those days. A few were held for a time—as the United States census of 1840 sets forth—in Dubuque and Des Moines counties, but Iowa soil was never congenial to slavery and it soon disappeared.

THE MEANING OF THE WORD IOWA.

This subject is still frequently taken up and discussed, with the result, however, that little or no additional light is ever thrown upon it. Exact information has been greatly desired in the past, as it is now, and doubtless will be in the future when "mould gathers upon the memories" of all who are alive today. From whatever information is available now, it would seem that the meaning of this particular word, or words sounding very much like it, varied with different tribes of Indians who formerly occupied the territory of this and surrounding states. This fact doubtless accounts for the confusion or contrariety of opinion which has existed in regard to its signification. Popularly, in this State, for many years past, it has been thought to signify "The Beautiful Land." Two agreeing statements in regard to its meaning would seem to be entitled to respectful consideration, if not to final acceptance. The first was contained in a letter still extant by Antoine Le Claire, the distinguished half-breed, who lived and died in Davenport, to Hon. Theodore S. Parvin. It was dated March 10, 1860. Mr. Le Claire was well educated, "an accomplished linguist, speaking some twelve or fourteen Indian dialects, as well as

French and English."* Aside from this he was a most successful business man—honorably connected with the old State Bank of Iowa—one whose word and reliability were never questioned. He must have been well informed. And then, he could have had no possible motive for practicing a deception. He wrote: "Iowa means this: A tribe of Indians were in search of a home or hunting—in fact, wandering; and when they reached a point they admired and was all they wished—they said: 'Iowa—*This is the place.*'" "From this he stated that the meaning was derived. A friend of the writer a few months ago asked some of the aged Tama county (Musquakie) Indians the same question, and the reply was given in almost the identical words we have quoted from Le Claire. This evidence makes a very strong case so far as the Iowa Indians are concerned. It is apparent that it is a word expressive of great satisfaction with a locality, and hence may have arisen the belief that it signified "The Beautiful Land," which is altogether fanciful. The late Judge A. R. Fulton, in his "Red Men of Iowa," devotes two or three pages to the meaning of this word, and others sounding like it, as they were reported to have been used by various tribes of Indians of the Middle West, including that which we have quoted. The Indians have for the most part passed away and it is now well-nigh impossible to derive information from first hands. But the authoritative statements set forth above would seem to be conclusive.

* Franc B. Wilkie's "Davenport Past and Present," pp. 167-9.

THE whole number of men who enlisted in the war of the rebellion from the State of Iowa was 78,059. Of these 2,017 were killed in battle, 1,199 died of wounds, and 8,695 died of disease. Of the officers 135 were killed, 88 died of wounds, and 115 of disease. There were reported as drowned, 2 officers and 109 men. Of the wounded there were 573 officers and 8,282 men. These figures are from the records of the Adjutant General's office.

ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF THE CONSTITUTIONS OF IOWA.

As the importance of "origins" in history is often unduly emphasized, so the value of certain original manuscripts is sometimes over-estimated. Not every old manuscript is worth preserving any more than every old book is significant in the history of human thought. There are manuscripts and books that are hardly worth the space they occupy in the library. Indeed, it may be said that the reverence (frequently understood) which many time-stained pages command is of far more importance than their matter-of-fact contents. And yet there are some manuscripts, the importance of which is rarely over-estimated. Prominent among these are the original copies of Constitutions. It is, therefore, with no slight degree of interest and anxiety that we look into the archives at Des Moines for the original copies of the several Constitutions of the Commonwealth of Iowa. The results of such an investigation are the following:

The original manuscript copy of the Constitution of 1844, with the signatures of the members of the constitutional convention, has been preserved in the office of the Secretary of State. This Constitution, it will be remembered, was twice rejected by the people.

No complete manuscript copy of the Constitution of 1846 seems to have been preserved. This, of course, is unfortunate. For the Constitution of 1846 was the instrument under which Iowa was admitted into the Union. However, there is in the office of the Secretary of State an *incomplete* manuscript copy of this Constitution. Upon careful examination it would seem that this incomplete manuscript contains all of the Constitution from the "Preamble and Boundaries" to the article on "Amendments of the Constitution." The articles entitled "Amend-

ments of the Constitution," "Miscellaneous," "Schedule," and the signatures of the members of the constitutional convention, are wholly wanting. But the copy of the articles preserved bears intrinsic evidence of its genuineness as the original copy as adopted in the convention. The articles in this manuscript are not numbered.

The original manuscript copy of the Constitution of 1857 (the present constitution), with the signatures of the members of the constitutional convention, has been well preserved in the office of the Secretary of State.

B. F. S.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF IOWA NEWSPAPERS.

If there has been at any time a doubt as to the wisdom of securing for the State to the utmost extent, files of our Iowa newspapers, and especially of bygone years, an experience during the month of July would have banished that doubt from the mind of any fair-minded person. During a period of three weeks four intelligent gentlemen were daily at work in the Historical Rooms compiling information touching the prices of farm produce, and sundry articles of general merchandise, during the past thirty-one years. True, the purpose was political, but search was made for historical facts and figures—such data as underlie large portions of the great historical works of Green and McMaster. The nearly complete files of three newspapers, which their publishers with great liberality had presented to the State, were the only accessible repositories of these facts and figures. We refer to *The Dubuque Herald*, *The Ottumwa Courier* and *The Charles City Intelligencer*. There are scores of other journals throughout the State from which like information would gladly have been derived, but unfortunately their files

were not represented from as early dates among the resources of the Historical Department. In these days great attention is given by all well-conducted public journals, including those at our county seats and other inland towns, to market reports. But in former years, especially back of 1870, this work was either to a great degree neglected, or but indifferently performed. Fortunately, however, the journals named had always given intelligent and careful attention to their market reports. And now these old, long-neglected, dust-covered volumes yield up facts of living, vital interest. Their early editors were pronounced politicians—two of them in bitter opposition to the other—but their market reports were always correct and reliable, and no one at this day will question them. As in the instance named, so in scores of other directions, will the public journals of the past be consulted for facts of the highest historical importance.

ELIJAH SELLS.

Mr. John M. Davis, of Des Moines, presents in this number of *THE ANNALS*, his recollections of Hon. Elijah Sells, who served three terms (1856-61) as Secretary of State. He was also a member of the first Iowa Constitutional Convention (1844), and represented the counties of Muscatine, Johnson and Iowa, in the lower house of our State Legislature (1846-48). Mr. Sells was one of the most influential men our State has ever had in public life—a man of wide and varied intelligence, genial and cordial in his manners, blessed with “troops of friends,” a shrewd, far-seeing politician, possessing withal business habits and executive ability of a high order. He was a conscientious administrator, leaving a record for efficiency and integrity which has never been questioned. He was

one capable of taking the initiative in a new State, where so much was to be done in formulating legislation and establishing customs and precedents in government. Many useful laws still upon the statute books, or crystalized in the codes, were originated or introduced from older regions by Mr. Sells. He enjoyed the warm friendship and confidence of such distinguished men as James W. Grimes, James Harlan, George G. Wright, Ralph P. Lowe, James F. Wilson, Caleb Baldwin, and many others prominent in his day. He has resided many years at Salt Lake City, but is still well remembered in Iowa.

A WORD TO OUR FRIENDS.

There has come to be quite an accumulation of very excellent and valuable historical articles, written for THE ANNALS, in excess of our ability to publish them promptly. Then our little magazine, as a medium through which to reach the public, is rather slow, containing only eighty pages and appearing but four times a year. We are of course very glad to receive these kind favors, gratefully appreciating them as most valuable aid to the work of the Historical Department, and only regret our inability to publish them earlier. But for the historical purposes for which they are intended it will matter little whether they see the light now or some months hence. Sooner or later all will be given in these pages, and in most cases with one or more appropriate illustrations. We hope that this explanation will be accepted as satisfactory by the many excellent friends whose articles have not yet been printed. It is our intention that nothing which they have done in this direction shall be lost or forgotten.

CASH FOR NEGROES.

The following advertisement reads very curiously on this 1st day of October, 1896. But for all that, it is a genuine advertisement, and the man over whose name it appears, to use expressive language, was in "dead earnest"—he "meant business." We find this appeal for patronage among the regular advertisements on the first page of *The Democratic Herald*, a paper published in Baltimore, Maryland, July 21, 1836. Our Historical Department owns a file of this ancient journal from July 20th until October 16th of that year. Whether it was continued after the last date we are unable to state. It is a curious relic of the old days of slavery—when that "peculiar institution" had a feeble existence even in our own State:

CASH FOR NEGROES.—The subscriber has built a large and extensive establishment and private jail, for the keeping of slaves, in Pratt street, one door from Howard street, opposite the Circus or Repository.

The building having been erected under his own inspection, without regard to price; planned and arranged upon the most approved principle with an eye to comfort and convenience, not surpassed by any establishment of the kind in the United States, is now ready to receive slaves. The male and female apartments are completely separate—the rooms for both are large, light and airy, and all above ground, with a fine large yard for exercise, with pure delightful water within doors. In erecting and planning this edifice the subscriber had an eye to the health and cleanliness of the slaves, as well as the many other necessary conveniences. Having a wish to accommodate my Southern friends and others in the trade, I am determined to keep them on the lowest possible terms, at twenty-five cents per head a day and furnish them with plenty of good and wholesome provisions. Such security and confidence I have in my building that I hold myself bound to make good all jail-breaking or escapes from my establishment. I also will receive, ship, or forward to any place, at the request of the owner, and give it my personal attention.

N. B.—Cash and the highest prices will at all times be given for likely slaves of both sexes, with good and sufficient titles. Persons having such property to dispose of would do well to see me before they sell, as I am always purchasing for the New Orleans market. I, or my agent, can at all times be found at my office in the basement story of my new building.

HOPE H. SLATTER.

WHAT WAS A "FLOATING DISTRICT?"

We were lately asked to explain what is meant by the term "floating district," as used in Article 3, Section 35, of our present State Constitution. Previous to 1858 the legislature constituted representative and senatorial districts which came to be known by this popular designation. The easiest way to explain the matter is probably by reference to the act providing for the representative apportionment of 1857.* Section 49 enacts that "The county of Van Buren shall constitute the forty-ninth representative district, and have two representatives." Section 53 makes Henry county the 53rd district, with two representatives. Section 43 makes the county of Lee the 54th district, with three representatives. But section 55 of this act declares that "The counties of Lee, Henry and Van Buren, shall jointly constitute the 55th representative district and have one representative." This last was a "floating district," though it would seem that the term should have applied rather to the representative than to the district from which he was chosen. The act referred to provides for five of these "floating districts." The usage had existed many years in the apportionment laws applying to both branches of the General Assembly. This custom was liable to much abuse, and in time became quite unpopular. The purpose for which a "floating district" was constituted was no doubt to give each of the counties of which it was composed its fair share of representation for its excess of population over that required to elect one or more members. The injustice arose from the fact that the "floating" member was pretty apt to represent his own county or locality and ignore the balance of his alleged and often attenuated constituency. Abuses crept in, as

* "Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, passed at the Regular Session of the Sixth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, 1857," Chap. 132, pp. 170-174.

gerrymandering, 'log-rolling and corruption in the legislature,' and the erection of such districts for purely individual, local or partisan purposes. The subject was freely debated in the constitutional convention of 1857,* by Messrs. J. C. Hall, J. A. Parvin, A. H. Marvin, D. H. Solomon, Amos Harris and J. C. Traer. Section 35, Article 3, of the Constitution of our State closes as follows: "Provided, further, that no floating district shall hereafter be formed." This inhibition at once stopped the practice, and the term "floating district" has fallen into such "innocuous desuetude" that at this day people are inquiring what it meant.

*Iowa Constitutional Debates, 1857, vol. 1, pp. 543-548

THE cut of the old blockhouse and barracks at Council Bluffs, which illustrates Mr. Bloomer's interesting article, was made from a pencil drawing by Mr. Charles Simons of that city. He saw them not long after they were erected and was familiar with their appearance. Other old residents of Council Bluffs recognize this sketch as conveying a good idea of the appearance of these primitive structures.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

GENERAL GEORGE WALLACE JONKS died at his home in Dubuque, July 22, 1896. Born at Vincennes, Indiana, April 12, 1804, he was a drummer boy in the war of 1812, and won distinction in the Black Hawk war. He was the last delegate in congress from Michigan, the first delegate from Wisconsin and one of the first United States senators from the State of Iowa, and he selected the names Wisconsin and Iowa. He had known every president since Monroe, was in the escort of Lafayette, was a business partner of Daniel Webster, was the colleague in congress of Thomas H. Benton, Charles Sumner, Stephen A. Douglas, William H. Seward and James Buchanan, was the intimate friend of John C. Calhoun, Martin Van Buren, Henry Clay, John C. Fremont, Jefferson Davis and Franklin Pierce, was a minister to South America before the war, was a party to seven "affairs of honor," caught the dying victim of the Cilley-Graves duel in his arms, was imprisoned by Seward on suspicion of being in collusion with Jefferson Davis, was the Chesterfield of Washington society nearly fifty years ago; was once the richest man in Iowa, but in his latter years has had little income except

a pension of \$20 a month, granted eighty years after his service as a drummer boy. To these must be added many minor distinctions.

General Jones was the son of John Rice Jones, mentioned in history as the friend of Benjamin Franklin. The father was for years chief justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri. The family lived at St. Genevieve, Missouri, in 1814, and when Captain Linn was commissioned to raise a company of soldiers young Jones was the drummer boy who marched about the streets in that service. He graduated from Transylvania University, at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1825. Henry Clay was his college guardian. In 1823 he was sergeant of the body guard of Andrew Jackson on his way to Washington to take his seat as United States senator. When Lafayette revisited America the young student was selected by congress as a member of a reception committee and escorted the French patriot through Kentucky.

After graduation young Jones lived three years at St. Genevieve, studied law and was clerk of the United States District Court for Missouri. His health gave out and his physician ordered him into the woods to recuperate. Accompanied by a dozen slaves and a number of hired men, he went to Sinsinawa Mound, then in Michigan territory, but now in Wisconsin, not far from Dubuque. He engaged in mining, smelting, farming and merchandising, living a simple, rough life, which restored his health, and he boasted freedom from sickness for nearly seventy years thereafter.

When the Black Hawk war broke out in 1832, he enlisted as aide-de-camp to General Henry Dodge, father of his colleague as United States senator from Iowa. After the war the pioneers of Michigan territory chose him colonel of militia without his knowledge, although a son of Alexander Hamilton was a candidate. Later he became a major-general. While organizing a company of soldiers at what is now Mineral Point, Wisconsin, he was chosen county judge, although he had not sought the place.

In 1835 he was elected delegate to congress from the territory of Michigan, which then embraced all the country from Lake Huron to the Pacific, the largest district ever represented by one man in congress. One of his first acts was to introduce a bill for the formation of Wisconsin territory, which comprised most of the country west of Lake Michigan. He took the name from the Oulscousin river, so named by Marquette, and secured the passage of his bill before the bill admitting Michigan to statehood was passed. He was elected delegate from Wisconsin while still holding that position from Michigan. He introduced and secured the passage of the bill creating the territory of Iowa.

President Van Buren appointed him surveyor-general of the Northwest territory and he became a resident of Dubuque. President William Henry Harrison removed him, but he was re-appointed by President Polk. He was chosen first United States senator from Iowa in 1848, a position to which he was re-elected. In 1859 he was appointed minister to the country now known as Colombia. While there he wrote a letter to Jefferson Davis, who had been a lieutenant with him in the Black Hawk war. Jones did not know of the beginning of the war, and the terms of his letter to his old friend put him under suspicion when it fell into the hands of Secretary Seward. General Jones was recalled and imprisoned in Fort Lafayette for sixty-four days. President Lincoln became convinced of his innocence and ordered his release. A year or two later General Jones retired from public life.

At one time he and Daniel Webster were partners in the town sites of Madison, Wisconsin, and Sioux City, Iowa. He acted as second for Jonathan Cilley in the fatal duel with William J. Graves in 1838. In 1892 congress voted him a pension for services in the war of 1812 and

the Black Hawk war. It also reimbursed him for services while in South America.—*Major C. D. Ham in the Dubuque Herald.*

EDWIN N. CHAPIN was born in Monterey, Massachusetts, June 5, 1823, and died at his residence in Marshalltown, July 29, 1896. After receiving a common school education he attended an academy for a short time and for several years taught school. Never idle and always ready to engage in any honest avocation, he engaged in charcoal burning for a while, disposing of the product at the blast furnaces. In December, 1849, the gold fever having seized him he started for California by way of the Isthmus of Panama, and on account of difficulties with the officers of the ship on the Pacific side, helped to take possession of it, and after several months of voyaging arrived at San Francisco. For some four years he was engaged in mining and other pursuits in California, returning by way of Nicaragua, shipping for New York at Greytown. This was in 1854. The following year he removed to Iowa. In 1855 he bought *The Iowa Central Journal*, then located at Lafayette, (now Albion), Marshall county, of Messrs. Wilson, Dunn and Tripp. Associated with him in the conduct of the paper was Mr. R. H. Barnhart, who still resides at Marshalltown. The paper was a champion of Marietta, and as Mr. Chapin had declared that he would not take the paper to the new county seat, in case of removal, he sold out his interest to his partner, who removed the paper to the new county seat. During the year 1857 he settled in Marshalltown and started *The Marshall County News*, which was subsequently destroyed by fire. During several years following this loss he bought and sold *The Times* many times. In 1881 he was connected with *The Reflector*. An outspoken and fearless advocate, he was often in controversy, and on account of his aggressive and combative disposition came to be called "Old Grizzly." He was married in 1857 to Miss Elizabeth Moore Moon, and again in 1886 to Mrs. Nettie Sanford. Hon. O. B. Chapin, who represented Hardin county in the Legislature, in 1874-75, was his brother. He held several offices of trust and responsibility during his residence in Iowa. He was a member of the Board of Supervisors, and Post Master of Marshalltown under President Lincoln. In 1864 he was sent to Mississippi to take the vote of the Iowa soldiers, under appointment of Governor Stone. He was removed from the office of Post Master in 1865 by President Johnson, for alleged "offensive partisanship," Mr. Chapin having the honor to be the first official removed by President Andrew Johnson for political reasons. He was re-appointed Post Master by President Grant, in 1876. Mr. Chapin was a strong character, prominent as a pioneer, wide-awake and alert in business, a vigorous, out-spoken, independent editor, welcoming most heartily and standing by whatever promised to benefit his State, county or city. In the development of the railroad system of Iowa, he bore a leading part, and when improvements were under consideration in Marshalltown, or in the county, he could always be depended upon to take the progressive side. He will long be held in kindly remembrance in the community where he lived for more than forty years.

In the death of HON. REUBEN NOBLE, at his home in McGregor, on the 8th of August, our State has lost another of its most prominent pioneers, the bar and judiciary one of their brightest ornaments, and the community where he resided, one of its best known and most esteemed citizens. Judge Noble was born a farmer's boy, April 14, 1821, in Adams county, Mississippi, and was therefore a little over seventy-five years of age. He worked at farming until he was eighteen,

when he attended for a while a manual labor school at Columbus, in that State, pursuing meantime the study of the law. He settled at Fair Play, Wisconsin, in 1842, where he engaged in mining and the practice of the law. He removed to Garnavillo, Clayton county, in 1843. June 19, 1844, he was married to Miss Harriett C. Douglas, who survives him. In 1857 he removed to McGregor, where he resided until his death. Judge Noble immediately upon settling in our State was recognized as a man of character and ability, a personality to be implicitly relied upon. He was elected on the Free Soil ticket a representative in the Fifth General Assembly, and though it was his first session, he was chosen Speaker. Before his death he was the last survivor of our legislative presiding officers before the war of the rebellion. As a presiding officer he proved to be singularly able and impartial, and has always been remembered by his surviving associates with great respect and affection. A kindly tribute to his memory appeared in *The McGregor News* of August 19, 1896, from the pen of his long-time friend, Hon. James O. Crosby, from which we copy the following paragraphs:

"In the practice of his profession he had a distinct individuality, discouraging all unnecessary litigation, and when possible to secure justice to all interested parties by means of a compromise, he was persistent in his efforts to effect settlements. He was self-reliant and believed in himself, in his ability to accomplish, and he pursued his object with untiring vigilance; of course he early became prominent in his profession; he could not help it.

"As a trial lawyer, his keen perception enabled him to grasp the strong points of his case and as the trial advanced to discover the trend of the testimony, and how it might be turned to strengthen his case or weaken his opponents. He was a man of the people and cultivated the acquaintance of all with whom he came in contact and studied their temperaments and dispositions, which served him well in impanelling juries and in summing up his case to them at the close."

He was elected Judge of the Tenth Judicial district in 1874, and re-elected in 1878, but he resigned shortly afterward, and returned to the practice of the law. Mr. and Mrs. Noble celebrated their golden wedding June 19, 1894. Judge Noble always attended the biennial reunions of the Pioneer Law Makers Association, of which he was a leading member.

KENDALL YOUNG, president of the First National Bank of Webster City, died at the Sanitarium at Battle Creek, Michigan, June 30, 1896. Mr. Young was born in the town of Eden, Hancock County, Maine, January 19, 1820, raised on a farm, inured to hard labor, acquiring only the meager education afforded in the country schools of that day. He left home at the age of nineteen to make his own way in life. When the dispute over the boundary between Maine and Canada seemed likely to lead to war he enlisted, and was out at the front two months. But the "Aroostook war" happily ended without bloodshed. For this service he received \$18 and a forty-acre land warrant. (With this warrant Mr. Young long afterwards entered forty acres of government land near Webster City.) He then hired out as a common sailor before the mast, visiting the West Indies, Labrador, England, and many ports along our coasts. Quitting the sea he engaged in merchandising in a small way in Maine, but emigrated to Wisconsin in 1847. In 1849 he crossed the plains to California. After acquiring enough money to start in business, he returned to Maine, but he had so good an idea of the West that he settled in Rockton, Illinois. Hoping, however, to do better in business, he removed to Kossuth county, Iowa, a newer

region, where with others he laid out the town of Irvington. This was a most beautiful site, but it was too near Algona and the enterprise was soon given up. In 1859 he removed to Webster City, which continued to be his home until his death. At first he engaged in general merchandising, but in 1871 the First National Bank was organized and Kendall Young became its president. He held this office the remainder of his life. He was very successful, acquiring a fortune estimated at about \$200,000. As a business man he was conservative, but always kind and accommodating, cool and clear-headed, strictly honest and just, a safe and prudent manager, a man who became a strong pillar in the community where he lived so long. In 1858 he married Miss Jane Underdown, an English lady who had come across the ocean to reside with her brother in Webster City. Mrs. Young still survives her husband. The pair were childless. By the terms of his will, the conditions of which Mrs. Young freely accepted, their entire estate at her death is to be devoted to the founding of a free public library in Webster City. Of this, \$25,000 goes to the erection of a building and \$10,000 to the purchase of books. The remainder of the estate is to be invested and the interest devoted to the permanent care and increase of the "Kendall Young Library." This will give to Webster City a permanent and always growing library, worthy of that beautiful and enterprising city, and justly perpetuating the memory of its founders. In this wise disposition of their property Mr. and Mrs. Young may well be classed as pioneers in our library work, for this we believe to be the first instance in Iowa in which husband and wife have united in so bestowing a large estate.

After a long period of intense suffering from wasting disease, Mr. JOHN WRAGG died at his residence in Waukee, Polk county, on the 4th of September, 1896. He was born in Berks county, Pennsylvania, in 1831, and had reached the age of sixty-five. He first settled in Clayton county in 1854, but in 1865 removed to his late residence, where he spent the remainder of his life. Mr. Wragg came to be widely known in Iowa as one of our most intelligent and enterprising nurserymen and horticulturists. At the meetings of the State Horticultural Society he was one of the most constant attendants and one of the most influential members. In his writings, as in his conversations, and more than all in the example which he set before the world, few Iowa men have ever accomplished so much in inspiring a love for fruits and flowers. He was one who saw

"tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything—"

a man of wide and varied intelligence, always enterprising and progressive, a ready writer, a true and abiding friend, a kind-hearted and genial Christian gentleman.

HON. ISAAC PENDLETON, late of Sioux City, was born in Norwich, New York, April 3, 1832. His early years were spent at that place. He attended the Oxford Academy and taught school for one year. In June, 1854, he graduated from Union College. Entering the law office of Henry Mygott at Oxford, he later completed the law course with Judge Comstock at Syracuse, and was admitted to the practice of law in all of the courts of the State of New York. He then removed to Cleveland, Ohio, and in 1858 located in Sioux City, Iowa, where he resided until his death, July 17, 1896. He was elected judge of his district in 1862, and a republican presidential elector in 1872, but later in life

became a democrat. He was a man of ability and fine culture, and a ready and effective speaker. A leading member of Lodge No. 164, I. O. O. F., he was buried with the honors of the Order.

EX-STATE SENATOR JOHN M. KENT died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Elijah, near Clarence, Iowa, Aug 21, 1896. Mr. Kent was born in Rockbridge county, Va., Nov. 14, 1814. He came with his parents to Ohio at the age of four, and remained there twenty-four years. In 1852 he settled in Cedar county, Iowa, where he spent the remainder of his life. To fill a vacancy Mr. Kent was elected state senator in 1857, and re-elected in 1859. At the breaking out of the war he took much interest and aided in enlistments, and in 1864 was appointed army vote commissioner. This pioneer of Cedar county was an influential legislator, a useful, exemplary citizen, taking a leading part in all movements for the development of the country and the betterment of society.

REV. RICHARD B. GRAFF, of Marengo, died at his residence in that city, on the 24th of August, 1896, from old age. He was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1817. Coming to Iowa he settled on the site of Marengo in 1845, entering the land upon which the city stands, as a homestead. He was admitted to the bar, but later went into the ministry, becoming widely noted as an advocate of temperance. In his youth he was a classmate of Bayard Taylor, at the Union Academy, Philadelphia, and their intimate personal friendship then begun continued during the lifetime of the illustrious traveler, diplomat and poet. Mr. Graff was himself a poet of more than local reputation.

CAPTAIN PHILO G. C. MERRILL was born in Stowe, Vermont, October 16, 1816, and died in this city August 27, 1896. He came to Iowa in 1853, and settled in Warren county. Eleven years afterward he removed to Grinnell, but came here in 1895, to make his home with his son, Mr. John H. Merrill. He was a member of the Grand Army and the Loyal Legion. At one time he was active in politics, and represented Warren county in the 10th General Assembly.

DAVID ARMSTRONG was born in the county of Down, Ireland, March 13, 1816, and died at Dyersville, July 28, 1896. He was a contractor and builder, remarkable for the extent and excellent quality of his work. He furnished the highly polished granite in the State House, and built the first wing of the hospital for the insane at Independence. He also erected some of the best buildings in the city of Dubuque.

MRS. ISABEL HILLOCK MONTZHEIMER died at Webster City, September 5, 1896. She came to that town with her widowed mother, a brother and three sisters, in 1857 or 1858. She was one of the thoroughly educated and favorite pioneer teachers of Hamilton county, as also were two of her sisters. No family in that region occupied a higher place in the general esteem.

SETH W. SHAW, who made an honorable record in Company D, 6th Iowa Infantry, died at Centerville, July 19, 1896. He was born in Madison county, Indiana, March 11, 1842, and had resided in Iowa since his thirteenth year. He was in some twenty battles, including Shiloh, Corinth and several around Vicksburg.

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Published



*Sincerely yours,
Francis Springer.*

HON. FRANCIS SPRINGER,
President of the Iowa Constitutional Convention of 1857.
From a photograph taken at the age of 72.

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THIRD SERIES.

RECOLLECTIONS OF JUDGE FRANCIS SPRINGER.

THE following article was written by the Honorable FRANCIS SPRINGER, President of the Convention of 1857, which framed the Constitution of our State, with no purpose, however, of publication in its present form, but simply to furnish memoranda from which his friends might be able at some time to prepare a sketch of his life. Everything, however, is so clearly and fairly set down, that we have determined to present it precisely as it came from his pen. No pioneer of Iowa now living, and few if any who have passed away, bore a more honorable or conspicuous part in our early public life, or rendered the State more substantial service. It is most appropriate in our judgment, that one so just and generous to others, and so modest in recounting his own services and honors, should speak for himself. It was due to repeated requests by the editor of THE ANNALS, as well as of more immediate friends, that Judge Springer prepared this sketch, which it would be an act of injustice to change in any respect. It is a very valuable paper. An address which he delivered at the reunion of the surviving members of the Constitutional Convention, held in Des Moines, January 19 and 20, 1882, will hereafter appear in these pages, with sundry historical memoranda relating to himself and others.—EDITOR OF THE ANNALS.

I am a native of the State of Maine, born April 15, 1811. My father, Nathaniel Springer, was of Swedish descent, and of patriotic stock. His father, Captain Nathaniel Springer of Bath, was Captain of an artillery company in the Revolution, and was killed while in the service.

My father was a shipwright by occupation, and for some years in the early part of this century was engaged in a prosperous business, constructing sea-going vessels

at the seaport town of Bath. At the time of the taking effect of the embargo act passed by Congress during President Jefferson's administration in order to checkmate the British Orders in Council and the Berlin and Milan Decrees of Napoleon, my father had unfinished vessels on the stocks which that measure rendered worthless. It was a disastrous blow to the ship-building, shipping and commercial interests of the country, and especially so of New England. Its blighting effects continued long enough to reduce men from affluence to penury.

My mother's maiden name was Mary Clark, of Anglo-Saxon descent, daughter of Captain John Clark, a member as I was told of the famous tea party held in Boston harbor on the night of December 18, 1773. Then and subsequently he was actively engaged in navigation. He lost some vessels by French Spoliation prior to 1800—claims for which our government by the treaty with France had assumed to pay, but declined to take any steps toward payment until within the last decade, nearly 100 years after the "cause of action" had accrued, and after the original claimants and two generations of heirs had nearly all passed away—when the spoliation claims were referred by act of Congress to the court of claims for adjudication, but with the proviso that the government was not to be bound to pay any of them. Among the awards referred to Congress by the Court was one in favor of the heirs of Captain Clark for the loss of the ship *Louisa*, valued at \$15,650, which was paid in 1891.

Circumstances separated me when a lad of eleven years from my relatives. When leaving home I went to live with a farmer's family in Strafford county, New Hampshire. They had no children, so I became a sort of adopted son, and was treated by them with affectionate kindness during the ten years that I had and made my home with them. They were good people, members of the Baptist denomination, and possessed of moderate

means; had a moderate sized farm on which it required labor and good management to make a comfortable living. Like much of the land in New Hampshire, this farm had a good supply of rocks and stones, requiring laborious toil to remove them from the ground preparatory to seeding it for crops. The crops were not large, but with good cultivation fair in yield. The price of corn there at that time was a dollar a bushel; a half bushel would pay a laboring man for a day's work. I worked on the farm during the first five or six years that I lived with my country friends. A part of the business of the farm in the winter season was hauling cord-wood from the farm to market, a distance of some twelve miles. The team used for this purpose consisted of two yokes of oxen and an ox sled. I remember thinking it quite an achievement for me to be permitted to drive, at the age of fourteen, such a team loaded with a cord of wood; starting before midnight, "solitary and alone," walking all the way in the snow by the side of the near ox of the rear yoke (holding with my right hand to one end of the bow which projected above the yoke,) going at a pace of two miles an hour, reaching the market place about daylight next morning, selling my load at four dollars a cord, and getting back home in the evening, feeling proud enough of my performance.

During these six years the facilities I had for education were limited chiefly to the winter district school, where were taught the regulation branches of "reading, writing and ciphering," with a class in geography and grammar. In the intervals of school and of work I received some instruction occasionally from friends. In my eighteenth year I attended a fall term of the Rochester Academy, at the close of which I received from the preceptor a certificate of qualification for teaching school. That winter I taught a country school at \$10 a month, boarding round among the families of the pupils. Among the scholars were some girls and boys older, and the boys

larger, than I. The next year I attended another term of the Academy, and taught another country school the winter following. Afterwards, in the succeeding two years, I taught village schools, one in the town of Rochester, and one in the town of Farmington, pursuing my studies by myself, in the interval reciting to learned friends, one of whom was a physician, Doctor Jeremiah Dow; another was preceptor Ingersoll, late of Rochester Academy, and then student at law in the law office of Daniel Goodenow of Alfred, Maine.

In the year 1833 I had returned to Maine, and the next year commenced to read law in the office of William Goodenow in Portland. During the course of my law studies I served at odd times as assistant editor on *The Portland Courier*, whose editor and proprietor was Seba Smith, author of the celebrated "Jack Downing" Letters. I was admitted to the bar at Portland in the year 1838. I then had a desire to adopt in advance the advice of Mr. Greeley, "Go west, young man, and grow up with the country."

For some years a warm friendship had subsisted between Edward H. Thomas* and myself. In age I was his senior by nearly two years. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College; he read law at Portland in the law office of Stephen Longfellow, father of H. W. Longfellow, America's gifted poet. My friend Thomas had been admitted to the bar a year or two in advance of me. He too had a touch of the western fever.

We had arranged to go together to try our fortunes in the far west, whose western limit appeared then to be the State of Illinois. We started together on our pilgrimage from Portland in October, 1838, traveling by steamboat to Boston; thence by rail and steamboat to New York; thence by rail to Harrisburg; thence by canal-boat

*Since this sketch was written, Mr. Thomas died at his home in Portland, at the age of eighty-three.

(a mode of travel one would not want twice) to Pittsburg—except our transit over the Allegheny mountains which was by rail, a stationary engine taking us up on one side and letting us down on the other—from Pittsburg by steamer to Saint Louis; thence by stage to Jacksonville; thence by open wagon to Burlington, Iowa. We were some seven weeks on our journey, including a day or two stopping in Boston, New York, Cincinnati, Louisville, Saint Louis and Jacksonville, and the sand-bar delays on the Ohio river. Our steamer was three weeks making the trip from Pittsburg to Saint Louis. We spent a pleasant week at the college in Jacksonville with some student friends. We met while there a brother of Henry Clay residing at Jacksonville, who quite naturally felt proud of his brother "Harry," as the foremost statesman of the south, if not of the country.

We were equipped with letters of introduction, among others to Daniel Webster of Boston, Ogden Hoffman and James Brooks of New York, Judge Bellamy Storer and Gen. W. H. Harrison of Cincinnati, and George D. Prentice, the gifted journalist of Louisville. Mr. Webster had not long before visited Illinois, where he had acquired some interest in connection with a friend resident in that State. Mr. Webster was kind enough to give us a letter to him. Our objective when we started from Portland was Illinois. Iowa had hardly been heard of so far east at that early day. At Cincinnati by the advice of Judge Storer we changed our destination from Illinois to Iowa. We reached Burlington on Sunday, the 21st day of December, 1838. The Territory of Iowa had been organized in July of that year, having previously been a part of and under the jurisdiction of Michigan, and afterward of Wisconsin. These changes of jurisdiction are curiously illustrated by an anecdote told of James W. Woods. He is reported to have said that he had one child born in Michigan, another in Wisconsin and another in Iowa, and yet all three were

born in the same house in Burlington! At Burlington we were guests of a hotel kept by Mrs. Parrott, whose beautiful black-eyed daughter afterwards became the wife of Shepherd Leffler. The first Legislature of the Territory of Iowa was then in session in the building known as the Old Zion Church.

Our advent was followed on the night of our arrival by an extemporized reception held in a new unfinished frame building, where were gathered a jolly crowd of members of the bar and others; where music, song and wit abounded, and where my friend Thomas' musical and social talents were welcomed as an acquisition. I regret to have to say that the reception was followed not long after its adjournment by a luminous bonfire made by the building in which it had been held, caused, it was believed, by the stub of a cigar dropped among the shavings.

We stopped in Burlington about one week, making the acquaintance of many prominent men, members of the bar and of the legislative and executive departments of the Territorial government, and others from the different counties. From the county of Louisa, we met James M. Clark, member of the legislative council, William L. Toole, member of the house, Daniel Brewer, one of the clerks, and Samuel M. Kirkpatrick, an intelligent "high private."

We were several times in Judge Charles Mason's court, and in each branch of the legislative department, and of course paid our respects to the executive department, at the head of which was Governor Robert Lucas.

Judge Mason impressed us favorably, both as a man and as a judge. Our respect for him was by no means lessened when in July of the next year, as Chief Justice of the Territorial Supreme Court, in delivering the opinion of the court in the *habeas corpus* case of Ralph, a slave claimed as a fugitive by his master (Montgomery) of Missouri, he announced the doctrine that no slave could tread the soil or

breathe the air of Iowa. The associate justices, Joseph Williams and Thomas S. Wilson, concurred in the opinion, and Ralph was free.

The first legislative assembly of Iowa was a fine looking body of men. They would compare favorably with any legislative assembly Iowa has since had. General Jesse Brown of the county of Lee, tall—six feet six—dignified, graceful and courteous, was president of the Council. Colonel William H. Wallace of Henry county was Speaker of the House; impressive in person, manner and voice, he was a model presiding officer. When I first entered the House, James W. Grimes, one of the members from Des Moines county, had the floor addressing the House on some question of interest. Though probably the youngest member, he was listened to with marked attention, giving promise then of the eminence as a lawyer and statesman which awaited him later.

The first settlers of Iowa it has been said were from southern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Mr. Grimes was one of many from New England, a good country to be born in and not a bad country to emigrate from; whose early people, the Puritan fathers, as is well known, were noted for their rugged virtues, some of them for their austere regard for the proprieties of life, as seen in what have been called their blue laws, one of which is said to have made it an offence for a husband to kiss his wife or lover his sweetheart on the Lord's day! But they doubtless ere long outgrew such notions when they came to see how vain it was to expect to enforce a prohibitory law against kissing on the Lord's day or any other day! But notwithstanding some peculiarities, it may be said that no people deserve to be held in higher regard than they for their steadfast devotion to the cause of popular government. If not called the mother of presidents, New England may be said to be the mother of States, for there is probably no state in the Union north of Mason and Dixon's line in whose constitution,

polity and laws the principles of the Pilgrim fathers may not be more or less seen.

In December, 1838, Burlington had a population of some 400 or 500 (Chicago at that time had about 5,000—St. Louis 12,000); only two brick buildings were then to be seen in the town, one a small one-story building built by David Rorer for his law office, the other a two-story structure on Front street occupied by Bridgman & Partridge, the principal merchants at that time. We were favorably impressed with Burlington as then seen—fortunate in her location as a commercial center, as well as in the push, energy and spirit of her people, such people as good states are made of.

As a result of the information we gathered in a week's sojourn in Burlington, we concluded to locate in Louisa county; so in the afternoon of Saturday, the 27th day of December, we left Burlington for Wapello, kindly escorted by Mr. Kirkpatrick, who was on horseback, while Mr. Thomas and I for private reasons* took it afoot. That evening we made Burkhardt's Point, about twelve miles from Burlington, where we slept soundly in one of the rooms of a double log cabin, so well ventilated that we could see stars, as we lay in the bed, through the unplastered or unmudded spaces between the logs. In the afternoon of the next day, Sunday, one of those bright, crisp, buoyant winter days for which our climate is noted, we reached Wapello and met a settlers' welcome. But few families were then there, and some three or four unfinished frame houses. Wapello at that time consisted of three towns, on paper at least, named Upper, Middle and Lower Wapello. The location of the county seat in March, 1839, and the subsequent entry of the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 27 by the county as the site of the county seat, had the effect of consolidating the three embryo towns into one. There were

*The fact was that the combined treasury of the two hopeful disciples of Blackstone was then reduced to fifty cents.

several other towns laid out in the county with more or less hopeful future prospects. The county had a population of about 1,200.

Our early courts in the county were held in log cabins. The sessions of the Grand Jury were held at first in an adjacent ravine. Mr. Thomas and I were the first resident lawyers in the county. At our first term of court, held in April, 1839, we were engaged in some forty cases. Of lawyers from other counties attending our early court, I recall the names of Alfred Rich, Hugh T. Reid and Philip Veile, of Lee, David Rorer, M. D. Browning, W. W. Chapman, James W. Woods, James W. Grimes and Henry Starr, of Des Moines, Stephen Whicher, Ralph P. Lowe, William G. Woodward and Jacob Butler, of Muscatine—all able lawyers and prominent men. One would have had to go far indeed to find an abler bar.

Referring to early courts, I may speak of a sort of provisional court organized by settlers in congressional townships of government lands prior to being first offered for sale—which would be at public auction, at a minimum price of \$1.25 per acre. In order to settle claim controversies that might occur among the settlers, and to prevent adverse bidding at the land sales, a “township claim committee” was appointed, composed of three capable men (of the settlers) whose duty it was to hear and decide upon all contested claims. The parties on due notice would appear before the committee (sometimes with attorney) make their statements, present their proofs, when after hearing the case a decision would be made, and whichever way it went the losing party was bound by honor and the unwritten law of the township to acquiesce in it. He knew he must do this, or expect rough handling at the land sales from the settlers who would be present in force, one of them acting as township bidder for all, as the tracts were called by the Register of the Land Office, giving the name of the settler entitled. The tracts

were called and struck off with great rapidity. It would have been dangerous for any one (settler or outsider) to make a bid against the township bidder. This was well understood.

Louisa County was then in the second Judicial district, presided over by Judge Joseph Williams of Muscatine. He was appointed by President Van Buren in 1838 from the Key Stone State. Though not a first rate lawyer, he was a good judge, popular as a man and as a judge. He had wonderful versatility of gifts outside of his profession. He and my friend Edward H. Thomas were the life and center of attraction of the social circles of evenings when on court circuits, both being adepts in vocal and instrumental music. The Judge was at home on almost any instrument, banjo, drum, fife as well as on instruments of a higher grade. Mr. Thomas' specialty, though good on other instruments, was the flute, on which he had few equals anywhere. The Judge's gift as a comedian would keep a crowd in a roar—as a ventriloquist he would sometimes "astonish the natives." He was withal a consistent member of the Methodist Church, and a warm friend of temperance. His kindness and respect shown to the younger members of the bar of his court were notable and appreciated. The Judge had a trait, sometimes seen in great men, of caring nothing for money; for at times while holding court upon his circuit he would find himself short in his hotel bill, when his friend Thomas or some other bachelor member of the bar would gladly come to his rescue and pay the bill.

Perhaps I may allude to a catastrophe that befell a party of bachelors at Wapello in 1839 at their first and last experience at bach-keeping. In the spring of that year the party, consisting of John W. Brookbank, a talented young doctor from the Hoosier State, Edward H. Thomas and I, in order to improve, if might be, our board accommodations, undertook a bach-keeping experiment. Our

house was a log cabin of the regular pattern, with a large fire-place in one end opening into a chimney of like dimensions constructed of sticks and clay or mud, the sticks laid crosswise, a bar of iron for a crane, with hooks for suspending our pots and kettles. Our pantry and larder being furnished as well as might be, we launched our bachelor craft, and sailed along quite independent and happy in our success, until a melancholy day in November, "the saddest of the year," overtook us with a violent rain-storm, the wind blew and the rain poured all night. In the morning the storm still continuing we had got our breakfast on to cook, when all of a sudden down came our chimney, pots, kettles, breakfast and all in one common ruin; and thus ended our bachelor experience.

The next year, 1840, was the year of the memorable presidential campaign of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." The political pot was kept boiling during months preceding the election. Iowa though having no voice in the election was by no means free from the general excitement. Whig and democrat were the parties contesting for the Territorial offices. General Augustus C. Dodge and Alfred Rich were the opposing candidates for delegate to Congress. The canvass was spirited, with log cabin and hard cider accompaniments. The democrats were successful, and General Dodge was elected.

In the legislative council district composed of the counties of Louisa and Washington and the country west, at a mass meeting of Whigs held at Wapello in the summer of 1840, I was nominated as a candidate without opposition and at the election chosen. Daniel Brewer of Wapello was my competitor. The legislative council was composed of thirteen members, the house of representatives of twenty-six; members of the council were elected for two years, of the house for one. My election was for the third and fourth legislative assemblies. The third convened at Burlington, November 2, 1840. M. Bain-

bridge of the Dubuque district was chosen president of the Council, Thomas Cox of Lee, speaker of the House. I stopped during the session at the Fletcher hotel, a good sized two-story frame building located on Jefferson street about where the clothing establishment of Rabb Bros. is now situated. Burlington had made good progress in the previous two years, and had begun to assume city airs as a consequence. But now new seat-of-government makers were appearing, zealous for a change. The third legislative assembly was the last that Burlington was to have. She had now become able to live and thrive without it. The site for the new seat of government was located in May, 1839, and work begun on the foundation for the Territorial Capitol building the same year. I remember being one of a cavalcade of four who started from Wapello in June, 1839, on an exploring expedition west to look at the country, find the site of the new capital, visit the Sac and Fox Indians (in their new home to which they had been removed from the 400 square mile reservation lying in Louisa and Washington counties) and thence to swing round the circuit of our excursion home again. We found the stake which had been driven by the locating commissioners on the spot where the capitol was afterwards erected. A half-built log cabin was the only structure in sight anywhere around. The Indians at their village favored us with an exhibition of a grand war dance. The village was on the south bank of the Iowa river some twelve miles west of the capital. We left towards evening, taking a southerly trail, fording the streams, traveling till near midnight, camping in a small cluster of bushes, tethering our horses, using the saddles for pillows—the ground our bed, the sky our covering, the wolf's howl our music. The next day we reached the site of what is now Washington, and that evening Wapello.

The seat of government having been transferred to Iowa City, the fourth legislative assembly convened there Decem-

ber 2, 1841, and was held in a two-story frame building which has been constructed for the accommodation of the different departments of the Territorial government, until the new capitol then in course of construction should be completed far enough to admit of being used. The assembly - adjourned February 18, 1842.

At the general election of 1842 I was re-elected from the same district a member of the fifth and sixth legislative assemblies, in both of which I served. The sixth adjourned February 16, 1844. Governor John Chambers of Kentucky had been appointed by General Harrison in 1841 (among other reasons for distinguished military services in the war of 1812), and served with great acceptance and ability as governor of Iowa until the appointment of his successor, James Clarke of Burlington, in 1845. Our social and official relations during his term of service were pleasant and agreeable to me. I was shown by him much personal consideration. As an instance, I may state that during a session of the legislative council in February, 1844, I had recommended my friend Thomas for appointment to the office of district attorney for the middle judicial district of the Territory. William G. Woodward of Muscatine was an applicant for the appointment, strongly endorsed and highly thought of by the Governor and by all who knew him. Another office to be filled by appointment was that of commissioner to superintend the erection of the new capitol. The name of my father-in-law, Judge Colman, among others, had been spoken of for the place. I had not recommended him. At a morning session of the Council one day, without a previous word to me, Governor Chambers came into the council chamber, and coming to my seat laid on my desk a paper containing the appointment of both, as a compliment to me, which I of course greatly appreciated.

The fourth state election was held October 26, 1846, at which I was elected a member of the Senate of the first

general assembly of the State, for a term of two or four years as the drawing in the classification of members at the beginning of the session should determine. I drew the term for four years. The first session convened at Iowa City, November 30, 1846, adjourned February 25, 1847, convened again in extra session January 3, 1848, and adjourned the 25th of the same month.

The second general assembly convened December 4, 1848, and adjourned January 15, 1849. No other extra session was held in the remainder of my term of service.

In the summer of 1849, and again in that of 1850, I was appointed special agent of the Post Office department, charged with the duty of visiting the post offices of Wisconsin, collecting the government money in those offices and transferring it to St. Louis, which occupied me several weeks in each of those years.

In May, 1851, I was appointed by President Fillmore Register of the United States Land office at Fairfield, Iowa, and served until May, 1853, after which in November following I removed with my family back to Wapello, remaining in Wapello a year or two. I thence removed to Columbus City township for the twofold purpose of improving my health (which had become somewhat impaired by confinement to official duty) by more out door exercise, and of indulging a partiality I had for farming by opening some farms on some lands I owned near the town of Columbus City.

In 1854 I was elected to the office of prosecuting attorney for the county, and on the death of Wright Williams became ex-officio county Judge, to which office I was elected in 1855.

In 1856 I was appointed one of the delegates of Iowa to the first National Convention of the Republican party held at Philadelphia, on June 17 of that year. That convention was a notable gathering of earnest, patriotic men. Among them such names as Gen. Banks and Henry Wilson

of Massachusetts, Judge Kelley and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, E. B. Washburne of Illinois, Henry S. Lane of Indiana, and a long roll of the leading men of the country. The key note of the convention was struck by Henry S. Lane in a specimen of western eloquence with which on taking the chair he electrified and thrilled it. General Fitz Henry Warren was a member, and of course chairman of our delegation. I was one of the Vice Presidents.

An event connected with the convention of, as I think, great significance to the country, though but little perhaps thought of and less spoken of since, occurred in its proceedings. The nomination of Fremont was a foregone conclusion. But who was to be the candidate for Vice President? The Illinois delegation, headed by Washburne of Galena proposed and earnestly advocated the name of Abraham Lincoln. How fortunate for the country that the friends of Mr. Lincoln failed to nominate him for second place on a ticket destined to defeat, the effect of which might not have been afterwards overcome.

Curiously enough an episode at the hotel where we stopped occurred personal to Henry Wilson and me. When we were introduced and he had learned my name, "Are you," he asked, "the Francis Springer who once taught a school in the town of Farmington, New Hampshire, which I attended as a pupil about the year 1831?" "Yes," I said, "and I have some recollection of a pupil by your name;" and I might have added that I was not prepared to say whether the attraction that brought him to the school (he was not I think a resident of the district) was the character of the school or the presence as a pupil of a beautiful young lady whose name was Wilson, probably a cousin.

In the autumn of the same year, at a general rally of the republicans of the county near Columbus City, I was proposed as a candidate to represent the county in the Constitutional Convention to be held at Iowa City in Jan-

uary, 1857, and was elected at the November election, 1856. The convention, composed of thirty-six members, convened at Iowa City, January 25, and adjourned March 5, 1857. The caucus of republican members for nominating officers was held the night preceding the day of meeting of the convention. Circumstances made me late in reaching the city, as I think, not until after the caucus had been held. I do not know that I knew of its action until the next morning, when I was informed of my nomination for President of the Convention. It was a position unsought and unsolicited by me. My impression is that the vote of the caucus was a unit in favor of my nomination, no other member having been proposed.

The election of the nominees for the several official positions occurred on the second day, the republican members voting for me, the democratic for Judge J. C. Hall.

In 1858 I was elected to the office of Judge of the district court of the first judicial district for a term of four years, and took my seat on the bench at Burlington at the January term, 1859. To this office I was re-elected in 1862, and again in 1866, and served in it until November, 1869, when I resigned to take the office of collector of internal revenue for the first collection district of Iowa, made vacant by the resignation of General Belknap to become secretary of war in President Grant's cabinet. In this office I served until the autumn of 1876 when I was most willingly relegated to the rank of "high private."

In December, 1842, I was married to Miss Nancy R. Colman, daughter of Hon. John M. Colman of Iowa City, a native of Kentucky, her mother a native of Ireland. She was born at Terra Haute, Indiana, January 8, 1825, and died of pneumonia at Cimarron, New Mexico, November 12, 1874, while on a visit to her son Frank. By our union eight children were born, six sons and two daughters. Two of the sons first born died in infancy, and a little daughter at the age of two years. The fourth son,

Warren C. Springer, was drowned in the Iowa river, March 28, 1872, at the age of nineteen. Of the remaining children, Frank and Charles are lawyers residing in New Mexico; Arthur is a lawyer at Fort Worth, Texas; and the daughter, Nellie, is the wife of Hilton M. Letts and resides at the family homestead near Columbus Junction, Iowa.

COL. GEORGE GILLASPY.—He was a stalwart of the stalwarts, (I mean this in no political sense), in body, mind and manners. Evidently reared amid the surroundings of a somewhat rude life, without early or late opportunities of education, a rail-splitter, a wood-chopper, a bull-whacker, with a big head full of brains, he grew up to be one of the most noted men of the State. By a constant contact and struggle with the world, and a keen observation of men—he never wasted much time on books—he made himself a fair scholar, a public speaker of unusual force, and one of the most attractive talkers I ever heard. He had wonderful personal magnetism, and no one ever came into his presence but felt its influence. He possessed an inexhaustible fund of graphic and humorous illustrations, chiefly drawn from his own observation and wide experience. Although of a most genial nature, he occasionally made enemies, for he always spoke right out, and struck hard, seeming to throw the force of his great body into all his expressions. He was a born leader, and wherever he lived he was recognized as the chief man—wherever he sat was the head of the table. He was deeply interested in the welfare of Ottumwa, and became so identified with all its public projects that no one ever heard the name of that place, but it at once recalled Gillaspy, and whenever he was referred to, one always thought of the busy, enterprising city of Ottumwa.—*Hon. Edward Johnston in Iowa State Register, January 21, 1882.*

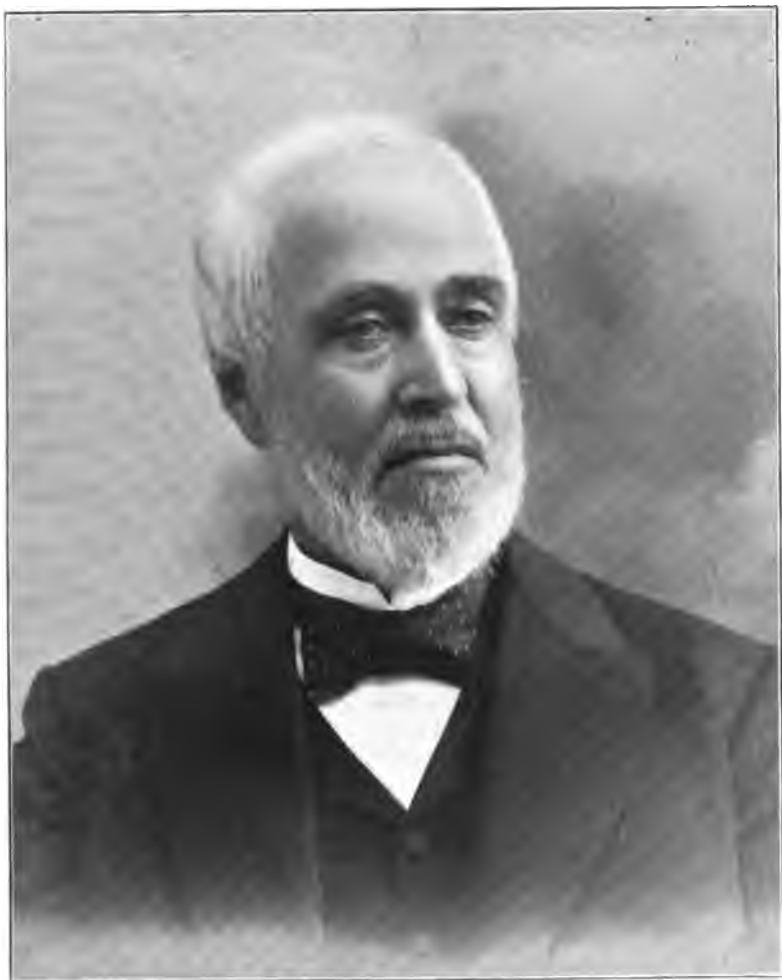
THE MORMONS IN IOWA.

BY HON. D. C. BLOOMER.

The plan of entering Iowa, either as travelers or permanent residents, was quite early entertained by the Mormon leaders. After their expulsion from Missouri, they were kindly received by the residents of Quincy, but having been expelled from two states, why could they not be driven from a third also? To provide for this possible emergency, Isaac Galland, an elder in the Mormon Church, in February, 1839, wrote to Robert Lucas, its then Governor, inquiring whether their people would be permitted to purchase lands, and settle in the territory of Iowa. His answer was well worthy an American citizen. He stated that he knew of no authority that could constitutionally deprive them of that right; that they were citizens of the United States, and were entitled to the same political rights and legal protection as other citizens; and that their religious opinions had nothing to do with our political transactions.

These kindly sentiments of Governor Lucas amounted to a strong condemnation of the way these people had been treated in Missouri, where they had been driven from their homes, cast into prison and some of them murdered.

Thus encouraged, a few families of the Mormon faith, after their expulsion from Missouri, settled in the extreme south-eastern corner of the Territory of Iowa in 1839 and 1840. Bishop Knight, for the Church, bought a part of the town site of Keokuk on the west bank of the Mississippi, and also the town site of Nashville six miles further up the river. A part of the site of Montrose, four miles further north, together with a large quantity of land in its vicinity was bought in the same way, and for the same purpose.



Yours Truly,
Dexter C. Bloomer

HON. D. C. BLOOMER.

Governor Lucas, writing to A. Ripley, January 4, 1840, referring to the Mormons, said: "Since their expulsion from Missouri, a portion of them—about one hundred families, have settled in Lee County, and are generally considered industrious, inoffensive and worthy citizens." These people were therefore the first Mormon residents of Iowa, and their settlement within its limits began in 1839. Governor Lucas appears to have been their warm friend and encouraged their presence.

Across from Montrose, on the east side of the Mississippi river was a little town called Commerce, then containing about twenty houses. It had been started by a company of New York speculators, but had not proved a fortunate venture, and they were glad to find a purchaser. The site was bought by the Mormons, who changed its name to Nauvoo, "from the Hebrew, which signifies beautiful, and the location actually fills the definition, for nature had not formed a lovelier spot on the banks of the river from New Orleans."

The "Saints" in large numbers then crossed the river, and settled in the new town. Joseph Smith came on from his prison in Missouri and declared Nauvoo to be thenceforward the seat of the Church. His power was then very great and his word was law to his followers. The people of Illinois were very friendly to the new comers. In 1840 the legislature granted them four very liberal charters for the government of the city. One was a city charter, another authorized the establishment of a university, another was for industrial purposes, and another for a military body to be called the "Nauvoo Legion." The town increased rapidly in population and the foundation of a new and magnificent temple was laid. Nearly all those who had been driven from Missouri took up their residence at Nauvoo or its immediate vicinity. Converts were gained all over the west and to some extent in the east also. Early in the year 1840, Brigham Young, H. C. Kimball,

Orson Pratt and Periy P. Pratt, left New York City on a mission to England, and soon people from over the ocean began to make their appearance in Nauvoo, having been converted by these missionaries to the Mormon faith. A writer in *The Salem (Ohio) Advertiser* who visited the city in 1843, exclaims, "Nauvoo is the best place in the world. Its facilities, tranquilities and virtues are not equaled in the world. No vice is meant to be tolerated, no grog-shop allowed, nor would we have any trouble, if it were not for the lenity in suffering the world to come in and trade and enjoy our society. Peace and harmony reign in the city. The drunkard is scarcely ever seen as in other cities, neither does the awful imprecation, or a profane oath, strike upon your ear; but while all is storm and tempest in comparison abroad, respecting the Mormons, all is peace and harmony at home."

As captivating as this picture seemed, yet trouble soon came to the residents in Nauvoo. Notwithstanding the favor at first shown by the people of Quincy and vicinity to their new Mormon neighbors, yet they soon got into trouble with them. The "Saints" were prosperous and increased in numbers. They were charged by the people around them with being arrogant and overbearing. Their city charter gave them large powers and they passed ordinances which almost set the laws of the state at defiance. Then came the revelation of July 12, 1843, permitting plurality of wives to the Mormon brethren, and this added new fuel to the hatred of the people around them. In June, 1844, the Governor of the State called on Smith to go to Carthage and deliver himself up to the civil authorities. In spite of the remonstrances of his friends, he complied, saying, "I am going like a lamb to the slaughter, but I am calm as the summer morning. I shall die innocent, and it shall be said of me: he was murdered in cold blood." He and his brother Hyrum were shot by a mob in Carthage on the 27th day of July, 1844.

At Nauvoo, the election of Brigham Young as President of the Church of Latter Day Saints followed soon after the death of Smith, and for awhile comparative peace reigned. The great temple was finished and dedicated. But the aroused enmity of the people around them did not cease. They did not like their neighbors, and the people of Quincy, their old-time friends, on the 22nd of September, 1845, in public meeting declared that further efforts to live in peace with the Mormons were useless. They said: "it is a settled thing that the public sentiment in the State is against them, and it will be in vain to contend against it, and it is their duty to obey the public will and leave the State as speedily as possible."

The Mormons themselves had come to recognize this state of public feeling. They saw that they could not much longer remain in this beautiful city of Nauvoo. As early as September 9th of the same year, a general council was held in the city, when it was resolved that a company of fifteen hundred men should be selected to go to Salt Lake Valley, and a special committee of five was also selected, to gather information on the subject of emigration. There is nothing to show that this company of fifteen hundred ever actually set out on the proposed journey.

When the resolutions of the Quincy meeting were communicated to the Mormons, they acquiesced in the demand that they should leave, but asked for further time. They said they could not set out so early in the spring when there would be neither food nor water for man or beast; but it was their full intention to go far enough away to be free from their enemies. They immediately began the sale of their property. Hundreds of farms and lots and two thousand houses were offered for sale in Nauvoo. The city was full of excitement. Sales of property were rapidly and hastily made. Wagons in great numbers were prepared, covered with canvas tops, and preparations made for the great exodus before them, the like of which

had never before occurred since the children of Israel left Egypt. In January, 1846, the order was made in Council that a detachment should immediately set forth. All could not go at once. Some must be left behind. As to these Brigham Young said: "Beloved brethren, it now remains to be proven whether those of our family and friends who are necessarily left behind for a season to obtain an outfit through the sale of their property, shall be mobbed, burned, or driven away by force." And in truth, all these things did happen to the poor people remaining in the town.

The actual crossing of the river into Iowa commenced on the 10th day of February, 1846. The people passed over with their teams and baggage in the river-craft then in use. At their head was Brigham Young himself, who directed all their movements, and with him were John Taylor, George A. Smith, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, Perly P. Pratt, and Amasa Lyman, all elders and leaders in the Mormon Church. The cold increased so that within a few days the river was frozen over and crossing was made on the ice. The entire transfer of the first emigration was not completed until May, when about sixteen thousand souls in all had stepped on Iowa soil. Their first camp was made at Sugar Creek, a few miles from Nauvoo. The snow covered the ground. After a few days rest they began their march toward the setting sun. In the long line were three thousand wagons, thirty thousand head of cattle and great numbers of horses, mules and sheep. Bad as were their surroundings, they were not despondent. Says elder John Taylor: "We were happy and contented, and the songs of Zion resounded from wagon to wagon, reverberating through the woods while the echo returned from the distant hill." There were stringed instruments in every company. Prayers, singing, dancing and story-telling, were intermingled around the evening camp-fires.

Provisions were plenty. Corn was 12 cents, wheat 25 to 35 cents per bushel, and as spring came on, there was plenty of pasture, while groves of timber, thickly scattered along the way, furnished abundance of fire wood. Above all, there was no enemy to molest, or make them afraid. They were in beautiful Iowa, which has never persecuted the Mormons or any other people.

Three weeks after leaving Nauvoo, they made their second stationary camp at Richardson's Point in Lee county. Leaving there, they moved on to Chariton river, and thence to Locust Creek, one hundred and fifty miles from the river. Garden Grove and then Mount Pisgah are reached. At the former place many located, and at both, farming settlements sprang up as if by magic. On the morning of the 23rd of April, the bugle sounded at Garden Grove and the men assembled to organize for labor. Soon hundreds were at work, cutting trees, splitting rails, making fences, building bridges and houses, plowing, and herding cattle. The same industrious scenes were also witnessed at Mount Pisgah, and these settlements were for years, resting-places for converts to the Mormon faith while on their way to the land of promise.

Turning back now to the remnant of these people left in Nauvoo, we find that trouble came to them from various directions. The people of Illinois were determined to get rid of them. They were assailed in various ways and their life became a burden. Finally, on the 7th of September they were told in decisive terms that they "must go." There was some fighting after that, but on the 17th of September, 1846, all the Mormons remaining, crossed the river into Iowa and the Gentiles took full possession. This last band was not very numerous, and the people comprising it were very poor. They huddled together at what was called "Poor Camp," about two miles above Montrose. They were without provisions and almost starving, and the Gentiles in Nauvoo took

pity on them, and sent them a moderate supply of clothing and provisions. Many were sick, shaking with ague, burning with fever, and compelled to take refuge from the storms under wagons and in the bushes. Just then, a quantity of quails fell in the camp, and all along the river for forty miles, which were gladly picked up and used for food. Some of the "Saints" thought it a miraculous interposition of Divine Providence in their favor. Heber C. Kimball was with this company, and he gives many touching incidents of the suffering of the people composing it. Finally, wagons were sent back from Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah, and in October, "Poor Camp" was deserted and its occupants started west to join their more fortunate brethren on the prairies of Iowa.

During the whole summer of 1846 the great Mormon migration was under way. All had turned their backs to the Mississippi and were traveling on toward the other great river which flowed along the western boundaries of Iowa. The wagons carrying the people and their effects were numbered by thousands and were scattered all along the way over the prairies, leaving small settlements in the groves, where future travelers could find a resting-place. Many had no teams or wagons and so made the toilsome journey on foot, dragging some sort of hand vehicle, or pushing wheelbarrows in which their few earthly effects were stored. There was much sickness on the way among the people, and not a few graves were left along the line of travel. But there was no complaining, for all had full faith in their mission and in their leaders, of whom Brigham was chief. His was an indomitable spirit, persevering and courageous, and knowing no such word as fail. Nothing like this great movement had ever before been seen on the continent, but it was reproduced in many of its features in subsequent years, when the same people, under many of the same leaders, reinforced by many recruits, made their way across the great plains beyond the Missouri to the mountains and valleys of Utah.



MORMON HAND CART TRAIN CROSSING THE IOWA PRAIRIES.

The first wagons reached the present limits of Council Bluffs on the 1st of July, 1846, and established their headquarters on the elevated plateau afterwards known as "Camp Kirkwood," where now stands the pleasant residence built by Dr. E. I. Woodbury, and situated just west of Mosquito creek. The trains and people camped around this point and in the broad valley of the Missouri beyond, and in the groves and bluffs bordering it on the east. Rev. Henry De Long, now a respected resident of Council Bluffs, was with the train, and tells me that the family and company with which he was connected, camped at Mynster Spring. Council Point and Traders' Point, some miles south of Council Bluffs, were then known as crossing-places on the Missouri. The Pottawattamie Indians were not yet all gone, and those remaining received the new comers with great kindness. At the settlements at Mount Pisgah and Garden Grove many remained and did not reach the Missouri that year. There was a lack of teams to bring them forward, and even those who had teams, and did not join in the grand march westward, were compelled to use them either in bringing forward the poor people from Nauvoo or in raising crops for their subsistence. At these places great privations were endured during the following winter, arising from lack of food and clothing, and at some places along the way many graves showed how severe the sickness and suffering had been.

At this time, 1846, the war with Mexico was in progress. Some important victories had been gained by our armies on the Rio Grande, but more troops were wanted. Plenty of men were offering to enlist, but for some reason, never fully disclosed, the Government determined, encouraged by Elder Little, to raise a battalion of troops among the Mormon emigrants in Iowa. Captain James Allen, First U. S. Dragoons, was directed to proceed to the west and carry out this plan. He reached Mount

Pisgah in June, and secured the consent of the Church leaders. He then came on to the Missouri, accompanied by Brigham Young, who, upon his arrival, issued an address to his followers in which he said: "If you want the privilege of going where we can worship God according to the dictates of our conscience, we must raise the battalion." That was enough. The volunteers were soon enlisted and sworn, in all, five companies of one hundred each. On the afternoon of the 19th day of July they held a ball which was conducted in quite primitive style, and all were happy; they were going to fight alike the battles of the Lord and their country. No higher motives could actuate human beings. The next day they started on their journey. Eighty women and children accompanied them, as also several elders of the Church. They marched through the country of their old enemies in Missouri, but were not molested by them, and they finally reached Fort Leavenworth on the 1st of August. There they received their arms and clothing; also each man forty dollars, which they sent home to their families by Elders Hyde and Taylor, who bid them goodbye and God speed in their future marches and trials.

Mrs. Snow, the Mormon poetess, says:

"And on the brave battalion went
With Colonel Allen, who was sent
As Officer of Government.
The noble Colonel knew
His 'Mormon boys' were brave and true;
And he was proud of his command
As he led forth his Mormon band."

A full history of the movements of this battalion has been written, but it is outside of my present purpose. Some of its members afterwards returned to Pottawattamie county, and among them William Garner, who became one of its most respected citizens and a large land proprietor.

The country on the west side of the Missouri was at this time in the possession of the Omaha, Pawnee and

Sioux Indians, with whose chiefs Brigham Young entered into negotiations. These were of such a favorable character that it was determined by Young and the other leaders to move over to that side of the river. The crossing commenced in August at a point near where the Union Pacific bridge now stands, and was continued until nearly the entire body of emigrants had passed over. They moved northward about six miles, and at first located in groves about three miles from the river, where they built a mill. Becoming afraid of Indian hostility, or from some other cause, they changed their quarters in the course of the autumn to a nice location on the banks of the river, which they named "Winter Quarters," and is now included within the corporate limits of the city of Florence. This spot they enclosed on its western side with a high, strong stockade and at the same time proceeded to erect huts and excavate "dug outs" in which to pass the coming winter. These were numbered by hundreds. Brigham Young, with his family, spent the winter in a large adobe hut. On the 6th of April at a meeting of the Church Council, it was determined to send an expedition to Salt Lake Valley, and on the 14th this expedition started with 73 wagons, 143 picked men, three women and two children, Brigham Young himself being their leader. It reached Great Salt Lake Valley on the 24th of July, and this region henceforth became the Zion of the Mormon Church. After remaining there a month or two, Young set out on his return to "Winter Quarters," reaching that camp on the last day of October.

The great body of the Mormons remained in "Winter Quarters," during the year 1847. They planted corn and other crops along the river and thus secured a good supply of provisions. The camp was in charge of the Bishops, who preserved good order, and no others were allowed to sell spirituous liquors. Some of them began to put in force the revelation of Joseph Smith permitting a plural-

ity of wives to the faithful; and it is said that John D. Lee had ten of them. There was much sickness in the camp and many burials. During the winter of 1847-8 at a Church Council held here in the big adobe occupied by Brigham Young, he was declared to be the president and head of the Mormon Church, and henceforth none dared to dispute his authority. His word was now the law to all the "Saints."

As the spring advanced preparations were made for another grand movement to the new land of promise in the Utah mountains. Young called upon all who could do so to go with him on his second expedition over the great plains. By the beginning of June, 1848, it was under way, and was composed of 623 wagons and 1891 men, women and children—but we cannot follow its course.

"Winter Quarters" was soon deserted. Those who could not go with Young, and their number was large, passed over the river into Iowa. They made their headquarters on Indian Creek, within the limits of the present city of Council Bluffs, where Orson Hyde had been stopping since his arrival on the Missouri. They spread themselves out over the adjacent country and a large part of the territory included in the present counties of Pottawattamie and Mills was soon occupied by them. The old block-house erected by the U. S. troops in 1839 near the Bryant Spring, appears to have been a central point, around which the heads of the Church fixed their residence. A large building had already been erected by Hyde, or under his directions, of logs and puncheons, on Harmony Street, and used for both religious and secular purposes. The "Saints" were generally fond of dancing, and frequent gatherings for that purpose were held in this building; nearly always begun with prayer, and as the women greatly outnumbered the other sex, two of them were commonly assigned as partners to each man. Farther east, on Hyde Street, on which Hyde himself resided,

another large building two stories high was also erected, which was used for public purposes, as a school house, and in later years as a Court House. The writer was admitted as an attorney, by Judge S. H. Riddle of the District Court, in this building, in 1855. Its floor consisted of a thick layer of saw-dust, and along its side and overhead it was covered with cotton sheeting. Another large church building on Pigeon Creek, some six or seven miles further north, was also erected, and along the banks of that creek, and over very nearly the entire territory now included in the counties of Pottawattamie and Mills, Mormon families took up their residence, and made their homes in nearly all the groves of timber scattered over them. They cultivated small tracts in the adjacent prairies, and cut down the trees and used the timber for their own purposes, without restraint from any one.

The cholera, in an exceedingly violent form, visited nearly all these Mormon settlements in 1849 and 1850. The people were but poorly prepared to meet it. They had little medicine and few physicians. Their residences were not conducive to good health. Moreover, they relied largely upon prayer and the direct interposition of Divine Providence to stay the terrible scourge. A great many deaths followed, especially in the principal points. At Kanessville, now Council Bluffs, many hundreds were stricken down and buried on the high rounded bluff, overlooking the Missouri valley for a long distance, and now included within the limits of Fairview Cemetery.

From their return from "Winter Quarters" in the spring of 1848, the territory now included within the counties I have named, was, for the next five years, in almost exclusive occupancy and control of the Mormons. They guided public sentiment, and all elections were decided as their leaders directed. Pottawattamie county was organized in September, 1848, but it was some time before any county officers were elected. Henry Miller in

1850, and Archibald Bryant in 1852, were selected as representatives to the General Assembly and sat in that body. James Sloane as District Judge, and F. Burdick, as County Judge, assumed their respective duties in 1851; and in the same year the County commissioners took charge of the fiscal affairs of the county. In 1850 the national census showed a population of 7,828. The present city of Council Bluffs was then known as Kanesville, and by that name a Postoffice was established in 1848, with Evan M. Green as Postmaster; but it was four or five years before mails began to arrive regularly. *The Frontier Guard* was established in 1848 by Elder Orson Hyde, and was conducted by him for the next four years. This was the first newspaper printed in western Iowa. A. W. Babbitt started *The Bugle* in 1850, and printed it for three years, when it passed into the hands of J. E. Johnson. Both were full-fledged Mormons. This A. W. Babbitt, along with Elder Hyde, had an election poll opened in November, 1848, at which 527 votes were given for General Taylor, and 42 for General Cass, for President of the United States. These votes were never counted, having in some way been kept out of the hands of the State canvassers. For the part Hyde and Babbitt had taken in this election, they were severely called to account by the Church Council in Salt Lake; Hyde submitted to the censures of the Church, but Babbitt refused. Some seven years afterwards, while on his way to Salt Lake City with a valuable train he was killed by the Indians; but there was strong suspicion that some of the Danite bands from among the Mormons had something to do with it.

During the years succeeding 1848, even down to 1860, large parties of Mormon recruits came on from the east and made Council Bluffs their temporary stopping-place and outfitting point. However, they soon continued on their long journey toward the mountains, although some members in each company were left behind, and thus the

town gained, somewhat slowly, in permanent population. I remember very well a most pitiful sight in 1855, when one of these companies, consisting of several hundred men, women and children, came in on foot dragging their effects in hand-carts procured in Iowa City for their use. Many women were hauling them along, like so many beasts of burden. It was then late in the season but they crossed the river and continued their tramp westward. Many lost their lives, and others suffered terribly before they reached the end of their journey.

Polygamy, which had been authorized, as we have seen, by Joseph Smith, through a so-called Divine revelation, was quite extensively practiced in Iowa during the early residence of the Mormons. Some of them had taken a plurality of wives before they left Nauvoo, and they added to this number in their new homes. Others followed their example. In Kanesville, many of the well-to-do men—and no others were allowed to have them—had several wives. Elder Hyde set the example and his dwelling was well supplied. I have already referred to John D. Lee with his ten wives at "Winter Quarters." George A. Smith, who had his residence in the valley, just beyond the present eastern limits of Fairmont Park, in Council Bluffs, had seven, while Mr. Miller, who opened several farms adjacent to Stringtown on the bottoms, had four or five whom he kept at work in his fields during the summer; and many others of the "Saints" had a plurality of wives "sealed" to them. This most abhorrent practice continued during the years 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851 and 1852, but in the last of these years, the Gentiles began to come in, and those who indulged in it either left for Salt Lake Valley with their families, or quietly set aside their surplus wives, and not much more was heard of polygamy, even among the "Saints" who remained in the State. The Code of Iowa, which then and now contains the singular provision that no prosecution

for adultery can be commenced but on the complaint of the husband or wife, is said to have been enacted under Mormon influence. It fitted their case exactly.

The Mormons while in Iowa, were guilty of very few offenses against the laws, and seldom resorted to civil tribunals for settlement of their differences. In fact, no court existed among them until 1851. The Bishops had a general oversight over their followers, and their decisions and directions were quietly acquiesced in. Orson Hyde, here on the Missouri, was the supreme arbiter and head of the Church, and no one thought of questioning his authority. This pastoral condition of the community was greatly disturbed when the emigration to the gold regions in California commenced in 1850. Then Kanessville became the principal starting point of those who passed through Iowa on their way to the rich mines in the far distant west. They overran the town to a large extent and troubled the "Saints" who dwelt in it a good deal. It was still worse when the miners came back with plenty of gold dust. Gambling dens and drinking houses were opened, and vice in various forms became prevalent. The Mormons protested but could not help themselves. Gentiles also began to make their appearance as permanent residents in considerable numbers, and trading houses were opened in the log buildings along the rough streets. It was full time for the "Saints" to leave.

Each year following their return to Iowa in 1848 large parties had left for the Utah valleys. The leaders of the Church had persistently urged this course upon all their people, but it was not until 1852 that this duty was made more imperative. Salt Lake City was the new Zion and thither all true "Saints" must bend their steps. Then a general exodus began, Elder Hyde discontinued his paper and led out the emigrants over the plains. This continued for several years before the great body of the people were gone. The Mormons sold out their little

farms, gardens and rude buildings for trifling amounts. Teams and wagons were in great demand, and the incoming Gentiles exchanged them for whatever the people had to sell.

But all did not go, for Mormonism like every other Christian organization, had its divisions and dissensions. Some rebelled against the supremacy of Brigham Young in the Church. Others repudiated the polygamous practice injected into the Church and adopted by its leaders, in spite of the positive injunction of the Book of Mormon itself. These last altogether set aside and condemned the pretended revelation which justified polygamy, and they refused to go forward with the general emigration to Utah. They remained in Iowa, Illinois and Missouri, and perhaps in some other states, in considerable numbers. Joseph Smith, Jr., is now the recognized head of this branch of the Mormon faith. It has a comfortable church building in Council Bluffs, and a respectable congregation connected with it, and each year Smith visits it and holds a general conference largely attended, of all the "re-organized churches of the Latter Day Saints." There are several other organizations of the same character in this part of the State, so that Iowa still has a respectable number of Mormons among its population. They are orderly, law-abiding people, good citizens and neighbors, their only peculiarity being that they accept the book of Mormon as of equal authority with the Holy Scripture. They fully believe that Joseph Smith was an inspired prophet and leader, and that he gave his life as a testimony to the truth of his revelations.

The headquarters of this branch of the Mormon faith is at Lamoni, in Decatur county, the residence of Smith, who is represented to be a worthy citizen. The Church at that place is large and influential. Here is located Graceland College, with a goodly number of students, in charge of competent teachers and professors, and in which

the peculiar features of the Church are upheld. *The Saints' Herald*, a handsome three-column weekly paper, is printed at Lamoni, and is the "official publication of the re-organized Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints." Its pages are filled with articles very similar to those generally found in the religious papers of the country. The copy of this paper now before me contains communications from Iowa, Victoria, Michigan, Ohio, West Virginia, Alabama, Illinois, Wisconsin and other states, indicating the wide extent to which this branch of the Mormon belief has spread over the country. In Pottawattamie county there are seven distinct church organizations connected with it, and the total membership in the State is placed at six thousand.

COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA, December, 1896.

IOWA FIFTY YEARS AGO.—The first election under the state constitution was held on the 28th of October, 1846, when Ansel Briggs was chosen governor. The first general assembly of the State met at Iowa City on the 30th of November and fifty years ago, December 30, Ansel Briggs took his oath of office, which was administered by Hon. Charles Mason, chief justice of the territory. Silas A. Hudson, of this city, was chief clerk of the house of representatives of the first general assembly, and though infirm in body retains at the age of more than four score years his mental faculties and a good memory of the early days, with his old patriotic devotion to the cause of the country and good government.—*Burlington Hawkeye*.

ALL our Western troops have been heroes, but the Iowa troops have been heroes among heroes. The "Iowa First," "Iowa Second," "Iowa Fourth" and "Iowa Seventh" are bodies of men who would have given an additional luster even to Thermopylae, Marathon, Austerlitz or Wagram. Iowa may be proud of her sons and all Americans may be proud of Iowa.—*St. Louis News*, May, 1862.



IRA COOK.
From a recent photograph.

GOVERNMENT SURVEYING IN EARLY IOWA.

BY IRA COOK.

It has occurred to me that it would be well to preserve in THE ANNALS some facts and incidents connected with the Government surveys in our State, and with this end in view I propose to relate some of my own experiences.

Except immediately along the Mississippi and in a few localities on some of the larger streams, these surveys preceded the settlement of the country, so that the deputy surveyor who had a contract to survey a given district generally found himself beyond any settlement, and, as a consequence, must carry with him his house (tent) and his supplies of provisions and complete outfit for a trip extending, in some cases, over many months. It followed, of course, that he was obliged to restrict himself and his men to the simplest necessities of food and clothing. A barrel or two of salt pork, flour in barrels, navy beans, with sugar, coffee, salt and pepper, made up the sum of our larder. For bedding we had rubber blankets, buffalo robes and heavy woolen blankets. With these we could keep both warm and dry.

A surveying party would consist of either six or eleven men, depending upon whether it was intended to use one or two instruments. First, the surveyor, then two chainmen and an axeman or mound-builder, made up the field party; a cook and teamster completed the party. This would allow us one extra man in case of sickness of any of the party, or we could use him as a flagman when needed.

My first experience was in the fall and winter of 1849 and 1850. By purchase I became the half owner of a contract to sub-divide ten townships, our district being within

the present limits of Decatur and Ringgold counties, then a long way west of any settlements. Myself and partner, Colonel John Evans, left Davenport early in September, 1849, going by way of Muscatine and thence to Fairfield, and so on west, crossing the Des Moines river in Van Buren county, and so by way of Bloomfield in Davis, where we tarried for a day to recruit our stock of provisions, as this was our last chance—for soon after leaving that town we left the settled portion of the country.

Not far from Bloomfield we struck what was called the "Old Dragoon trail," leading from Camp Des Moines, at the head of the lower rapids in Lee county, to Fort Leavenworth. This was a help to us, as on it we found fords which enabled us to cross the numerous streams which abound in southern Iowa. On Grand river we found a Mormon town, called Mount Pisgah. I think this must have been in the southern part of what is now Clark county. There were about twenty families here. It was a sort of half-way place between Nauvoo and the Missouri river. They (the Mormons) had been driven out of Nauvoo and (many of them were too poor to go further) made this a resting place, built log cabins and wintered and summered here, raising a crop and then moving on toward the promised land, to be succeeded by others.

We were overtaken here by the "Equinoctial storm" and were detained some days on account of high water in the streams. We employed several of these men to go with us and thus completed our party of eleven men. After leaving Mount Pisgah we saw no more white men for many months.

In due time we reached our contract and commenced work, but we had consumed two weeks and more in getting there. I have gone into these details in order to show to the present generation what their early predecessors, as pioneers and employes of the Government, underwent in order to prepare this great State of Iowa to become what

it is to-day. It took time and patience and sturdy manhood to do what was necessary to bring about subsequent results. Many times we were confronted by a broad, deep river, some of the numerous branches of the Grand or Missouri Platte, no bridge, no ford, and but very limited means at our command to overcome the obstacle. All the same the job was there and we must cross, with horses, wagon and camp equipage, provisions, etc. Sometimes we would look for two large cottonwood trees on opposite sides of the stream. These we would cut down, so that they would meet and overlap each other in mid-stream, thus forming a foot bridge. Over this we would transport our movables; then we would swim the horses over; then with chains and ropes so fasten the axles and wheels of our wagon to the box that they would float; then when that was floated to the other shore hitch the horses to the end of the wagon tongue and, with the aid of the strong arms of the men, land the same on the bank, load up and go on our way rejoicing.

I remember one occasion of this kind where we had hardly accomplished the crossing when night settled down upon us. Too tired to put up our tent, we ate a cold bite, maybe had a cup of coffee with it, and then every man seized his blanket and, picking out the softest spot that he could find, lay down for the night. My own bed was at the foot of an oak tree, using the root for a pillow. As this was my first experience of this kind, I remember I thought it rather tough, but I soon got used to that sort of thing.

The time covered by my service as a government surveyor was from 1849 to 1853, and of all the men then engaged as brother surveyors, with whom I was acquainted and more or less intimate, I can not now recall a half dozen that are living. Our work was hard, our days long; in winter or summer we were at work in the morning as soon as we could see, worked as long as we could see at

night, and then tramped to camp by moonlight or starlight, often for many miles. We lived on bread, salt pork, beans and coffee. Occasionally we would vary it by the capture of wild game. On this trip I remember one of the boys shot a deer, and once we found a "bee-tree" containing several gallons of honey; and once, with the aid of a big dog, a jack staff and a convenient snow bank, we captured a two hundred and fifty pound wild hog. Incidents of this kind helped not only our larder, but also broke the monotony of our lives.

We completed our work in January, 1850, broke camp and started for home. In order to have the benefit of the settlements in Missouri we travelled directly south, and on the first night of our homeward journey occurred an incident which I will relate as showing what men can endure in the way of cold, when inured to it by long exposure. We reached Platte river at nightfall, but found no timber in which to camp, only some scattering trees for firewood, and the ground frozen so hard that we could not put up our tent. We built a good, big fire, got supper, drew the wagon up so as to form a wind-break and camped down between it and the fire. We were painfully aware that it was cold, very cold, but just how cold we could not tell. Next day before noon we reached a settlement in Gentry county, Missouri, and, making inquiry as to the temperature that morning, were informed that the thermometer registered 31 degrees below zero!

I spent seven months of 1851, and January, 1852, in Wisconsin. For some months I worked in the heavy timber and swamps between Wisconsin river and Wolf river. This was really on the divide between the waters of the Mississippi and the Great Lakes, as the Wisconsin runs to the Mississippi and the Wolf river into Green Bay. The timber, both on the high lands and in the swamp, was so dense that a good square look at the face of the sun was a rare sight. As we progressed with our

work the country become impassable for a wagon. We left that, and being provided with pack-saddles, loaded our camp equipage on the horses, but not for long, and soon we left the horses and only carried what we could on our backs. Necessarily our rations shrank more and more, until on one occasion I remember we were reduced for a day and a half to *salt pork and coffee*. During this time there happened one of the saddest incidents in my experience in this work.

In the district adjoining mine on the east, a brother of the late Hon. Platt Smith, of Dubuque, was at work. One night we had a terrible thunder storm and hurricane. Mr. Smith had been over to my camp the Sunday before and I knew about where he was at work. The second day after the storm I found his camp, or, rather, where it had been the night of the storm, and right across the spot where his tent stood lay an immense basswood tree, uprooted by the storm. In looking around for some evidence of what had happened, we found a large beech tree, on the smooth bark of which the men had cut with a marking iron a brief history of what had happened. The particulars I learned afterward. They had camped early, got their supper and the men had all lain down for the night but Mr. Smith. He was tying his cravat to the tent pole when the storm struck them, blowing the large tree directly across their tent, killing instantly Mr. Smith and one of his men and crippling another for life. My party were so shocked and overcome by the tragedy that I doubt if a laugh was heard in my camp for a week afterwards.

Later that year I was at work further south on Fox River in the vicinity of the town of Berlin. We were now in a settled country and had more of a variety for our table. In January, 1852, I closed my work there and started home by the way of Dubuque. From Buffalo Lake, the head of Fox River, where we closed our work, to Dubuque was a good three hundred miles. People who know me now would

hardly give me credit as a "sprinter;" still I walked every mile of that three hundred except six.

Early in 1852 the United States commenced the location of the boundary line between Iowa and Minnesota. As soon as the commission was well under way, I was sent up there to close up and sub-divide Township 100. I think my district included five ranges in Allamakee and Winneshek Counties. My work was partly in that portion of those counties which a writer in a recent number of the "Midland Monthly" calls the "Switzerland of Iowa." Here among swiftly running streams, deep canons, mountainous hills and rocky precipices, I worked for two months and really here I had the most pleasant and enjoyable time of all my different trips. I found that the brooks and creeks were pretty well stocked with speckled trout. I had not seen one since a boy of ten years, and I could not resist the temptation to go after them. And go I did. For one whole week a cousin and myself whipped the streams, large and small. How many we captured I do not say, as I am not writing "Fish Stories," but it is enough to say that *we* were satisfied.

One incident that happened on this survey I must relate as a curiosity. The most of the land that was available had been taken up by squatters, and so there were a good many settlers in my district. This township 100 consists of five full sections north and south, but the sixth section was only about two or three chains wide, say eight to twelve rods. One day in running up one of my range lines I struck a man's farm. It was partly in Iowa and partly in Minnesota. When I was through with running my lines, his cultivated land was situated in two States, four townships and six sections! I thought he was pretty well scattered.

My work completed, we came down to Lansing, expecting soon to get a steamboat for Dubuque. We were, however, informed that there would not be a boat down



IRA COOK,
U. S. Government Surveyor, from an old Daguerreotype.

for five days. This was a good while to wait, with the wages and board of five or six men going steadily onward; so I decided to build a boat of my own. I bought two Indian canoes about twelve feet long, some two-by-fours and enough lumber to deck my craft. We lashed the canoes firmly side by side, decked them over, loaded our traps, and we *seven* men stepped on board. When we were all on board, we had not more than four inches between the surface of the water and the top of the canoes, but the craft was as steady as a seventy-four gun ship and we pulled out and made the trip to Davenport in safety.

In September, 1852, the Surveyor General, Hon. George B. Sargent, sent me to sub-divide a district comprising ten townships, pretty well up on the head waters of the Raccoon river, now comprised in the counties of Carroll and Sac. At that time this district was many miles beyond the limits of white settlements and was the home of the elk, the deer and the wolf. My home was then in Davenport, and, with my company of ten men, I made the trip to Des Moines on foot, my one pair of horses being sufficiently loaded with our supplies, camp equipage, etc. Here at Des Moines we spent a day replenishing our stock of provisions and necessaries for the long months we expected to spend on the prairies. Down on Second street, well toward the lower end, I found B. F. Allen with a general stock of merchandise, of whom I made my purchases.

Having now more "plunder" than my team could haul, I procured the services of our genial fellow-citizen, Ed. R. Clapp, to aid me in getting my "traps," including corn for my horses, up to my district. Ed. was not the millionaire then that he is now, but he was the same whole-hearted, good fellow that the citizens of Des Moines have known all these years. At the crossing of Walnut Creek, he suggested that a farmer at that point was famous for the "water-

melons" he raised, and, of course, we all wanted some. We could find no one about the premises, but Ed. said we must have the melons, and, as he knew the way to the "patch," we soon increased the weight of our wagon-load. Ed. said something about stopping on his return and settling the bill, but I guess it is pretty safe to say that he came back by the other road.

About two miles beyond the present town of Panora, which had then just been surveyed and platted, there lived a squatter by the name of Van Order. His cabin of rough logs was occupied by himself, wife and a half-grown son. I mention this man and his little cabin because we had to do with them later. Here we left a barrel of pork and a barrel of flour, to be sent for when needed. From this point we would have no traveled roads, portions of the way were rough, and it became necessary to lighten our loads. On the third day after leaving Des Moines we reached our destination and found on the prairie a "Township Corner" that marked the beginning of my district. Here we camped, unloaded Clapp's wagon and the next morning, bright and early, he started on his lonely ride home.

For the next three or four months we worked early and late, in sunshine and storm; amid rain, sleet and snow we toiled on, but we had glorious appetites and our rations of bread, beans, salt pork and coffee never went begging, but were eaten with a hearty relish; and although we slept in a tent without other fire than that out of doors, and with the mercury often down below zero, yet we did sleep, and sleep well.

I will here relate a discovery we made, and to us it was wonderful as showing the instinct, sagacity and almost human intelligence of an animal. This was a beaver dam across the main branch of the Raccoon river. This dam was by measurement one and one-half chains (six rods) in length. Built with the skill of an engineer, diag-

onally across the stream from one high point to another, the breast of this dam was *four feet high*, constructed of trees from *two to five inches* in diameter, built as children build cob houses, a course up and down the stream, then a course crosswise, and so on until the required height was reached. These were filled in with smaller limbs and with clay until it became sufficiently tight to retain the water. We used this dam as a bridge for a week and never crossed it, that we did not wonder at, and admire the almost human sagacity of this little animal.

After New Year's, 1853, the cold became too intense even for us, hardened to cold as we were. Then our provisions were getting very low, and only that we found a camp of beaver trappers in a large grove on the river, from whom we were able to purchase venison, we would have been out entirely. Then, I should not wonder if we were getting "homesick." Think of it. For four months we had not heard one word from the outside world. A presidential election had been held and we had no word of the result. We decided to break up camp, go home and come back in the spring and finish up. We were about two and a half day's fair travel from Van Order's cabin, and, taking an inventory of stock, found we had just three days' rations. The first day we made good progress, after packing up, fully one-third of the way. The second morning the weather looked threatening, but we made an early start, following down the "divide" between the middle and south forks of the 'Coon river. About nine o'clock it began to snow and in a very short time the air was so full that we could no longer see our course. As a matter of safety, we turned down into the timber and camped on "Middle 'Coon." This was on Saturday. It snowed all day, and the most of that night, and Sunday morning we awoke to find two feet of snow covering woodland and prairie. I saw trouble ahead and directed the cook to boil the remainder of our

slender stock of beans, and make up what flour we had left into biscuits. When we had done this, I put the whole into the "camp chest," locked it and put the key in my pocket, gravely informing the boys that I was commissary-general for the rest of that campaign.

Monday morning we dug our way out of the snow, crossed the river on the ice, and started on our weary, weary way home. The men were formed in two lines and broke a path for the horses and wagon. When the leaders were exhausted, (remember the snow was knee-deep) they would step outside and the next two men take their places as "breakers," the former leaders falling in behind. And so for three days we worked steadily, but our progress was slow. The days were short and much time (nearly one-half) was consumed going back and forth to the timber for camping purposes. On the morning of the seventh day we decided to leave our wagon. The horses had nothing but hazel brush to eat and were getting weak. The seventh day was warm and pleasant and the sun melted the snow considerably. That night we camped at the mouth of Willow Creek, in Guthrie county. We had no tent or shelter, but at dark the weather was not cold, and with a good fire we were fairly comfortable. We made coffee, ate a biscuit apiece and congratulated each other that we were doing so well. However, about nine o'clock the wind shifted suddenly into the northwest and blew almost a gale, growing colder each minute, and for the rest of that night we were not very comfortable, but we had enough fire to keep us from freezing. At four o'clock next morning the cook made a pot of strong coffee and distributed the very last of our food, which consisted of one small biscuit (then five days old) and one very small spoonful of cold boiled beans to each, and long before daylight we were tramping over the prairie by moonlight, nine men in a string, breaking the frozen crust of the snow to make a path for the horses and the two other men, (one

sick, the other the cook, a cripple) who rode the horses. In this way we traveled until about eleven o'clock, when, ascending a high divide, we saw, several miles to the south of us, a house on the prairie and knew that our troubles were nearly over. We stopped that night with the settler and the next day before noon were at the cabin of Van Order.

We opened that barrel of flour and that barrel of pork in a hurry and set Mrs. Van Order to work, and for six days, and I may say nights, that blessed woman worked incessantly trying to fill up eleven empty men! The old man was a "mighty hunter" and deer, turkeys, prairie chickens and other game hung dangling from every ridgepole of his cabin. We were able very shortly to reduce the stock on hand, while our flour and pork were as greatly enjoyed by these good people, who had seen nothing but corn bread and wild game for months.

Here I hired a man with an ox team to go after my wagon, and when he returned, having pretty well recruited our horses, we started on our homeward journey and arrived safely, without any further incident of note.

This trip closed my career as a government surveyor.

DES MOINES, November, 1896.

THE Board of Trustees of the Iowa Lunatic Asylum met at Mt. Pleasant last week and made arrangements for the speedy building of the institution for the reception and care of patients. H. Winslow, who has been superintendent of the building, was appointed steward, over Judge Wayne of Keosauqua.—*Ottumwa Courier*, January 2, 1861.

D. C. BLOOMER, Esq., of Council Bluffs, has been elected a member of the State Board of Education by a large majority, in a district opposed to him in politics—a fine compliment to his abilities and most worthily bestowed.—*Ottumwa Courier*, January 2, 1861.

MARGARET McDONALD STANTON.

BY MRS. DORA SAYLES OSBORN.

First on the roll of honor of the State should be placed the names of its successful teachers, those who have given to its youth, its future citizens, not only the material elements of an education, but also those high ideals of life, those lofty ambitions which are of inestimable value in the formation of character.

The trustees of the Iowa Agricultural College were peculiarly fortunate in the selection of the first faculty. President A. S. Welch, of revered memory, who gave the best years of his life to laying broad and deep the foundations of the institution which is now a lasting monument to his wise forethought; Dr. W. H. Wynn, still an honored member of its working force; Dr. C. E. Bessey, of national reputation as a scientist, and others, who in various ways left a lasting impress on its future.

Of them all, and, indeed, of all who have come and gone in the twenty-five years following, not one has been more closely or honorably identified with the history of the college than the late Mrs. Margaret M. Stanton, who came in the flush of young womanhood, as a member of this first faculty, being preceptress and teacher of French and English.

Margaret McDonald was born in New Concord, Muskingum county, Ohio, October 22, 1845, and died at her home at the Iowa Agricultural College, Ames, Iowa, July 25, 1895. Eighteen years of her life were spent in her native State at a time of great national peril, and in a region where feeling on the slavery question ran high. Her naturally strong character was deeply influenced by the stirring events of the time, her innate sense of justice being crystallized



Mrs. Margaret M. Stanton.

THE LATE MRS. MARGARET M. STANTON
Of Iowa Agricultural College.

into a life-long hatred of injustice or oppression in any form, and her thoughtful mind filled with a love for humanity and a lasting trust in the God of Nations.

After leaving the public schools she spent three years in Muskingum College; but, the family home being transferred to Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, her collegiate education was completed at Mt. Pleasant Seminary, where she graduated with honor, having been in study as in everything else, ambitious and thorough.

Her career as a teacher began in the public schools and she spent her vacations in an educated French family, diligently pursuing the study of their language. In 1871 she was elected to the chair which she so ably filled in the Agricultural College. These were pioneer days in the college, and added to the usual trials incident to the establishment of such an enterprise were those which arose from the fact that industrial education, and co-education in great institutions, were both in the experimental stage. How much the counsel of a noble, unselfish, brave and tactful woman was worth in those first trying days, it would be impossible to tell. Dr. Wynn, her associate, says of her at that time: "When I first entered upon my work here, I found her department lying closely contiguous to my own, and had frequent occasion to carry my perplexities, and plans, and class-room complications to her, and I never found her judgment at fault. Her intuitions were quick and unerring, and with a slight hesitancy of speech, which we all tenderly remember, she always sought out the best advice in the best words. Who ever knew her to go wrong or lose her womanly equipoise, or let her feelings, often visibly disturbed, run into the railing of anger, or the bitterness of spite? We seem now to see her all along those years, a model woman, to whom young men and women brought the story of their trials, and from whose presence they never went away unprofited, and back to whom, in any time of difficulty and distress, they were always glad to

resort. Pre-eminently did these transcendent traits of character appear, when she moved among the faculty, and addressed herself to her share of responsibility, grave and heavy at all times, in the management of this great college; and there was no part of the difficult regime with which she might not have been trusted."

It is certainly largely due to her wise management that co-education was here successful, that the college has always had a goodly proportion of young women among its students, and that the fields of higher education are here open to them on the same basis as to men.

Though always very successful in class-room work, her greatest influence lay in her social relations with the students. She impressed her personality upon them to a remarkable degree, so that they remember her as an ideal character more than for the innumerable kind acts which marked her career among them. In testimony of this, letters came to her bereaved husband from far and near, uniformly expressing an appreciation of the lasting influence she had exerted on the lives of the writers. They call her "a model woman"—"an ideal character"—"an example to be emulated"—"a mother to hundreds of students"—"one of the agencies by which Dr. Welch sought to build character in young people"—"a devout Christian whose life exemplified the great truths of the Christian religion."

Not only mindful of the larger and more public duties, she never forgot the little courtesies which make life sweet. Burdened with an unusual responsibility for one so young, her helpful care over the parental home was never lessened. The struggles of the good parents to establish a new home in a new state, were lightened by generous aid and loving interest, while the education and encouragement of the younger children was to her a sacred duty. After her marriage to Prof. E. W. Stanton, which occurred February 22, 1877, she continued her college work

for two years, when she voluntarily resigned in order to establish a home; but her interest and influence continued, while her home became not only a hallowed spot to its inmates but a power and a blessing in the community. It was a Mecca to the old student revisiting *Alma Mater* toward which his footsteps always turned, and where he found an abiding interest and affection most grateful amid the constantly changing scenes of college life.

That this feeling was shared by those who came to know her in later years is beautifully shown by the tribute from Dr. Beardshear, in his address at the memorial exercises: "Home life is capable of infinite expansion and variation. It nourishes and yet reveals life and character. The cardinal virtues that had made her so much in the profession of teaching, now had a larger realm for her as wife and mother. The years of her married life gained double meaning by the birth of four children, three of whom live with the father on earth and one with the mother in Heaven. She brought to the home an intuition which was almost unerring. To woman's proverbial intuition, she had an added gift that made her judgment of men and things of vast practical value to herself and family. Coupled with it was an independence of thought and decision of character that made her a tower of strength to all the members of the family and to the community. Her love and devotion to the family were most beautiful. Her thought was always of others and not of herself. Her clearness and firmness of judgment freed her of many cares and worries that so often fret the life and tire the soul. Her patience and endurance surpassed every demand and rendered her a fountain of never-failing strength and cheer. It kept out impatient words and brought whole trains of happy scenes and joyful hours. Her entire home life was most happy and markedly free from anything that would mar or sadden. She believed with Ruskin, that—'Our God is a household God, as well as a

heavenly one; he has an altar in every man's dwelling', and to this altar she daily led her household and at this altar gave them her final good-byes and consecrations for the years to come. She was a noble wife and the truest of mothers."

The beautiful Woman's Building which was first occupied a week before her death has been named "Margaret Hall" in honor of her, and in her memory her husband has presented to the college a magnificent chime of bells whose silver tones will hourly speak to future generations, in a harmony symbolizing that to which her life was tuned.

THE emigration to Iowa the present season will far exceed that of any former year since our rich bottom lands and wide spread prairies were first thrown open to settlement. Every road leading into the great valley of the Des Moines is blocked up with emigrant wagons, herds of moving stock, etc., slowly but surely wending their way to a home in this desirable country. Let them come, there is room, and to spare. Thousands of acres of as good and well situated land as the sun ever shone on, yet lie vacant in the new counties of the Des Moines Valley, which can be taken up, at \$1.25 per acre. The climate is mild and healthy, and it embraces as many if not more natural advantages than any country in the west. All that Iowa requires to make her one of the first States in the Union, is the early development of her giant resources. Strong arms and resolute hearts can do this. All such are welcome to our midst.—*Ottumwa Courier*, November 2, 1849.

CELEBRATION OF THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF THE STATE, AT BURLINGTON, OCT. 1-8, 1896.

BY WILLIAM SALTER, D. D.

Historian of the Celebration by appointment of State Commissioners.

The establishment of the State of Iowa was the work of the people of the Territory of Iowa, as set forth in the opening sentence of the Constitution of 1846, as follows:

"We, the People of the Territory of Iowa, grateful to the Supreme Being for the blessings hitherto enjoyed, and feeling our dependence on Him for a continuation of these blessings, do ordain and establish a free and independent government by the name of the STATE OF IOWA."

The work was not that of a single day, but of the whole year, and was carried forward by successive stages from month to month, in chronological order as follows:

1. January 18, 1846. Act of the Eighth Legislative Assembly of the Territory providing for the election of Delegates to a Convention which should form a Constitution for the future State.

2. April 6. Election of Delegates to the Convention.

3. May 4-19. Meeting of the Convention and adoption of a Constitution.

4. August 3. Ratification of the Constitution by vote of the people of the Territory.

5. August 5. Act of Congress defining the same boundaries as in the Constitution, and entitling the State to two representatives in Congress, and repealing the parts of the Act of March 3, 1845, which prescribed different boundaries and entitled the State to only one representative.

6. September 9. Proclamation of the Governor of Territory that the Constitution had received a majority of votes, and was ratified and adopted by the People.

7. October 26. Election of State officers, of members of the First General Assembly, and of two representatives in Congress.

8. November 5. Proclamation of the Governor of the Territory convening the General Assembly.

9. November 30. Meeting of the First General Assembly.

10. December 3. Ansel Briggs, first Governor of the State, took oath of office, administered by Charles Mason, Chief Justice of the Territory.

11. December 15. The Constitution of the State presented in the House of Representatives by Augustus C. Dodge, Delegate of the Territory in Congress.

12. December 17. Bill for the admission of Iowa into the Union reported in the House of Representatives by S. A. Douglas, of Illinois, Chairman of the Committee on Territories.

13. December 28. Act of Congress, "That the State of Iowa shall be one, and is hereby declared to be one, of the United States of America, and admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatsoever."

14. December 29. S. C. Hastings and Shepherd Leffler, representatives from Iowa, took their seats in Congress.

Up to the year 1846 the population of Iowa was confined to twenty-seven counties, all in the eastern portion of the State; the rest of the soil had remained in the occupancy of various Indian tribes. The census of that year reported a population of 102,388.

In the course of fifty years the population has increased more than twenty fold, and two millions of people, as active and intelligent as any upon the globe, a large proportion of them owners of the soil and tillers of their own acres, are now spread over the surface of the whole State in ninety-nine counties. The increase of agricul-

ture, of commerce and trade, the diffusion of the arts and sciences and of the comforts and blessings of civilization, the multiplication of homes and schools and churches and of busy towns and cities, and the new creation of wealth, that has here been effectuated, were never before equalled in a similar space of time in the whole history of the world.

Nothing then could be more fitting than that a people thus favored should honor the semi-centennial of the State with an appropriate celebration. To make it a Jubilee Festival was a commanding duty of the Present in memory of the Past for the instruction of the Future, and the whole Commonwealth concurred in the action of the Twenty-Sixth General Assembly appropriating ten thousand dollars for such a celebration, to be held at Burlington, provided that an equal amount was raised for the purpose by subscription or otherwise. This proviso was met by the citizens of Burlington, and under the direction and with the indefatigable exertions of the State Commissioners (Philip M. Crapo, of Burlington, John Scott, of Nevada, George C. Henry, of Burlington) and of the City Commissioners (Carl A. Leopold, John Blaul, Seymour Jones), the arrangements were completed for a grand gala-festival of eight days, which was held with pomp and pageantry, with music, oratory and poetry, with industrial shows, with ten thousand flags and banners, with decorated arches, with brilliant illuminations of streets and buildings, with a resplendent glare and blaze of fireworks three nights upon the Mississippi river, with balloon ascensions by a lady aeronaut, and other innumerable forms of instruction and amusement, from the first to the eighth day of October inclusive, with an entire change of program in the public exercises from day to day.

The President and Vice-President of the United States, the members of the cabinet, the Governors of all the States, the Iowa members of Congress, the Executive and Judicial

officers of Iowa, the former Governors, the members of the General Assembly, the officers of Des Moines County and of the City of Burlington, and many eminent citizens received special invitations to be present, while the Festival was free and open to all, and the whole people were invited to join in the Celebration and share in the joy. Every portion of the State responded, and all sorts and conditions of people and all employments and pursuits were represented in the crowds that came to Burlington, and thronged the streets and Crapo Park, and filled the Coliseum which had seats for five thousand persons, and in which on some days every foot of standing room was also occupied. Upon the wall back of the platform were placed the portraits of the Governors, Chief Justices, and other eminent men of the Territory and State, most of them from the "Aldrich Collection," in the State Historical Department at Des Moines. It was the first time these Historical Portraits have been exhibited together in one group. It required but little imagination to conceive of the venerable characters as looking down with benediction upon the vast assemblages that were gathered to honor their work in the building of the State.

The limits of this paper admit only a bare outline of the proceedings.

The first day was Governor's Day. It opened with a salute of twenty-nine guns, recalling the fact that Iowa became the twenty-ninth state of the Union fifty years ago. The "March of Progress" was indicated in a magnificent parade, conspicuous in which, and observed of all observers as recalling the days of old, was a band of Musquakie Indians, the aborigines of the soil, and a float bearing a faithful representation of "Old Zion," where the first Legislative Assemblies of the Territory of Iowa convened, 1838-'40. At the head of the procession were Governor Drake, Vice President Stevenson, followed by long lines of carriages containing former Governors

(Newbold, Gear, Sherman, Larrabee), State, County, and City officials, etc., etc., supported by a brilliant array of State troops, with bands of music, and veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic. In the afternoon the formal opening of the Celebration took place in the Coliseum with addresses by P. M. Crapo, President of the Commission, Mayor Naumann, in behalf of the City of Burlington, Governor Drake, and by S. H. M. Byers, poet, and Lafayette Young, orator of the day.

In the evening after a brilliant carnival of fire-works upon the river, a banquet was given at Hotel Delano to the Governor of Iowa, the Vice President of the United States, and other visitors. The Vice President said:

"Fellow citizens—I am confident that I voice the deep feeling of the people of the great State which lies across the Mississippi, when I say that Illinois rejoices with Iowa upon this her fiftieth anniversary. We rejoice with you in your wonderful development and prosperity, in the glory that is yours, as to-day you round out your first half-century as a State of the Federal Union. The twenty-ninth to seek admission, this historic day finds Iowa the ninth upon the list of commonwealths that make up the American republic.

"In all the steps that antedate admission you had the earnest cooperation of Illinois through her delegation in Congress; and fifty years ago, at her capital, twenty-nine guns voiced Illinois' congratulations to Iowa—her glad welcome into the Union; no longer a Territory, but a State; henceforth among all the ages 'an indestructible State of an indivisible Union.' How wonderful the progress of State and Nation during the half-century! How inspiring to those who in old age behold the glory of this day as memory brings before them the event we commemorate! Back through the vista of years is the frontier village upon the Mississippi, and the sparsely populated State whose western limit marked the border

line of civilization. To-day a splendid city—a magnificent State.

“This is the fitting place for the august ceremonies in which we are permitted to take part. Another half-century, and what wonders will meet the eyes of those who upon this historic ground shall celebrate the first centennial of the State! What has been wrought out amid the conflicts of the past is but an earnest of the achievements of the coming century. The American spirit is one that knows no rest. In the words of Macaulay. ‘The goal of to-day is but the starting-post for to-morrow.’ Grateful to God for the successes, the achievements, the blessings of the past, the people of this great Commonwealth to-day turn their faces resolutely, hopefully to the future.”

The Second day was “Old Settlers’ Day,” for which elaborate preparations had been made by the Committee of Arrangements, Charles Beardsley, Chairman. There was a large company of those whose residence in Iowa dated back to the Territorial period, and a few were present who came to Iowa prior to that period, when the Black Hawk Purchase was first opened to settlement in 1833-4. There was a generous rivalry for the honor of being the “first comer,” or of having been the “first white child born in Iowa.” Hon. James Harlan was President of the Day. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Michael See, a pioneer of 1836. An address in answer to the question, “Who made Iowa?” was delivered by T. S. Parvin, a pioneer of 1838, whose life-long devotion to Iowa history is unique, illustrious, and of inestimable value. Addresses followed by Governor Drake, Samuel Murdock, a representative in the Seventh and Eighth Legislative Assembly of the Territory, E. W. Lucas, son of the first Governor of the Territory, Miss Nannie M. Briggs, granddaughter of the first Governor of the State, Isaac W. Griffith, hero of the “Missouri War,” of the Mexican War, and the War for the Union, E. S. Huston, W. W. Dodge,

Rev. C. E. Brown, a pioneer at the Forks of the Maquoketa in 1842, and other speakers. Many letters were received from old settlers unable to be present, containing incidents of Pioneer history.

The Third day was Educational Day, and was celebrated by parades and marches of school children, their musical and gymnastic exercises, a three part chorus of scholars from 8 to 12 years of age, etc. S. N. Fellows, of Fayette, was president of the Day, and delivered an address, followed by L. F. Parker, of Grinnell, Wm. F. King, of Mt. Vernon, and other speakers. A paper on the "Future of Iowa Schools" by Henry Sabin, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, was published in the *Hawk-Eye*.

The Fourth day, Sunday, was devoted to religious services. A sermon was preached at the Coliseum by Hiram W. Thomas, D. D., of the People's Church, Chicago, and a sacred concert was given in the evening.

The Fifth day was Republican Day. Speeches were made by Senator Foraker and D. D. Woodmansee, of Ohio, Clark E. Carr, of Galesburg, Ill., W. P. Hepburn, of Clarinda, and others. In the evening a torch-light procession marched through the principal streets, and Roman candles and balls of colored fire, and fusilades of rockets were kept coursing through the air.

The Sixth day was opened with an industrial parade, representing all branches of manufacture and trade, the wares of commerce, the work of farm and garden, and the ways and means of business. The fire companies of Burlington headed the procession, the traveling men following one hundred strong.

The rest of the day was Woman's Day, under the direction of the Burlington Federation of Woman's Clubs, Mrs. J. J. Seerley, President. The stage at the Coliseum was occupied by the Ladies' Chorus, 100 strong, and by ladies of cultured voice, and of exquisite skill upon instru-

ments. Mrs. Lucy A. Burkhalter, of Cedar Rapids, offered prayer, and addresses were made by Rev. Mary Safford, of Sioux City, Miss Mary Rogers, of Dubuque, Miss Emma Fordyce, of Cedar Rapids, and Mrs. Pauline Swalm, of Oskaloosa.

At 5 p. m. tea was served at the Federation Headquarters, in Crapo Park, to the visiting ladies, each one's place at the table indicated by a card with her name, and decorations of a stalk of corn in water-colors, a log-cabin in india-ink, and the date 1846.

At 6 p. m. a large company gathered in a romantic dell west of the Corse Statue where the Shakespeare Club rendered "A Midsummer Night's Dream." Dense crowds covered the adjoining slopes. The soft music, the calcium lights, the wierd shadows, the dainty fairies, made a bewildering scene. The red Musquakies, gliding about the grounds like lost spirits of the ancient forests, enjoyed it as much as the pale faces.

At 8 p. m. the Coliseum was again filled with a vast audience who were entertained by the Ladies' Musical Club, by Mrs. Bertha Cranch Ernst with a reading of Longfellow's "Launching of the Ship," and by the Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett with an address upon "The Wealth of a State."

The Seventh day was Fraternity Day, and was celebrated with a procession and parade of nineteen Secret Societies, with the regalia and emblems of their respective orders, and by addresses in the Coliseum by Mayor Naumann, R. L. Tilton, of Ottumwa, and John W. Geiger, of Marion. In the afternoon of this day there was a Grand Musical Festival under the direction of Professor Sheetz, with seven hundred voices from Cedar Rapids, Davenport, Ft. Madison, Iowa City, Keokuk, Oskaloosa, Mt. Pleasant, Ottumwa and Burlington. Classic compositions of the Fatherland were rendered by one hundred and sixty-six German singers, Th. Reed Reese, of Davenport, Conductor.

At night there was an illuminated parade of Historicus in the "March of Progress," after which a river carnival again irradiated and blazoned the sky.

The Eighth day was Democratic Day, and the Semi-Centennial Celebration was brought to a close with an oration by William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, and addresses by other speakers, and a parade at night.

Through the whole eight days the weather was perfect. A fine enthusiasm for the history of Iowa and for the future of Iowa animated every one. A thousand grateful memories were awakened, and generous impulses were enkindled toward still better things in the coming half-century.

With the joy and happiness of the Celebration there was also distress and grief upon the first day, from the falling of the Review Stand, by which a number of persons were injured. Enoch S. Burrus, treasurer of Des Moines County, died November 11th, from the effect of his injuries. He was a native of the County, born in Territorial times, May 31, 1840, and a credit to human nature and to the State that produced and nurtured him.

APPREHENDED INDIAN TROUBLES.

UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF GOV. J. W. GRIMES.

BURLINGTON, IOWA, January 3, 1855.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to ask your cooperation at the proper department at Washington, to secure protection to the frontier settlements of our State against the depredations of Indians now within our borders. I have written to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and to the Indian Superintendent at St. Louis on this subject, and trust that you will unite with me in pressing the matter upon their

attention, and in seeking such other relief in the premises as we are well justified in demanding.

There are at this time large bands of the Yankton and Sisseton Sioux in the neighborhood of Fort Dodge, in Webster county in this State. I am reliably informed that there are not less than five hundred warriors of that tribe in that vicinity. They manifest no *real* hostile intention, but they are accused of stealing hogs, cattle, etc. Certain it is, they have occasioned a great deal of alarm among the settlers. The people have become impatient for their removal, and many of the most discreet men of that region of country are anticipating trouble.

I am constantly receiving petitions and letters from the people on the frontier, asking for protection. But I have no power to do anything in the matter. I am authorized to call out a military force only in cases of insurrection and *actual* hostile invasion. These Indians come within the State to winter and with no apparent hostile intent. Being within the State they have become dangerous to our peace, but such a case is not provided for by our constitution and laws. I have taken the responsibility to appoint Major William Williams, of Fort Dodge, a kind of executive agent to act for me in protecting both the settlers and the Indians, and particularly to preserve the peace. I had no legal authority to make such appointment, but as there was no government agent in that section of the country, and as I was so remote from the scene of trouble and felt that there should be some one in the vicinity who would act prudently, and who could act efficiently, I knew no better course than to appoint him as I have indicated.

Should Major Williams incur any expense in preventing or in settling difficulties, there is no fund appropriated by the State from which payment could be made. To obviate all trouble on this score, I wish to suggest the propriety of securing a temporary appointment for Major

Williams as a special Indian-agent. In such official capacity he could act authoritatively and efficiently. I have every reason to believe that he will be safe in his judgment and prudent in his action. It is greatly feared that when the proposed military expedition shall march towards the Plains to chastise the Sioux for their hostilities near Fort Laramie and along the emigrant route to Oregon and California, they will attempt to seek shelter within the limits of our State. In that event, the presence of such an agent will be highly serviceable, if not, indeed, absolutely necessary.

The citizens of Woodbury, Monona and Harrison counties on the Missouri river are also importunate in their demands for relief against the Omahas and Ottoes, all or most of whom, I am informed are now east of the Missouri. The chief trouble apprehended by the Missouri river citizens, however, is from a band of the Sioux in the vicinity of Sargent's Bluffs. These Indians pretend that they have never parted with their title to several of the north-western counties of our State and avow their intention to plant corn within the State in the coming spring. I do not know who are the agents of these Indians, nor how much influence might be exercised over them, but it would seem that even at this season of the year, when they are so near the border of the state, they might easily be withdrawn within their own territory. I am assured that their presence is hazardous to their own and to the lives of our citizens.

I trust, gentlemen, you will stimulate the department at Washington to take immediate steps to remedy the evil complained of. We have just cause for complaint. The government has undertaken to protect our frontiers from the Indians with the assurance that this stipulation would be fulfilled. That frontier is filled with peaceful citizens. But the Indians are suffered to come among them—destroying their property and jeopardizing their lives.

I hope no time will be lost in allaying the apprehensions that exist in some parts of the State on this subject.

I am, gentlemen, very truly your obedient servant,

JAMES W. GRIMES.

To Hon. A. C. Dodge, Hon. G. W. Jones, Hon. J. P. Cook and Hon. B. Henn, Delegation in Congress from Iowa, Washington, D. C.

IN 1848 an old Iowa Indian gave the following account of his tribe: "About sixty-six years ago we lived on a river which runs from a lake to the Mississippi, from the east, and on the east side of the river. Our fathers and great-fathers lived there for a long time, as long as they could recollect. At that time we had four hundred men fit to go to war, but we were then small to what we had been. Our fathers say that as long as they can recollect we have been diminishing. We owned all the land east of the Mississippi. Whatever ground we made tracks through, it was ours. Our fathers saw white men on the lakes about one hundred and twenty years ago, but we do not know where they came from. About the same time we first got guns. We were afraid of them at first; they seemed like the Great Spirit. Our fathers also at the same time, for the first time, received iron axes, hoes, kettles, and woolen blankets. We, the old men of our nation, first saw white men between forty and fifty years ago, near the mouth of the Mississippi."—*Schoolcraft*.

SLAVERY IN IOWA TERRITORY.

BY A. W. HARLAN.

Having quite recently noticed an article copied from THE ANNALS relative to slavery in Iowa, I beg to furnish my own recollections of the "peculiar institution" in our Territory.

In 1834, Isaac R. Campbell resided on the site of the city of Keokuk. A colored man called "John" was living with him, who was saving money to buy his freedom. I presume he succeeded, as I never heard of any trouble.

In the fall of 1834, Colonel Stephen W. Kearny brought to "Camp Des Moines," now Montrose, a mulatto woman, as a family servant. She remained with them quietly and peaceably, and left with the family. I believe it was customary for officers of the army to take their slaves with them wherever they went.

It must have been about 1837 that a Mr. McCrary came from Indiana and settled near the site of Keosauqua. He brought a slave with him, who I think, stayed as long as the old gentleman lived, and then went back to Indiana. This was a case of pure affection on the part of the colored man for his master.

It was probably in 1838 that Shapley P. Ross brought from Missouri to Bentonsport, Iowa, a negro man and woman. After a year or two he sent the woman back to Missouri, but the man from some cause seemed to desire liberty, and after a short time ran away and went to Illinois. Giles A. Sullivan assisted Ross in the capture of the negro in Illinois. They were on their way to Missouri, when at Carthage, Illinois, they were arrested for kidnapping and had some difficulty in giving security in order to keep out of jail.

I will not pretend to state particulars or facts as to the many quarrels and lawsuits that grew out of this attempt to hold slaves in Iowa. It was to Ross a losing business. As he was just ready to leave, a little lawyer by the name of Buckland from Massachusetts, had Ross arrested on some cause. Ross watched his opportunity and struck Buckland in the face, smashing his gold-bowed spectacles most effectually. He then ran away to Texas. At the first term of court at Keosauqua, Judge Charles Mason presiding, there was a great mass of papers relative to these cases disposed of in various ways, and Sullivan and Ross, and "Ross's Nigger," became bywords for several years.

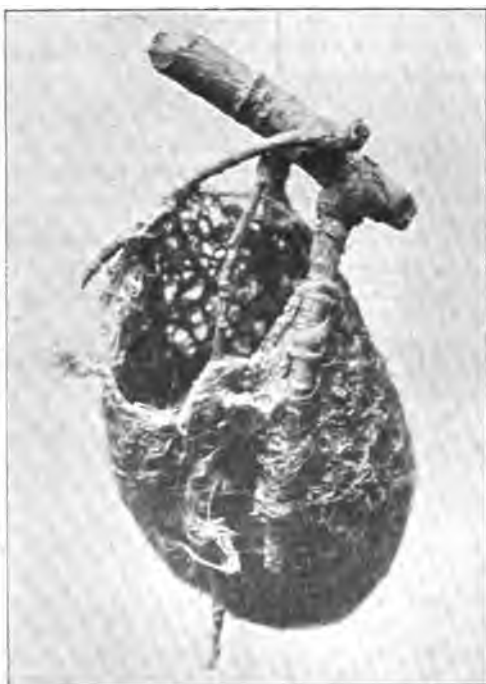
About 1840 or 1841 the Indian Agency for the Sac and Fox Indians was located at the place still known as Agency City. One Joseph Smart was employed as the blacksmith, and paid by the year for working for the Indians. He brought to that place a negro woman, held her as a slave a year or two, and then sold her to James Jordan, who took her to Missouri, where he also sold her again. This was a fair transaction, such as was common in Missouri at that time.

Then, again, about 1842, Captain William Phelps, a licensed Indian trader, bought of John Billings of Clark county, Missouri, a negro man named "Dick." Billings was owing Phelps and wanted some more money, and hence the sale of the slave. The negro himself being willing, he went with Phelps to his trading house, near where Ottumwa now stands. Within a year or two the trading house got on fire and exploded a keg of powder. "Dick" was knocked down and severely injured. The last I knew of him he seemed crazy, and Captain Phelps was having him doctored. I think Phelps intended to free the slave, for he was a humane man.

Near CROTON, IOWA, December, 1896.

AN IOWA BIRD'S NEST.

In the balmy, sunny South, where Magnolias scent the breeze,
Where the ceaseless notes of song-birds echo in the orange trees,
Where Queen Nature's hand with moss festoons trees perennial leaved,
In the hearts of two young lovers was this dainty home conceived.



Then, on fluttering wings, when Spring, with her gentle, pleading face,
Asked Old Winter for releasings from his icy, cold embrace,
Came they, singing to the North, she in sober colors dressed;
He, in black, with scarlet trimmings, and an orange-tinted vest.

And, when the buds were bursting, and the violets were young,
Upon a branch of Cottonwood, this work of love was hung;
How builded they? We wist not, as they toiled from morn till night,
Except the song they warbled: "Love makes all labor light!"

Nor can we guess where they began this fabricated dream;
For, like the Savior's outer robe 'twas wrought without a seam.
Ah, loving hands may make a home which never comfort lacks;
Yet instinct, without hands, has made this miracle of flax!

Why boast we of accomplishments; of architectural skill,
With lifted heart and haughty brow, say: "We may do what we will;"
When with no art or genius, nor by any human plans,
Can we compete with instinct, in this home not made with hands?

Here Love is interwoven in the meshes of the twine,
And Faith is intermingled in every measured line;
And Hope, the well-selected branch, in that safe, anchored spot;
And in its fabrication there is neither flaw nor knot!

The Masterpiece of Solomon was built without the sound
Of axe, or tool of iron, on that sacred spot of ground;
So, in God's first great Temple, the wind-stirred, leafy grove,
Was builded there in silence, this nesting-place of Love.

There are temples, shrines and churches, whose beauties fill the eye,
With frescoed walls and costly spires, uplifted to the sky;
But they raise the heart not higher, nor more uplift the soul,
Than the God-instructed builder, the tuneful Oriole.

Jacitus Hussey

The most ingeniously constructed nest, on which this beautiful poem was written, was presented to Mr. Hussey by a friend, and by him to The Historical Department, where it is now on exhibition.

FLAGSHIP *Hartford*
Western Gulf Blockading Squadron.
Off Sandy Hook Bay 4. 1863.
at 4.30 P.M.

Dearest Wife We are off
as I hoped to be when
I left you I only said
this to the Astor House
for fear you may be
still at the Astor House
waiting to get a note from
me - I sent another to
Hastings" -

God bless you & my
dear Boy & my ever loving
family & your affectionate
& devoted husband

D. G. Farragut

A LETTER BY ADMIRAL D. G. FARRAGUT.

A fac simile from the original in "The Aldrich Collection", Iowa Historical Department.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

POLK COUNTY'S SEMI-CENTENNIAL.

On the 8th day of July, 1896, the capital county of Iowa was fifty years old. This event was elaborately and fittingly celebrated in the city of Des Moines, the programme occupying the entire day. There was a salute of fifty guns at daybreak, fired by the artillery squad from the local companies of the National Guard; a gathering of thousands of people—among whom the early pioneers of Polk and adjoining counties were especially prominent and honored; parades in the streets and on the river; and addresses, historical and eloquent, by four gentlemen, three of whom were born in Des Moines. A delegation of Tama county Indians (Musquakees) were present during the day, dressed in the gaudy costume of the tribe. They marched in the procession, gave several exhibitions, including their war dance, and as primeval inhabitants, uniting the present with the far past, were objects of much interest. The day was one of great delight to the pioneers, who met old friends for the first time in many years, exchanging hearty congratulations, and narrating experiences of other days. The industrious and enterprising journalists of the city gathered up a world of facts connected with or illustrating the progress and development of the town and county, presenting an interesting detail

of personal memoranda, and of facts and events, which our limited space prevents any attempt to follow. Suffice it to say, that all this valuable historical matter was carefully preserved in the State Historical Department, in convenient shape for reference or use hereafter. The capital city and county did themselves great credit in thus observing the close of the first half century of their existence.

THE INDIAN CHIEF WAPELLO.

McKenney and Hall's great work on the Indian Tribes of North America contains a fine portrait—a lithograph colored by hand—of this distinguished Musquakee Chief, in all the glory of feathers, bead work and red and yellow paint. We have attempted its reproduction by the half-tone process, but not with as good a result as we had hoped. No portrait of this estimable, peace-loving Indian, whose name was given by law to one of our richest and most populous counties, has ever before been published in our State. A better one may some day appear—when some artist paints his portrait in oil—but this presents a good representation of his dress and general appearance.

According to the late Hon. A. R. Fulton's "Red Men of Iowa," (p. 252), Wapello was born at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, in 1787. The name signifies prince or chief. At the time of the erection of Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, he is said to have ruled over one of the principal Indian villages in that vicinity. In 1829 he removed to Muscatine Slough on the west side of the Mississippi, and afterward to a point in the vicinity of the present city of Ottumwa, near which he died, March 15, 1842. Judge



THE INDIAN CHIEF WAPELLO.

Fulton says that "he had started to visit some of the scenes of his former days, but was taken with sudden illness at his camp in what is now Jackson township, Keokuk county, where he lingered but a few days." "To the curious," says the author, "it may, in the years to come, be a matter of interest to know that the closing scene in the earthly career of this good Indian chief was on the northwest quarter of section 21, township 74, range 11, west." He begged to be buried near the last resting-place of his friend General Joseph M. Street, and his wishes were carried out.

Wapello was short in stature, but stoutly built. Every account that has come down to us in regard to him is to the effect that he was kindly in his nature and disposed to be at peace with the whites. Whether this arose from his own personal qualities—an inborn amiability—or from the fact that he saw the hand-writing on the wall, and knew how futile it would be to contend against the tide of settlement which was sweeping his people from the face of the earth, we need not stop to inquire. The impression we derive from the scanty information now accessible, is, that he possessed a most kindly disposition, and was endowed with considerable natural ability. He was next in rank and consequence after Keokuk. He went to New York, Boston and Washington, with Keokuk and others of his tribe, in 1837. While in Boston he replied to a speech of the eloquent Governor Edward Everett, in the State House, expressing friendly sentiments toward "the white man." The record says that his remarks were "received with applause."

An engraving from a photograph appeared in THE ANNALS for July-October, 1895, showing the graves of General Street and some members of his family, with that of Wapello. The crumbling monuments over these graves may be seen on the south side of the railroad track, about half a mile east of Agency City station. "The spot is

classic ground in Iowa's aboriginal history." Many years ago Judge Fulton copied the following inscriptions from these grave-stones:

In
Memory of
GEN. JOSEPH M. STREET,
Son of Anthony and Molly Street.
Born Oct. 18, 1785, in Virginia;
Died at the Sac and Fox Agency,
May 5th, 1840.

In
Memory of
WA-PEL-LO,
Born at
Prairie du Chien, 1787;
Died near the Forks of Skunk,
March 15, 1842.—Sac and Fox Nation.

WAS JOHN BROWN IN IOWA IN 1841?

An interesting old relic lately came into the possession of the Historical Department. It is a folio volume of printed receipts for books loaned from the Territorial Library of those remote days—the year 1841. The signatures of many noted men—and “there were giants in those days”—appear as constant borrowers of the few books then owned by Iowa Territory. Most of the men whose names are in this volume have passed away—only here and there one remaining far advanced in years. On the first page we see that Jesse Williams, our first Territorial Secre-

tary, and a thrifty business man, borrowed "Rowlet's Interest Tables." Oliver Cock, who was afterward Grand Master of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Iowa, wished to read, "Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding;" Judge T. S. Wilson sought relief from judicial labors in two of Sir Walter Scott's immortal novels, "The Abbott," and "The Antiquary," while Charles Mason, our Pioneer Chief Justice, who had not long before resigned from the regular army, borrowed that excellent Methodist work, which is not obsolete even yet—"Clark's Commentary on the Holy Bible." On subsequent pages we find the names of James W. Grimes, so illustrious in after years as Governor and U. S. Senator; A. C. Dodge, U. S. Senator and Minister to Spain; Governor John Chambers, who had fought under General W. H. Harrison before coming to Iowa; Edward Johnstone, one of the makers of our present constitution—"the kingliest man in Iowa"—who died in 1891; George Greene, the early jurist and Supreme Court reporter; Enoch W. Eastman, Lieutenant Governor, and author of the sentiment on the Iowa stone in the Washington Monument—"IOWA—The affections of her people, like the rivers of her borders, flow on to an inseparable union;" Gideon S. Bailey, who rendered excellent service in our first territorial legislature (1838) and is still a resident of Van Buren county; Judge James Grant, eminent as a jurist, farmer and business man; J. W. Woods, a pioneer lawyer, who became quite a celebrity under the sobriquet of "Old Timber;" Judge Springer, who presided over our last (1857) constitutional convention; Judge Hastings of our Supreme Court and a member of Congress; Shep. Leffler, one of our first congressional delegation; Colonel William Thompson ("Black Bill") twice a member of Congress (1847-1850) and now a retired army officer; Alfred Hebard, an efficient legislator in 1847-1848, and again in 1878-1880, and but lately deceased—and a great many others equally well known.

But while turning the leaves of this old book, we found in three places the signature—"John Brown." On comparing it with several which are known to have been written by the old hero whose soul ever "goes marching on," they seem to have been written by the same hand. While we cannot learn from any one who was in Iowa Territory at that time that John Brown was in Iowa City, we deem it not unlikely that he was there and a reader in the library. He was then known to comparatively few people—an obscure man. The books with which the party of that name is charged were the writings of Washington and Franklin and a work on "National Portraits," including biographical sketches. Several gentlemen expert in chirography are of the opinion that these are veritable signatures of the hero of Osawatomie.

Among the readers of that day the names of Messrs. Grimes, Leffler, Grant, Johnstone, Fales and Madera, occur most frequently. All books seem to have been promptly returned, and there is no record showing that any were lost.

LINCOLN AND DAVIS IN THE BLACK HAWK WAR.

The statement has often been published that Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis served in the Black Hawk War—the first as a captain of militia and the latter as a lieutenant in the regular army. Old settlers in the northwest have stated that they saw these men, who were destined to fill such large places in the history of their country, at that time. Black Hawk in his autobiography which was dictated to Antoine Le Claire, states that upon his capture he and his band were placed in charge of Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, by whom they were kindly treated, and he compliments the "young war-chief" very highly.

Jefferson Davis, in an interview about two years before his death, is reported as speaking of being at the front when the United States forces were driving Black Hawk toward the Wisconsin river. No fact in Western history would seem to have been more generally accepted than that Davis was in the war. But in a note to an article upon Abraham Lincoln in McClure's Magazine for January, 1896, the author says: "Jefferson Davis was not in the war, as has been so often stated." One of the parties who was deeply interested in finding evidence to sustain the general belief was Mr. F. R. Dixon, of Dixon, Illinois. His grand-father, an early settler of that town, which bears his name, knew both Lincoln and Davis at that time, and had often made the statement that they took part in the Black Hawk war. The statement in McClure's Magazine made the present Mr. Dixon anxious to obtain exact and incontrovertible information upon the subject, which should verify the oft-repeated statement by his grandfather. As Davis was but a lieutenant there was little if anything in the official records in regard to what he was doing at that time, and that little quite difficult to find. But Mr. Dixon enlisted Mr. L. F. Andrews of Des Moines in an effort to ascertain the truth. Mr. Andrews never doubted that Davis participated in that war, but it was some time before he found official and undoubted evidence of the fact. It came to light at last, however, in Brig.-General D. W. Flagler's "History of Rock Island Arsenal." He states as a well understood fact, that both Lincoln and Davis "served through the campaign." This book was published under authority of the War Department, in 1877, and would seem to settle the question beyond any doubt. While Jefferson Davis "cannot escape history," and will be held to rigid accountability for his part in precipitating the greatest civil war that ever deluged a country in blood, there are very few who would take pleasure in seeing him misrepresented or deprived of his just award for merito-

rious services while he still served under the flag of his country. In addition to this statement, the late General Geo. W. Jones, but a short time before his death, stated in the most positive terms that Davis served in the Black Hawk war. Mr. W. B. Street, in the course of a biographical sketch of his father, General J. M. Street, the distinguished Indian Agent and friend of Blackhawk, (page 92 of this volume of *THE ANNALS*), mentions the fact that Black Hawk and other prisoners were placed in charge of Lieutenant Jefferson Davis shortly after their capture. As we write this article, we are informed that the author of the assertion in McClure's Magazine fully accepts the conclusions above set forth and will ere long publish a statement to that effect.

THE sketch of the Mormon hand-cart train from which our cut was made for Mr. Bloomer's article, was drawn from memory by Mr. George Simons, of Council Bluffs.

CORRESPONDENCE.

KEOKUK, July 15, 1896.

In the April number of *THE ANNALS*, L. F. Andrews gives what he terms "First Things in Iowa," among which, on page 394, is the following: "The first white female child born in the State was Eleanor Garland, at Fort Madison, in 1838. Her father was an army surgeon."

Evidently the writer alludes to Eleanor, daughter of Dr. Isaac Galland, who was born at Au-wi-pe-tuck, afterward called Nashville, and now, Galland, a railroad station between Keokuk and Montrose in Lee County. She was born February 4, 1830, grew to womanhood, was married twice, and I think is now living in Ottumwa, Iowa.

My object, however, in writing is to partially correct this item of history. She was not the first white female child born in the State, or in Lee County.

On the 22nd of November, 1829, there was born, at "The Point," now Keokuk, to Moses and Maria Stillwell, a daughter, whom they named Margaret. She attained her womanhood here, married Dr. E. R. Ford, raised a family of three children, and died in this city, May 18, 1865. It has always been conceded that she was the first white child, male or female, born in Keokuk. She may not have been the first white female child born within the territory now comprising the State of Iowa, yet her birth, antedating that of Eleanor Galland, deprives the latter of that distinction.

C. F. DAVIS.

SIoux CITY, IOWA, October 6, 1896.

I notice in the October, 1896, number of *THE ANNALS*, page 564, the statement credited to Major C. D. Ham of Dubuque, that Daniel Webster was interested with General Geo. W. Jones in the town site of Sioux City.

This is unquestionably a mistake, for Daniel Webster died October 24, 1852, about two years before the first survey of town lots at Sioux City, and three years and a half before the entry of the town site at the Government Land Office. I have had occasion to investigate titles at Sioux City, in many of which General Jones was once interested, but never heard that Webster was interested with him till I saw it in the newspapers last summer.

GEO. W. WAKEFIELD.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

SILAS A. HUDSON died at Burlington, Iowa, December 19, 1896. He settled in that city in 1839, and for many years occupied prominent official positions both in the State and Nation. He was a clerk in one of the Territorial Legislatures which met in Burlington, and the first chief clerk of the house of representatives after the State was admitted into the Union, having been elected December 26, 1846. Ten years later he was elected Mayor of Burlington. He drafted the charter of the city as well as the ordinances under which its government was conducted for twenty years. He was the intimate friend of George D. Prentice, Horace Greeley, Abraham Lincoln and U. S. Grant. He was instrumental in making the arrangement under which Lincoln went to New York and made his great Cooper Institute speech, which led to his nomination for the Presidency. He was a cousin of General Grant whom he knew from boyhood. During the administration of the latter Mr. Hudson represented this country as minister to the Central American States. He resigned this last position in 1872, after which time he resided in Burlington until the day of his death. Mr. Hudson was born in Mason county, Kentucky, December 13, 1815.

WILLIAM PENN WOLF, whose death occurred at Tipton, September 19, 1896, was born December 31, 1833, at Harrisburg, Stark county, Ohio. He was of Quaker parentage. The family removing later to a farm near Marlboro, he attended the common school and seminary, and afterward taught in the Union School and at Lunaville. He was also principal of the Edinburgh High School in Portage county. He chose the law as a profession and entered the office of Bierce & Pease of Canton, Ohio. In 1856, at the age of twenty-three, he came with his parents to Cedar county. Here he engaged again in teaching school, and also studied law with Hon. Rush Clark of Iowa City. It was during these years that John Brown spent some time at Springdale. Mr. Wolf was an abolitionist, and knowing Brown well aided him in helping fugitive slaves escape to the north. In 1859 he was married to Miss Alice Macy. They removed to Tipton where Mr. Wolf began the practice of the law and where he afterward resided. He also taught in the schools and served as County Superintendent. In 1863 he was elected as representative in the State Legislature. In 1864 he formed a law partnership with Hon. J. H. Rothrock, which continued until Mr. Rothrock went upon the bench. In May, 1864, Mr. Wolf assisted

in raising Company "I," Forty-sixth Iowa Infantry, and was elected Captain. At the expiration of his military service he resumed the practice of law with Judge Rothrock. He was assistant Collector of Revenue under Lincoln's administration. Later, he edited *The Tipton Advertiser*. He was elected State Senator in 1867, serving until 1870, when he was chosen to Congress to fill an unexpired term. In 1881, he was again elected representative in the State legislature—re-elected in 1883, and at the opening of that session chosen speaker of the house. He presided with marked ability and impartiality. He was elected Judge of the eighteenth Judicial district in the fall of 1894, which position he held at the time of his death. Judge Wolf was a man of much ability, widely informed, popular in manners, active and brave as a soldier, ready and resourceful as a lawyer, and just and impartial on the bench—a pioneer settler who will long be held in grateful recollection.

JESSE B. HOWELL, manager of *The Gate City*, died at his home in Keokuk, Iowa, October 19, 1896, of consumption. He was born at Iowa City, Iowa, August 2, 1851, and was the son of Hon. J. B. Howell, U. S. Senator. Keokuk was his home throughout his life. He became connected with *The Gate City*, of which his father was proprietor, many years ago, and since his father's death represented his interests. He was known as a man of exceptional business capacity, of indomitable will, of high ideals, of great strength of character, of lofty motives. He was an exemplary citizen and business man, in whose death the community suffers a material loss. His personality is strongly impressed upon Iowa journalism, with which he had so long been identified, and journalism fully realizes its loss through his death. For the last few years his health had been failing, and he had travelled quite extensively, hoping to find a restorative in other climes. Hon. S. M. Clark, who knew him from infancy, pays a beautiful tribute to his memory, from which we quote the following: "Mr. Howell saw the sun of his life going down at the meridian, but he went toward its setting gentle, calm, unselfish, uncomplaining, wise, thoughtful of others; meeting his Gethsemane and his Calvary in the Christliest way; so bearing his own burden, and the burden of those about him, as to make it easier for them, however painful to himself."

EX-CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM E. MILLER was born near Mt. Pleasant, Pennsylvania, October 18, 1823, and died in Des Moines, November 7, 1896. He was for more than a quarter of a century a prominent figure in Iowa affairs. He entered the army in 1862 as Colonel of the 28th Iowa Infantry Volunteers, but was compelled by ill health to resign the following year. In 1864 he prepared "A Treatise on Pleading and Practice in Actions and Special Proceedings at Law and Equity Under the Revision of 1860," which was followed by "The Revised Code of 1873," a work on "Highways," etc. At the time of his death he was engaged upon another legal work which he left unfinished. He had served as Judge of the Eighth Judicial District from 1858 to 1862, and was again elected to the same position in 1868. He was appointed to fill a vacancy on the Supreme Bench in 1869, and the following year elected to the same place, serving as Chief Justice. He had also been connected with the Law Department of the State University. He settled permanently in Des Moines in 1873. Judge Miller was a learned, able and profound lawyer, and a good man. His memory survives as that of one who bore an honorable part in the times in which he lived. Sketches of his life may be found in Stuart's "Iowa Colonels and Regiments," and in *THE ANNALS* for October, 1874.

THOMAS FLETCHER died at his home in Keokuk, September 16, 1896. He was born in Ireland December 11, 1812. Emigrating to this country in 1836, he was employed at his trade, as a stone mason, on various public works in Canada and New York, until 1855, when he came to this State to take charge of certain work on the old Des Moines river improvement. He soon after settled in Keokuk where he resided until his death, engaging as a contractor in masonry and general building. His first wife, to whom he was united in Canada in 1840, having died, he was again married in 1855, at Farmington, Iowa, to Miss Austice Arrison, who survives him. Possessed of a most genial and kindly disposition, with conversational powers of a high order, he became one of the best known of the old residents of Keokuk. Like his illustrious prototype, the lamented Hugh Miller—while working in quarries, and later by the study of books—he acquired a wide knowledge of geology and paleontology. One could listen to him for hours when he was talking upon these favorite themes. He had made a fine collection of geological specimens, prominent among which were many polished teeth of great sharks which terrorized the Iowa seas millions of years ago. But in addition to his wonderful knowledge of geology and natural history, Thomas Fletcher was a lovable character—much such a personality as the late Judge George G. Wright—a grand, good man, moving in an atmosphere of rare intelligence and native refinement, which made his acquaintance a treasure to all who knew him.

JOHN M. DAY, who died in Des Moines, September 29, 1896, was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania in 1831. He was educated at the Presbyterian College, in Waynesburg, and studied law. Settling at Davenport, Iowa, in 1859, he entered upon the practice of his profession, in which he attained much distinction, and in which he continued until 1868, when he removed to Des Moines, where he resided until his death. He was a man of large financial ability and very successful in various business enterprises, especially in the work of extending north from the capital—in 1873—what is now known as the Chicago & North Western Railroad. That this important work was prosecuted so successfully until its completion, thus connecting Des Moines by rail with the northern portions of our State, was largely due to the persistence and hard work of Mr. Day. It is recorded that, while he was school director in Des Moines he succeeded in reducing the expenses of the district about \$5,000, with no deterioration of the service. He was everywhere an earnest and useful man, who rejoiced whenever he saw "two blades of grass growing where but one grew before."

DR. AARON DELANO WETHERELL, was born in Burlington, Vermont, July 21, 1818, and died in Knoxville, Iowa, November 20, 1896. He was of English and Scotch ancestry. The first fifteen years of his life were spent in Vermont. He then removed with his parents to Licking county, Ohio, living on a farm in Granville Township. He attended the High school and later taught school in Illinois. He entered the Ohio Medical College at Cincinnati, where he graduated in 1844, beginning his practice in Licking County, Ohio, where he remained until 1856. In that year he removed to Knoxville, Iowa, where he practiced medicine until his last illness. He was at the time of his death the oldest practicing physician in Marion county, and for many years had been a leader in the profession. He was physician and surgeon to the county Insurance board, and a member of the Marion county Medical Society and the State Medical Society. Dr. Wetherell was widely and most favorably known in Marion county for forty years, and his death was sincerely mourned.

CAPT. THOMAS SEELEY, a pioneer settler in Guthrie county, Iowa, died at Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory, November 13, 1896. He was born in Wayne county, New York, October 1, 1821, and was 75 years of age. His parents came out early and settled in Michigan where he grew to manhood. He was well educated and taught school for some years. In 1853 he came to Iowa and settled at Bear Grove, Guthrie county, in 1859, making himself a permanent home near Guthrie Center, where he lived until the opening of Oklahoma territory to settlement, when he removed thither. Captain Seeley bore an important part as a pioneer settler and a man of affairs. He was county surveyor of Guthrie county in 1854, and a member of the Convention of 1857 which framed the present constitution of our State. He was a member of the National Convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency in 1860. He aided in raising a company for General G. M. Dodge's Fourth Iowa Infantry, serving several months as Captain, when ill health necessitated his resignation. In 1864 he was appointed register of the U. S. Land Office at Des Moines, holding the position three years. He was elected to the 17th general assembly in which body he was a prominent and well-remembered member. During his life-time he held many other positions of less importance. A township and creek in Guthrie county bear his name. One of his sons, Mr. Horace Seeley, now a resident of Des Moines, has risen to a prominent position among the railroad men of Iowa. Captain Seeley was a man of large information, especially in respect to State affairs, enterprising, progressive, active and useful, always influential and respected in the community where he spent the greater portion of his life.

THE REV. JAMES MARSHALL, D. D., President of Coe College, at Cedar Rapids, died suddenly from pneumonia, on the 11th of September. He was born in the town of Grove, Allegany county, New York, of Scotch-Irish parentage, October 4, 1834. His grandfather was a soldier of the Revolution, and his father of the war of 1812. Through hard work early in life, and by teaching later on, young Marshall succeeded in obtaining his education, graduating at Yale College in 1857. Entering the military service in 1862, he served four years as army chaplain. After the war he went abroad, studying in Edinburg, Berlin, Heidelberg, Paris and London. Returning, he entered upon his calling as a clergyman at Troy, N. Y., in 1869, continuing in ministerial and charitable work up to 1887. He then accepted the Presidency of Coe College, where he remained until his death. Under his administration this institution was rapidly growing in public confidence, bidding fair to become one of the important seats of learning in Iowa.

C. P. ROGERS was born in Delaware county, Ohio, June 22, 1844, and died in Marshalltown, August 22nd, 1896. He entered the Ohio Wesleyan University, but before graduating enlisted in Company E, 145th Volunteer Infantry from that State. This command served out its period of enlistment—one hundred days—near Washington, D. C. His father's family soon afterward came west and settled near Canton, Missouri, from which time Mr. Rogers attended the Iowa State University, graduating in June, 1896. He served as Principal of Schools in Iowa City and Marengo, until 1874, when he was called to Marshalltown and placed at the head of the schools of that city. In this capacity he not only rose rapidly in the confidence of the community in which he resided, but attained a reputation as one of the foremost Iowa educators. He was elected President of the State Teacher's Association in 1876.

Mrs. AGNES McCULLY PARVIN, wife of Hon. Theodore S. Parvin, died at Cedar Rapids, from a cancerous affection, Nov. 20, 1896, at the age of 75 years. She was born in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, March 11, 1819, and was therefore in her 76th year. She was educated at Steubenville, Ohio, Female Seminary, and was married to Professor Parvin, at Muscatine, Iowa, May 17, 1843. The Parvins long since became a historic family—prominent in the early political and official life of Iowa Territory, in the annals of Education and Free Masonry, and in the work too long neglected of historical collecting. She became widely known as a most accomplished and faithful helper of her distinguished husband in all his useful and diversified labors. He was for twelve years connected with the Iowa State University, one of the most active and laborious of its founders and professors. The demands of social life, her home cares, and the generous hospitality for which they were always celebrated, imposed heavy burdens upon Mrs. Parvin. But precious recollections—and none other—of this devoted pioneer wife and mother are treasured by thousands of the best people throughout the Middle West, and especially by students of the State University from 1860 to 1872. She was fifty-eight years an active and useful member of the Presbyterian church. Wherever she has lived she has been distinguished for her kindness to the poor and for her consistent and exemplary Christian life. The sincerest sympathy for Mr. Parvin is universal throughout his wide acquaintance.

Mrs. SARAH TAYLOR HUTCHISON, wife of Ex-Senator J. G. Hutchison, was born in Trumbull county, Ohio, May 17, 1845; she died at her home in Ottumwa, November 3, 1896. She was a graduate of the State University, a lady of rare culture and refinement, who became extensively acquainted throughout the State. Her influence was always exerted in behalf of church, charity and reform. Among the enterprises at her home which especially enlisted her sympathies, were the Young Woman's Christian Association, and the City Hospital. Gov. William Larrabee, appointed her one of the Board of Trustees of the Iowa Soldier's Orphans' Home at Davenport, and later the Legislature elected her to the same position. At one time she conducted a department in the *Iowa State Register*. Her days were filled with usefulness.

PHILANDER D. GILLETTE, who died in this city, October 8, 1896, was born at Patchogue, Long Island, in 1832. He settled in Des Moines in 1857. In May, 1861 he enlisted in Co. "D" Second Iowa Infantry Volunteers, and served with the regiment until mustered out at the close of the war. He was severely wounded in Georgia in 1864. After the war he returned to Des Moines and engaged in business a number of years, until the failure of his health, from the effects of his service in the army. He was an honored and respected citizen, a member of the Methodist Episcopal church since 1865.

JAMES MADISON DE ARMOND was born in Blair county, Pennsylvania, September 7, 1846, and died at Davenport, Iowa, June 4, 1896. He came to Davenport with his father's family in 1866, and graduated from the city High School in 1869. In September of the last year he was appointed Principal of the High School, in which capacity he continued until 1885, when he was appointed Post Master. In the autumn of 1890 he returned to his place at the head of the Davenport Schools, where he remained until his death. He early attained a prominent position among the leading educators of our State.

REV. HARVEY ADAMS, D. D., was born at New Alstead, N. H., January 16, 1809, and died at New Hampton, Iowa, September 23, 1896. He graduated at the University of Vermont, about the year 1839, and also from Andover three years later. He was one of the famous "Iowa Band" of Congregational clergymen, which included Dr. William Salter, Rev. Dr. Ephraim Adams, Rev. Dr. Robbins, and others, who came to this State in 1843. Dr. Adams was distinguished for his labors in the anti-slavery cause, for his ministrations to the soldiers stationed in early days at Council Bluffs, for his efficient aid in founding Iowa College, at Grinnell, and for the high position he occupied in Iowa as one of the leaders of his church. It is probable that a full sketch of his useful life may be published hereafter.

FRANKLIN H. WHITNEY, died at his home in Atlantic, October 11, 1896, at the age of 64. He was born in Mexico, Oswego county, New York, and received an academic education. He came to Iowa in 1856 and settled near where he laid out the town of Whitneyville, the year following. He founded *The Gazette* at Lewis, which was the pioneer newspaper in Cass county. In company with John Keyes and Isaac Dickerson, he laid out the town of Atlantic in 1870.

MRS. W. H. FORMAN died October 23, 1896, at the family residence, Keokuk, Iowa, in her 73rd year. Her maiden name was Sophia Sells, sister of Hon. Elijah Sells, Secretary of State of this State, 1856-1861. She was born in Columbus, Ohio, April 1, 1824, and was married in Dublin, Ohio, more than fifty years ago, to Mr. W. H. Forman who survives her. They came to Keokuk, Iowa, in March, 1852, and afterward made that city their home.

REV. J. C. GREGG, an early settler of Des Moines, died there October 17, 1896. He was a soldier in the Mexican war, and also served as Captain in the Twenty-third Iowa Volunteers during the rebellion. He was born in Fleming County, Kentucky, October 25, 1817, and had been a resident of Des Moines since 1867. He was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church forty-seven years, and a part of that time a clergyman.

GEORGE LENDRUM, for over thirty years a resident of Des Moines, died October 24, 1896, in his 70th year. He was a native of New York. Settling in Burlington, Iowa, in 1853, he remained there several years, but later came to Des Moines. He was for some time largely engaged in iron manufacturing. He was also twice elected sheriff of Polk county, holding the office from 1876 to 1880.

LARS HENRYSON, a pioneer of Scott township, Hamilton county, where he settled in 1857, died there on the 12th of November, 1896, at the age of 74. He was a native of Norway, and was born March 27, 1822. He was prominent and influential among his own people and in the county, a useful and enterprising citizen, a man who stood high in the esteem of all who knew him.

J. P. GRIFFIS, one of the early pioneers of Polk County, who opened the first meat market in Des Moines, died September 26, 1896, near Los Angeles, California, to which place he removed some ten or twelve years ago.

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Historical Department of Iowa.

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This new Department was established by act of the Legislature of 1892 for the promotion of historical collections pertaining to Iowa and the Territory from which our State was established.

The Historical Rooms are in the basement story of the State House, are fire proof, and will be a safe depository for valuable books, files of newspapers, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps, portraits and articles of value, illustrative of the history and progress of our State and its people.

Here it is desired to collect :

1st. A copy of all documents, papers or pamphlets, letters or manuscripts, relating to early settlements in any part of Iowa.

2d. Well authenticated facts relating to the naming of any of the lakes, rivers, counties, cities and chief towns of Iowa, stating the origin, signification, and authors of such names.

3d. Personal narratives; the biographies of men or women who were among the early settlers in any part of Iowa, giving details of all facts of public interest, incidents of pioneer life, etc.

4th. Copies of old Iowa newspapers, files of such papers up to the close of the War of the Rebellion; letters written by soldiers during the war; incidents connected with the organization of Iowa regiments, batteries or companies.

5th. Letters, diaries, commissions of officers, newspaper articles in war times, histories of companies and regiments, arms or equipments used in any of the wars, battle flags, etc.

6th. The names, date of establishment, and brief histories of Academies, Seminaries, Colleges and Universities in Iowa. Names of founders, and of all principals and presidents, and dates of terms of service. *Catalogues and other publications.*

7th. Send to the Historical Department the stone axes, hatchets, mauls, pestles, arrow and spear heads, and not allow them to be wasted by scattering them elsewhere.

8th. We desire especially arms, household implements, or ornaments in use among any of the Indian tribes which have at any time inhabited Iowa; also recollections of the Iowa Indians by any of the pioneer white settlers.

9th. Photographs or engravings of public buildings of Iowa or Western historic places, and drawings, paintings or portraits relating in any way to Iowa or Iowa people.

10th. In short we wish to collect copies of all circulars, pamphlets, political speeches, lectures, sermons, books or manuscripts referring to Iowa or the West, or prepared by Iowa men or women on any subject at any time or any place.

Owners of rare documents or valuable relics who do not wish to dispose of them, may be willing to deposit them in our fire-proof rooms where they will be secure from loss or destruction and carefully preserved, with the name of the owner attached, subject to withdrawal at any time.

We solicit from historical societies or similar organizations copies of their publications, and will cheerfully reciprocate such favors. We also respectfully solicit from authors and publishers of Western history or biography copies of their works for our Historical Library. All such contributions will be acknowledged in these pages.

All contributions should be addressed to the Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

THE ANNALS OF IOWA.

The publication of this magazine was resumed in April, 1893, after a suspension of several years, by the Historical Department of Iowa.

In order to facilitate the collection and preservation of materials for Iowa history and biography, it is necessary to provide for the publication, from time to time, of such manuscript narratives and recollections as may be procured by this Department.

No better or more popular method of placing such contributions within reach of the people of the State has been suggested, than through a magazine published quarterly for that purpose.

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